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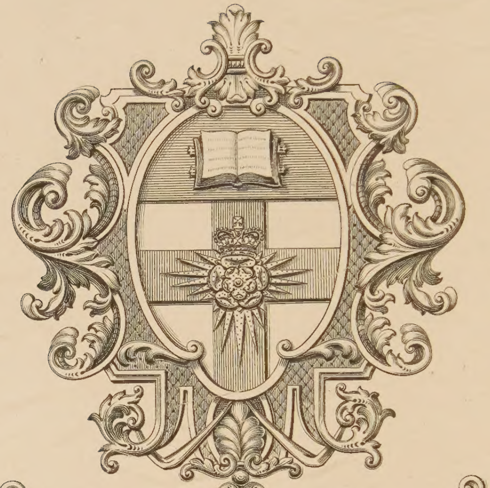

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES

SECOND SESSION OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH PARLIAMENT
OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

7 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME CLXXVI.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM FRIDAY, FOURTEENTH DAY OF JUNE, 1907, TO WEDNESDAY, TWENTY SIXTH DAY OF JUNE, 1907.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION.

1907.

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CHRONOLOGY OF "THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

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The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

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MR. SPEAKER'S ABSENCE.—The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the absence of Mr. Speaker through continued indisposition.

Whereupon Mr. EMMOTT, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table, and, after prayers, took the Chair as Deputy-Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order 1

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COLONIAL REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS).—Copy presented, of Report, No. 41 (East Africa Protectorate; Report on the Forests of Kenia by Mr. D. E. Hutchins) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 4

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DOCK ACCOMMODATION AT BELFAST.—Question, Mr. J. Devlin (Belfast, W.); Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 4

PAYMENT OF INCOME-TAX ON INTEREST ON LOANS.—Question, Mr. Vivian (Birkenhead); Answer, Mr. Asquith 7

IRISH EDUCATION COMMISSIONERS AND INSURANCE UNDER THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.—Question, Mr. Moore (Armagh, N.); Answer, Mr. Runciman 7

DISTRIBUTION OF SEED POTATOES IN THE GLENTIES UNION.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W.); Answer, Mr. J. W. Russell 8

TRANSFER OF HEAD CONSTABLE MEGARRY FROM DEPOT STORE.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 9

IRISH JUNIOR ASSISTANT MISTRESSES UNDER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE.—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Birrell 9

PAYMENT OF IRISH JUNIOR ASSISTANT MISTRESSES.—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Birrell 9

EVICTED TENANTS RETURN.—Question, Mr. Ginnell; Answer, Mr. Birrell .. 10

POOR LAW REFORM IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Pike Pease (Darlington); Answer, Mr. Birrell 10

Advertisements Regulation Bill.—Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Mr. Harmood-Banner (*Liverpool, Everton*) 11
Sir F. Banbury (*City of London*) 11

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'be' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House in respect of a new clause (Powers of Act accumulative).' "—(*Mr. Harmood-Banner.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Hart-Davies (Hackney, N.) .. 12
Mr. Moore (Armagh, N.) .. 12

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 78 ; Noes, 33. (Division List No. 232.)

Main Question again proposed.

Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.) .. 15
Mr. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick, W.) .. 15
Mr Mitchell-Thomson (Lanarkshire, N.W.) .. 16
Mr. Beale (Ayrshire, S.) .. 17
Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping) .. 18
Mr. Hart-Davies .. 19
Captain Craig (Down, E.) .. 19
Mr. Moore .. 21
Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.) .. 23
The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Herbert Samuel, Yorkshire, Cleveland) .. 26
Mr. Bowerman (Deptford) .. 27
Mr. Evelyn Cecil (Aston Manor) .. 27
Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley) .. 29
Mr. Ashley (Lancashire, Blackpool) .. 30
Mr. Carlile (Hertfortshire, St. Albans) .. 31

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 207 ; Noes, 12. (Division List No. 233.)

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Education Acts Amendment Bill—As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

Sir F. Banbury (City of London) .. 33
Captain Craig (Down, E.) .. 36

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> " In page 1, line 5, to leave out Clause 1."—(*Sir F. Banbury.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out to the word ' provide,' in page 1, line 7, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. W. R. Rea (Scarborough) .. 38
Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.) .. 40
Colonel Lockwood .. 41
Sir William Anson (Oxford University) .. 43
Sir Francis Powell (Wigan) .. 45

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> " In page 1, line 7, after the word ' to,' to insert the words ' take such steps as they think fit in order to.' "—(*Sir Francis Powell.*)

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Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. W. R. Rea 46
Sir Henry Craik (*Glasgow and Aberdeen University*) 47

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 1, line 9, after the word ' or ' to insert the word ' other.' "
—(*Mr. Bridgeman.*)

Question, " That the word ' other ' be there inserted in the Bill,"—put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 1, line 10, after the word ' local,' to insert the word ' education.' "—(*Mr. Bridgeman.*)

Question, " That the word ' education ' be there inserted in the Bill," put, and agreed to.

Sir Philip Magnus (*London University.*) 47
Captain Craig 48

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 1, line 17, to leave out the words ' before, or at the time of, and insert the words ' at any time within twelve months after.' "—(*Sir Philip Magnus.*)

Question proposed " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. W. R. Rea 48
Sir William Anson 49
Mr. Alden (*Middlesex, Tottenham*) 49
Sir Henry Craik 49
Mr. Talbot (*Oxford University*) 50
The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (*Mr. Lough, Islington, W.*) 50
Sir Philip Magnus 50
Sir F. Banbury 51
Sir W. J. Collins (*St. Pancras, W.*) 52
Mr. F. E. Smith (*Liverpool, Walton*) 52
Mr. Carlile 52
Mr. Lough 52

Amendments—

" In page 1, line 17, at beginning, to insert the word ' immediately, "

" In page, 1, line 17, after the word ' of ' to insert the words ' or as soon as possible after.' "—

Agreed to

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Captain Craig .. 53
Sir F. Banbury .. 53

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, lines 18 and 19, to leave out the words 'and on such other occasions as the Board of Education direct.'"—(*Captain Craig.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. W. R. Rea .. 54
Sir William Anson .. 54
Colonel Lockwood .. 54

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Ashley .. 55
Sir F. Banbury .. 55

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 23, at the end, to insert the words 'provided that any expense incurred under this Act for attending to the health and physical condition of the children shall be recoverable from the parents of the children in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction.'"—(*Mr. Ashley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. W. R. Rea .. 56
Mr. Evelyn Cecil .. 56
Sir William Anson .. 57
Mr. A. Williamson (Elgin and Nairn) .. 57
Mr. Lough .. 58
Lord R. Cecil .. 58
Captain Craig .. 59
Colonel Lorkwood .. 60

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 39; Noes, 229; (Division List, No. 234.)

Sir F. Banbury .. 61

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 25, to leave out the word 'may' and insert the word 'shall.'"—(*Sir F. Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'may' stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Rees .. 62
Mr. W. R. Rea .. 63

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS [EXPENSES].—Committee to consider of authorising the payment out of money provided by Parliament of salaries and expenses incurred in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Law with respect to Small Holdings and Allotments (King's Recommendation signified), Monday next.—(*Mr. Harcourt*) 63

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Injured Animals Act (1894) Amendment Bill): Sir Philip Muntz; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Injured Animals Act (1894) Amendment Bill): Colonel M'Calmont.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee B (added in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Lloyd Morgan; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Abel Thomas.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Vaccination Bill): Mr. Ainsworth; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Vaccination Bill): Mr. Watt.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee that they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills (added in respect of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill): Mr. Hugh Law; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill): Mr. Flynn.

Reports to lie upon the Table 63

Whereupon Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No 3.

Adjourned at five minutes after Five o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 17TH JUNE, 1907.

The Viscount Hood sat first in Parliament after the death of his father .. 65

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) [H.L.].

Also the Certificate that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—London County Council (Money)

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.. 65

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STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—Report from, that the Standing Orders not complied with n respect of the Great Central Railway Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed.

Read, and agreed to 65

Killery's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend on the Second Reading of the Bill 65

Pasley Children Legitimisation Bill [H.L.].—Reported, with Amendments 65

Grays and Tilbury Gas Bill.—Reported, without Amendment 65

Brighouse Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 65

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—Reported, with Amendments, and committed to Committee of the Whole House on Wednesday next 65

Broadstairs and St. Peter's Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]—Report from the Select Committee, that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The orders made on the 25th of February last and the 4th instant discharged, and Bill committed 65

Rawtenstall Corporation Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed 66

Merthyr Tydfil Stipendiary Justice Bill [H.L.]; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons 66

Port Talbot Railway and Docks Bill—Read 3ª, and passed 66

Advertisements Regulation Bill.—Clyde Navigation Order Confirmation Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Brought from the Commons 66

Manchester Ship Canal (Various Powers) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 66

Shanklin Gas Bill.—South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 66

PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS—Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 72 and 82 be suspended for the remainder of the session .. 66

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London No 2) Bill [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª (according to order) and passed, and sent to the Commons 66

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

JAMAICA.—Correspondence relating to the earthquake at Kingston, Jamaica, on 14th January, 1907 66

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TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—Further correspondence relating to affairs in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in continuation [Cd. 3025] and [Cd. 3028] 66

COLONIES (MISCELLANEOUS).
No. 41. East Africa Protectorate (Report on the Forests of Kenia) .. 67

TRADE REPORTS.—ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3822. Argentine Republic (Rosario).

No. 3823. Denmark (Iceland).

No. 3824. China (Ningpo).

No. 3825. China (Kiukiang).

No. 3826. Japan (Hakodate).

No. 3827. Egypt (Port Said and Suez) 67

COLONIAL MERCHANT SHIPPING CONFERENCE, 1907.—Report of a conference between representatives of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth of Australia, and New Zealand on the subject of merchant shipping legislation .. 67

INSURANCE UNDER THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS.—Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to consider whether the Post Office should provide facilities for insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Acts.

Minutes of evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed to consider whether the Post Office should provide facilities for insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Acts 67

MINES AND QUARRIES.—General Report and Statistics for 1905—Part IV. Colonial and Foreign Statistics: Statistics relating to persons employed, output, and accidents at mines and quarries in the British Colonies and in foreign countries.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 67

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.—Annual Report on the state of the finances of the University of St. Andrews under the provision of Section 30 of the Act, for the year 1905–1906.

Annual statistical report by the University Court of the University of St. Andrews to the Secretary for Scotland under the provisions of Section 30 of the Act, for the year 1905–1906 67

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904 (COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN).—Order made by the council of the county of Glamorgan, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain shops within the Blaengarw, Pontycymmer, Bettws, and Pontyrhil Wards of the Ogmore and Garw Urban District 68

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853–1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Licence granted by His Majesty to Elizabeth Maria Goodall, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution, S.W. 68

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COUNTY OFFICERS AND COURTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877.—Account of receipts and payments under the Act during the year ended 31st March, 1907 68

SAVINGS BANKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.—(Post Office Savings Banks Fund.) Account for the year ended 31st December, 1906.

(Savings Banks Fund.) (Friendly Societies Fund). Accounts for the year ended 20th November, 1906.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 68

Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Bill H.L.]—Order of the Day for the House being put into Committee read.

Moved, " That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Earl of Crewe.*)

Lord Belper. 68

Amendment moved—

" To leave out all the words after ' That ' for the purpose of inserting ' the Bill be referred to a Select Committee ' ; and that it be an instruction to the said Committee to consider and report whether the co-operation of women in certain matters of local government entrusted to county and borough councils might not be more effectively secured by methods other than that of election by the council as aldermen or by the ratepayers as councillors."—(*Lord Belper.*)

The Lord President of the Council (*The Earl of Crewe*) 76
The Marquess of Salisbury 82
The Earl of Jersey 88
The First Lord of the Admiralty (*Lord Tweedmouth*) 87
The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 88
Lord Burghclere 91
The Lord Bishop of Birmingham 90
The Marquess of Lansdowne 92
The Marquess of Londonderry 94
The Lord Bishop of Southwark 94
Viscount Milner 95
The Lord Chancellor (*Lord Loreburn*) 97
The Marquess of Lansdowne 97
Lord James of Hereford 98
Viscount St. Aldwyn 98

Moved, " That the further debate be adjourned *sine die*."—(*Viscount St. Aldwyn.*)

The Earl of Crewe 98
Lord Belper 99

On Question, Motion for the adjournment of the debate agreed to.

The Irish Land Act, 1903.

The Earl of Donoughmore 100
Lord Denman 100
Lord Ashbourne 101
Lord Barrymore 102
Lord Denman 102
Lord Ashbourne 102

Statute Law Revision Bill [H.L.].—Order of the Day for the Tird Reading read, and discharged 103

Advertisement Regulations Bill.—Read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday, the 9th of July next. (No. 74) 103

Clyde Navigation Order Confirmation Bill.—Read 1^a; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899) deemed to have been read 2^a. (*The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell*), and reported from the Committee. (No. 75) 103

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners; and to be read 2^a To-morrow (*The Lord Denman*). (No. 76.) 103

Dundee Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Dundee Corporation—Was presented by the Lord Hamilton of Dalzell (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Sections 8 and 9); read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 77) 103

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 17TH JUNE, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty Bill [Lords]; Glasgow Corporation Bill [Lords]; Birkenhead Corporation Water Bill [Lords]; Sheffield Corporation Bill [Lords]; Oxford and District Tramways Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 103

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PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz. :—Ladybank Sewerage Drainage and Water Provisional Order Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow 103

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Canal Tolls and Charges (New Junction Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time to-morrow 105

Metropolitan Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [LORDS]; Simon-Carves Bye-Product Coke Oven Construction and Working Company, Limited, Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 105

Sunderland Corporation Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 105

Renfrewshire Upper District (Eastwood and Mearns) Water Bill [LORDS]; Wisbech Water Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed 105

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed].—Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow 105

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G.).—Sir HENRY KIMBER reported from the Committee on Group G. of Private Bills; That, at the meeting of the Committee this day, a telegram was received from Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, one of the Members of the said Committee, stating that he was unable, on account of illness, to attend the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table 105

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G.).—Sir HENRY KIMBER reported from the Committee on Group G. of Private Bills; That the parties opposing the Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill had stated that the evidence of Mr. P. C. Cowan, Chief Engineering Inspector, Local Government Board, Dublin, was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he had been instructed to move that the said Mr. P. C. Cowan do attend the said Committee during the proceedings on the said Bill.

Ordered, That Mr. P. C. Cowan do attend the Committee on Group G. of Private Bills during the proceedings on the Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill 105

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MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled, " An Act to amend the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, with respect to laundries, and to extend that Act to certain institutions, and to provide for the inspection of certain premises." [Factory and Workshop Bill [Lords].

Also, a Bill, intituled, " An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882, and 1888, relating to the rural district of Cork." [Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill [Lords].

And also, a Bill, intituled, " An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, The Electric Lighting (Scotland) Act, 1890, and The Electric Lighting (Scotland) Act, 1902, relating to the burgh of Arbroath." [Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [Lords] 106

Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation Bill [LORDS].—That they communicate Minutes of Evidence and Proceedings taken upon the Second Reading of Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords], as desired by this House, with a request that the same may be returned 106

Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill [LORDS]. — Read the first time ; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 242] 106

Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time ; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 243] 106

PETITIONS.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (TONNAGE DEDUCTION FOR PROPELLING POWER) BILL.—Petition from the Newlyn Pier and Harbour Commissioners, against ; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

Petitions against, praying to be heard by counsel ; From the Red Funnel Line, Limited ; and, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Bridgwater ; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill 107

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (POWERS IN IRELAND).—Return [presented, 10th June], to be printed. [No. 191] 107

INSURANCE UNDER THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS. — Copy presented, of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to consider whether the Post Office should provide Facilities for Insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 107

JAMAICA.—Copy presented, of Correspondence relating to the Earthquake at Kingston, Jamaica, on 14th January, 1907 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 107

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Colonial Merchant Shipping Conference, 1907.—Copy presented, of Report of a Conference between Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth of Australia, and New Zealand, on the subject of Merchant Shipping Legislation [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 107

University of St. Andrews.—Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of St. Andrews for 1905–6 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 192] 108

University of St. Andrews.—Copy presented, of Report on the State of the Finances of the University for the year 1905–6 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 193] 108

Penal Servitude Acts (Conditional Licence).—Copy presented, of Licence granted to Elizabeth Maria Goodall, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution, Milton House, Chelsea, S.W. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 108

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3828 to 3833 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 108

County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Act, 1877.—Account presented, of the Receipts and Payments under the Act during the year ended 31st March, 1907 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 194] .. 108

Savings Banks and Friendly Societies.—Accounts presented, showing the Interest accrued in respect of the Securities standing in the names of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to the credit of the Post Office Savings Banks Fund for the year ended 31st December, 1906, and of the Fund for the Banks for Savings and the Fund for Friendly Societies for the year ended 20th November, 1906 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 195] 108

Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.—Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts). Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901; *Mr. Griffith-Boscawen*] to be printed. [No. 196] 108

Corporal Punishment.—Address for "Return of all sentences of Corporal Punishment inflicted under 26 and 27 Vic., c. 44, upon persons convicted of offences under Section 43 of The Larceny Act, 1861, and Section 21 of The Offences Against the Person Act, 1861, in England and Wales, from the 31st day of December, 1905, to the 31st day of December, 1906 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 257, of Session 1906)."—(*Mr. Lloyd Morgan.*) .. 109

Destructive Insects and Pests Bill.—Copy ordered, "of Memorandum explanatory of the Bill."—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 199] 109

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TRANSFER OF HUDDERSFIELD MALE TELEGRAPHISTS.—Question, Mr. Sherwell (Huddersfield); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 110

SUPPLY OF DEFECTIVE BRASS CARTRIDGE CASES BY MESSRS. KYNOCH.—Question, Mr. Bellairs (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 111

STRENGTH OF BREECH MECHANISM OF BRITISH SERVICE RIFLES.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Haldane .. 111

HANDWRITING EXPERTS AND THE EDALJI CORRESPONDENCE.—Question, Mr. Harmood Banner (Liverpool, Everton); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 112

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CHANNEL FLEET.—Question, Sir Berkeley Sheffield; Answer, Mr. Lambert .. 113

UNARMOURED CRUISERS.—Question, Mr. F. E. Smith (Liverpool, Walton); Answer, Mr. Lambert 114

CHANNEL FLEET ARMOURED CRUISERS.—Question, Mr. F. E. Smith; Answer, Mr. Lambert 114

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COASTGUARD COMMITTEE REPORT.—Question, Major Seely (Liverpool, Abercromby); Answer, Mr. Lambert 114

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Probation of Offenders (No. 2 Bill).—Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee B.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No.197.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed.

[No. 197.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 239] 179

Released Persons (Poor Law Relief) Bill.—Reported, without Amendment, from Standing Committee B.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 198.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 198.]

Bill to be taken into consideration upon Monday next 179

Limited Partnerships (Re-Committed Bill.—Reported, with an Amendment, from Standing Committee A.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 200.]

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Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 240.] 179

Public Rights of Way (No. 2) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee A.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 201.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 201.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration to-morrow, and to be printed. [No. 241] 179

Factory and Workshop Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 244] 180

Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill.—As amended, considered.

Clause 1:—

Mr. Arnold-Forster (Croydon) 180

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Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 8, after the word 'Regulars' to insert the words 'and Militia.'"—(*Mr. Arnold-Forster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Haldane, Haddington*) 182
Mr. A. J. Balfour (*City of London*) 187
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Mr. Arnold-Forster 193

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn

Viscount Valentia (*Oxford*) 194

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 8, after the word 'Regulars' to insert the words 'and Yeomanry.'"—(*Viscount Valentia.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Wyndham 195
Mr. Haldane 197
Sir Charles Dilke 200
Viscount Turnour (*Sussex, Horsham*) 201
Major Seely (*Liverpool, Abercromby*) 202
Mr. Arnold-Forster 203
Colonel Kenyon-Slaney (*Shropshire, Newport*) 204
Sir Samuel Scott (*Marylebone, W.*) 204
Mr. Haldane 205
The Marquess of Hamilton (*Londonderry*) 205
Mr. Ashley 206
Mr. Haldane 207

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Sir Howard Vincent 207

Amendment proposed to the Bill.—

"In page 1, line 8, after the word 'Regulars,' to insert the words 'and Volunteers.'"—(*Sir Howard Vincent.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill.

Mr. Haldane 208

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

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Viscount Morpeth (*Birmingham, S.*) 209
Mr. Ashley 210

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 9, to leave out all the words from the word 'appointment' to the first word 'of' in line 11."—(*Viscount Morpeth.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'by the Army Council' stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Haldane 211
Sir H. Aubrey Fletcher (*Sussex, Lewes*) 212
Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*) 213
Sir Charles Dilke 214
Sir Howard Vincent 215
Mr. McCrae (*Edinburgh, E.*) 216

Queston put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 265 ; Noes, 99. (Division List No. 235.)

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, lines 9 and 10, to leave out the words "after consultation.' "—(*Mr. Secretary Haldane.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Ashley 221
Sir Howard Vincent 221

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 18, to leave out Paragraph (*g*)."—(*Mr. Ashley.*)

Question proposed, "That Paragraph (*g*) stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Haldane 222
Viscount Morpeth 223
Mr. Wyndham 224

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 267 ; Noes, 89. (Division List No. 236.)

Viscount Castlereagh 227
Sir Samuel Scott 230

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 16, to leave out Clause 2."—(*Viscount Castlereagh.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

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Mr. Haldane 231
Mr. Wyndham 233
Mr. McCrae 235
Colonel Kenyon-Slaney 236
Sir Howard Vincent 237
Viscount Morpeth 240

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Sir Henry Craik (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities) 241
Mr. Guy Baring (Winchester) 247

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 9, to leave out from the word 'clubs' to the end of Paragraph (*f*)."—(*Sir Henry Craik.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the second word 'in,' in page 4, line 11, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Haldane 247
Mr. Wyndham 249
Mr. Bennett (Oxfordshire, Woodstock) 251
Mr. F. E. Smith (Liverpool, Walton) 254
Sir W. J. Collins (St. Pancras, W.) 256
Mr. Byles (Salford, N.) 258
Mr. A. J. Balfour 259
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Sir Brampton Gurdon (Norfolk, N.) 265

And, it being half-past Ten of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded, pursuant to the Order of the House of 6th May, to put the Question on the Amendment already proposed from the Chair.

Question put "That the words proposed to be left out, to the second word 'in,' in page 4, line 11, stand part of the Bill."

The House divided :—Ayes, 304 ; Noes, 114. (Division List No. 237.)

Mr. SPEAKER then proceeded successively to put forthwith the Questions upon any Amendments moved by the Government, of which notice had been given, which were necessary to dispose of the Business to be concluded.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 38, at the beginning, to insert the words 'Subject to regulations under this Act.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Haldane.*)

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided : Ayes, 314 ; Noes, 105. (Division List No. 238.)

Drafting Amendment made.

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Amendments—

"In page 4, line 42, at the end, to insert the words, 'Provided that nothing in this section shall be construed as enabling the Army Council to give their consent to the application of money to any purpose to which, apart from this section, it could not lawfully be applied, or to give their consent, without the authority of the Treasury, in any case in which, apart from this section, the authority of the Treasury would be required.'"

"In page 7, line 14, at the end, to insert the words, (c) 'When the corps of a man of the Territorial Force includes more than one unit, authorise him when not embodied to be posted, without his consent, to any unit other than that to which he was posted on enlistment; or.'" —(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 8, line 20, to leave out the word 'a,' and insert the word 'such'"—(*Mr. Secretary Haldane*)—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided: Ayes, 312; Noes, 106. (Division List No. 239.)

Amendments—

"In page 8, line 21, after the word 'county,' to insert the words 'as he may select and, if that corps comprises more than one unit within the county, shall be posted to such one of those units as he may select.'"

"In page 8, line 36, after the word 'discharged,' to insert the words, 'before the end of his current term of service.'"

"In page 9, line 11, to leave out the words, 'both or either,' and insert the words, 'all or any.'"

"In page 9, lines 11 and 12, to leave out the words, 'as to notice and payment.'"

"In page 12, line 19, to leave out from the word 'the,' to the end of line 22, and insert, the words 'requirements of this section may be dispensed with in whole or in part, (i) as respects any unit, by the prescribed general officer, and (ii) as respects an individual man by his commanding officer, subject to any general directions by the prescribed general officer.'"—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Agreed to.

Bill, as amended, to be further considered To-morrow.

Destructive Insects and Pests Bill [Lords].—Read a second time.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House for To-morrow—(*Sir Edward Strachey*) 280

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Board of Education Scheme (Hulme Trust Estates Educational) Confirmation Bill.—Read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee 280

Adjourned at nineteen minutes after Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 18TH JUNE, 1907.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 281

Alton Military Hospital Bill [H.L.].—Committed 281

London County Council (Money) Bill.—Read 2ª 281

Great Central Railway Bill.—Read 2ª, and committed, the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection. Sunderland Corporation Bill. Brought from the Commons, read 1ª, and referred to the Examiners .. 281

Metropolitan Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [H.L.]; Simon-Carves Bye-Product Coke Oven Construction and Working Company, Limited, Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 281

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—Read 2ª (according to order), and committed 281

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Read 2ª (according to order) 281

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No. 3829.—Turkey (Monastir).

No. 3830. Turkey (Benghazy District).

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No. 3833. Netherlands (Rotterdam) 281

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) 1899.—Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the provisions of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, and the methods followed in carrying out those provisions: Report; Appendix to the Report; Minutes of Evidence; Minority Report 282

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IRISH LAND ACT, 1903 (EVICTED TENANTS).—Special Report by the Estates Commissioners of their proceedings up to 31st May, 1907, in respect of persons applying as evicted tenants or their representatives, for restoration to their former holdings or for parcels of land in lieu thereof under the Irish Land Act, 1903.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie upon the Table 282

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, at half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 18TH JUNE, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

NEW WRIT.—New Writ for the County of Durham (Jarrow Division), in the room of Sir Charles Mark Palmer, baronet, deceased.—(*Mr. Whiteley.*) 282

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH.)—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills that, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Aberdeen Corporation Electricity Bill [Lords.]

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 282

Boston Spa Gas Bill; Brockenhurst Gas Bill.—Lords Amendments considered and agreed to 283

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (Additional Capital, etc.) Bill; Barry Railway Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 283

St. Neot's Urban District Council Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 283

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow 283

Canal Tolls and Charges (New Junction Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS.]—Read a second time, and committed 283

Ladybank Sewerage Drainage and Water Provisional Order Bill.—Read a second time; to be considered upon Monday next 283

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP H.)—Sir JOSEPH LEESE reported from the Committee on Group H of Private Bills; That, at the Meeting of the Committee this day, notice was received from Sir Walter Nugent, one of the Members of the said Committee, stating that he was unable, on account of an urgent public engagement ,to attend the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table 283

STANDING ORDERS.—Resolutions reported from the Select Committee—

"That, in the case of the Coventry Corporation Water Bill [Lords] the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with:—That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

"That, in the case of the Midland Railway Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with :—That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

Resolutions agreed to 283

Devonport Corporation Bill [LORDS].—Reported from the Police and Sanitary Committee, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table and to be printed 284

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to: Brecon and Merthyr Tydfil Junction Railway Bill; Port Talbot Railway and Docks Bill, without Amendments.

Amendments to: Manchester Ship Canal (Various Powers) Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Education under the Education Acts, 1870 to 1903, to enable the London County Council to put in force the Lands Clauses Acts." [Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London No. 2) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under The General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Pwllheli." [Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under The Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Dorking Water, Freshwater Gas, New Tredegar Gas and Water, Skegness Gas and Woking District Gas." [Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Acts for appointing a stipendiary justice of the peace for the parish of Merthyr Tydfil and adjoining places; to provide for the application of those Acts in the event of the grant of a separate commission of the peace for the borough of Merthyr Tydfil; and for other purposes." [Merthyr Tydfil Stipendiary Justice Bill [Lords.]

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And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for conferring powers on the Imperial Tramways Company, Limited, for constructing a tramway and widening and altering roads in the North Riding of the County of York; and for other purposes." [Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill [Lords] 284

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Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) (Departmental Committee).—Copy presented, of Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the Provisions of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, together with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence, and Minority Report [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 286

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Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 204.]

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Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 245] 346

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A: Mr. T. W. Russell; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Rendall.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Sir Edward Boyle; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Viscount Turnour.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Attorney-General; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Solicitor-General.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Incest Bill): Mr. Goddard Clarke; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. William Pearce (in respect of the Incest Bill).

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON BURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had added to Standing Committee A the following Fifteen Members (in respect of the Leeds (South Parade Chapel) Charity, the Kingswood (Whitfield Tabernacle, Schoolroom, etc.) Charity, the Longton (Caroline Street Chapel) Charity, and the Board of Education (Hulme Trust Estates Educational (Confirmation Bills): Mr. Burdett-Coutts, Mr. Barran, Mr. Billson, Mr. O'Neill, Mr. Lewis Haslam, Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. Hay Morgan, Sir Henry Seymour King, Mr. Everett, Mr. Liddell, Mr. Leicester Harmsworth, Mr. Whitwell Wilson, Mr. Marnham, Mr. William Jones, and Mr. Watt.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C: Mr. Walter Long, Earl Percy, and Mr. Abel Smith; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Cave, Mr. George Faber, and Mr. Gretton.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Kearley, Mr. Idris, Mr. Hart-Davies, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Findlay, Mr. Duckworth, Mr. James Duncan, Mr. Paul, Sir Albert Spicer, Sir Philip Magnus, and Mr. Thornton; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Rowlands, Mr. Leif Jones, Mr. Essex, Mr. Nussey, Major Dunne, Mr. Montagu, Mr. Lane-Fox, and Mr. Bridgeman.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had added to Standing Committee C the following Fifteen Members (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. Nicholls, Mr. George Roberts, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Courthope, Mr. Hicks Beach, Mr. Ernest Gardner, Mr. Burns, Mr. Lambert, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Dudley Ward, Mr. Winfrey, Sir John Dickson-Poynder, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Ellis Davies.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills (added in respect of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill): Lord Willoughby de Eresby: and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill): Mr. Starkey.

Reports to lie upon the Table 347

MONASTIC AND CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.

Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.) 348

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Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to appoint a Commission to inquire as to the need for the inspection of Monastic and Conventual Institutions."—(*Mr. T. L. Corbett.*)

Mr. William Redmond (*Clare, E.*) 350

Question put.
The House divided:—Ayes, 125; Noes, 121. (Division List No. 240.)

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. L. Corbett, Mr. Hugh Barrie, and Mr. Harmood-Banner.

Monastic and Conventual Institutions Bill.—"To appoint a Commission to inquire as to the need for the inspection of Monastic and Conventual Institutions," presented accordingly and read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 249.]

Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill.—As amended, further considered.

Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*) 355
Captain Craig (*Down, E.*) 358

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 13, line 6, to leave out Clause 16."—(*Sir Gilbert Parker.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out, to the word 'to' in line 8, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*) 360
The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Haldane, Haddington*) 361
Colonel Sandys (*Lancashire, Bootle*) 364
Major Seely (*Liverpool, Abercromby*) 365
Mr. Arnold-Forster (*Croydon*) 367
Mr. Acland (*Yorkshire, Richmond*) 369
Sir Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*) 369
Mr. McCrae (*Edinburgh, E.*) 372
Col. Kenyon-Slaney (*Shropshire, Newport*) 373
Mr. Wyndham 374
Mr. Haldane 374

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out, to the word 'to,' in line 8, stand part of the Bill," put, and agreed to.

Mr. Ashley (*Lancashire, Blackpool*) 375
Sir Howard Vincent 377

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 13, line 8, after the word 'Majesty,' to insert the words 'subject to the proviso that units consisting mainly of men whose service would be required in civil employment in time of war shall only be called out to repel invasion.'"—(*Mr. Ashley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Wyndham 378
Mr. Haldane 380
Mr. A. J. Balfour (City of London) 382
Mr. Wedgewood (Newcastle-under-Lyme) 383
Mr. Arnold-Forster (Croydon) 385
Mr. Courthope (Sussex, Rye) 386
Capt. Craig 386
Mr. A. J. Balfour 388

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In page 13, line 11, after the word 'Force' to insert the words 'and in particular to make such special arrangements as they may think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services are required in other than a military capacity.'"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Haldane 388
Mr. Carlile (Hertfordshire, St. Albans) 389

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Wyndham 390

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In page 13, line 14, after the words 'Army Reserve' to insert the words 'excepting men enlisted under Clause 29.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Haldane 390

Question put, and negatived.
Viscount Castlereagh (Maidstone) 391
Captain Craig 391

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In page 13, line 16, to leave out the words 'the men belonging to' and insert the words 'or any part of.'"—(*Viscount Castlereagh.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Haldane 392
Mr. Wyndham 392
Mr. Ashley 392

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 238 ; Noes, 71. (Division List No. 241.)
Sir Howard Vincent 395
Mr. Ashley 395

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Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 14, line 2, after the word 'effect' to insert the words 'upon the expiration of thirty days notice.'"—(*Sir Howard Vincent.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Haldane .. 396
Viscount Castlereagh .. 397
Capt. Craig .. 397
Mr. McCrae .. 398

Proposed words inserted in the proposed Amendment.

Mr. Wyndham .. 399
Mr. Haldane .. 400

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 56 ; Noes, 222. (Division List No. 242.)

Mr. Ashley .. 403
Viscount Castlereagh .. 403

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 15, line 1, to leave out from the word 'sections,' to end of subsection (2) of Clause 19."—(*Mr. Ashley.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Haldane .. 404
Viscount Valentia (Oxford) .. 404
Captain Craig .. 405
Mr. Lupton (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) .. 405
Mr. Haldane .. 406
Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley) .. 406
Mr. J. Ward (Stoke-on-Trent) .. 407
Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) .. 407
Mr. Guy Baring (Winchester) .. 409
Mr. W. T. Wilson (Lancashire, Westhoughton) .. 409
Mr. Acland .. 410
Mr. Lane-Fox (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash) .. 410
Mr. McCrae .. 411

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 190 ; Noes, 74. (Division List No. 243)

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 15, line 5, at the end, to add the words, 'Where a man of the Territorial Force commits the offence of desertion under this section the time which elapsed between the time of his committing the offence and the time of his apprehension or voluntary surrender shall not be taken into account in reckoning his service for the purpose of discharge.'"—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 15, lines 13 and 14, to leave out the words 'less than twenty shillings and not more than' and insert 'exceeding.'"—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Lord Balcarres 414
The Financial Secretary to the War Office (*Mr. Buchanan, Perthshire E.*) 414
Mr. Arnold-Forster 415
Mr. Carlile 415

Question put, and negatived.

Proposed word there inserted in the Bill.

Captain Craig 415
Viscount Castlereagh 417

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 15, line 15, to leave out the words 'the prescribed,' and insert the words 'his commanding'"—(*Captain Craig*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Buchanan 418
Sir Howard Vincent 419
Mr. Arnold-Forster 419
Mr. Buchanan 420
Mr. Wyndham 421
Mr. Courtenay Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 421
Mr. Stanley Wilson (*Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness*) 422
Mr. Haldane 423
Sir A. Acland-Hood (*Somersetshire, Wellington*) 423
Mr. Lane-Fox 424
Sir Samuel Scott (*Marylebone, W.*) 424
Major Anstruther-Gray (*St. Andrews Burghs*) 424
Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 260 ; Noes, 102. (Division List No. 244.)

Sir Howard Vincent 427
Mr. Ashley 429

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 16, line 9, to leave out sub-section (1) of Clause 23."—(*Sir Howard Vincent.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Haldane 430
Mr. Ward 430

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 270 ; Noes, 123. (Division List No. 245.)
And, it being after half-past Ten of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded, in pursuance of the Order of the House of 6th May, successively to put forthwith the Questions on any Amendments moved by the Government, of which notice had been given.

Amendments—

"In Clause 24, page 17, lines 10 and 11, to leave out the words 'tried by both of those courts,' and insert the words 'liable to be tried both by a court-martial and by a court of summary jurisdiction.'"

"In Clause 27, page 18, line 25, after the word 'defence,' to insert the words 'and shall be liable to dismissal as a punishment.'"

"In Schedule 1, page 25, line 42, at the end, to insert, 'S. 181 (6).' After the word 'Volunteers' there shall be inserted the words 'or the Territorial Force.'"—

Agreed to.

Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

Destructive Insects and Pests Bill.

Considered in Committee.

[Mr. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) in the Chair.]

Clause 1 :—

Sir Edward Strachey (*Somersetshire, S.*) 435

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, to insert the words, 'Provided that the Board shall not make an order directing the payment of compensation by any local authority for the removal or destruction of any crop or any trees or bushes unless the local authority consent to make the payment.'"—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Stanley Wilson 436

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, was agreed to.

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Clause 2 was agreed to.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

Education Acts Amendment Bill.—Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time." 436

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Mr. Whiteley*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at four minutes before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 19TH JUNE, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill.—As amended, to be considered To-morrow 437

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 437

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP H).—Ordered, That the said William Parker Cogan do attend the Committee on Group H of Private Bills during the proceedings on the Selsey Water Bill [Lords] 437

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).—Sir HENRY KIMBER reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, one of the Members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

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STANDING COMMITTEES (CHAIRMEN'S PANEL).—Mr. STUART WORTLEY reported from the Chairmen's Panel; That they had appointed Mr. Stuart Wortley to act as Chairman of Standing Committee C, in the place of Mr. Laurence Hardy.

Report to lie upon the Table 437

Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [LORDS].—Reported from the Select Committee on Divorce Bills, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time 438

Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [LORDS].—Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence and Proceedings in the House of Lords on the Second Reading of Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords], together with the Documents deposited in the case, be returned to the House of Lords: And that the Clerk do carry the same.—(*Mr. Attorney-General*) 438

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Education Acts (Amendment) Bill.—Question, Sir Francis Powell (Wigan); Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 487

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GRAND COMMITTEES.—Questions, Mr. A. J. Balfour (City of London), Mr. Walter Long (Dublin, S.), Sir F. Banbury (City of London), Mr. John O'Connor; Answers, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 488

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Leeds (South Parade Chapel) Charity, the Kingswood (Whitfield Tabernacle, Schoolroom, etc.) Charity, the Longton (Caroline Street Chapel) Charity, and the Board of Education (Hulme Trust Estates Educational) Confirmation Bills): Mr. Secretary Gladstone and Mr. Herbert Samuel; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the said Bills): Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Lough.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee B (in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Bridgeman; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Salter.

Reports to lie upon the Table 491

Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill.—Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

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Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 503
Mr. Gwynn (Galway) 512
Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.) 515
Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central) 521
Mr. Lea (St. Pancras, E.) 526
Mr. Arthur Henderson (Durham, Barnard Castle) 529
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Mr. Rees (Montgomery Boroughs) 553
Mr. Courthope (Sussex, Rye) 560
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Colonel Kenyon-Slaney (Shropshire, Newport) 567
Major Seely (Liverpool, Abercromby) 573
Major Anstruther-Gray (St. Andrews Burghs) 576

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 286; Noes, 63. (Division List No. 246.)

Bill read the third time, and passed.

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Destructive Insects and Pests Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed 579

Limited Partnerships Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered; read the third time, and passed 579

Municipal Elections Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered; to be read the third time upon Friday 579

Adjourned at eleven minutes after Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 20TH JUNE, 1907.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Killery's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read; Counsel called in; witnesses examined; Moved that the Bill be now read 2ª; the same was agreed to. Bill read 2ª accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next 581

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.—Read 1ª; to be printed, and referred to the Examiners. (No. 80) 581

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª (according to order) 581

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) [H.L.]

The same was ordered to lie on the Table 581

Grays and Tilbury Gas Bill.—Read 3ª, and passed 581

Yorks (Micklegate) Strays Bill [H.L.]; Pasley Children Legitimisation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons 581

Taff Vale Railway Bill; Great Yarmouth Port and Haven Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments; and passed, and returned to the Commons 581

London County Council (Money) Bill.—Committed 581

Brockenhurst Gas Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to 581

Boston Spa Gas Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 581

Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [H.L.].—Minutes of Evidence and proceedings before this House on the Second Reading, together with the documents deposited in the case, returned from the Commons 582

Great Northern and City Railway Bill.—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 30th of May last and the 4th instant discharged, and Bill committed 582

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES: ANNUAL.—No. 523. Ashanti (Report for 1906). Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 582

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).—Return of all loans raised in India chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended the 31st March, 1907, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc. 582

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.—List of all pensions granted during the year ended the 31st March, 1907, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 582

BOARD OF EDUCATION (BUILDING REGULATIONS, ELEMENTARY).—Building regulations, being principles to be observed in planning and fitting up new buildings for public elementary schools; together with rules as to construction and certain requirements as to plans. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 582

Destructive Insects and Pests Bil [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill.—Brought from the Commons and read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday next.—(*The Earl of Portsmouth.*) (No. 78) 583

Limited Partnerships Bill.—Brought from the Commons and read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 79) 583

Statute Law Revision Bill [H.L.].—Bill read 3^a (according to order.)

The Lord Chancellor (*Lord Loreburn*) 583

Moved, "That the Amendments be added to the Bill."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 20TH JUNE, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill (by Order).—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 584

United Methodist Church Bill [Lords].—Mr. Essex, Mr. Ferens, Mr. Gwynn, Sir John Randles, and Mr. Luke White nominated Members of the Select Committee on the United Methodist Church Bill [Lords].—(*Mr. Whiteley*) .. 584

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 584

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to Amendments to Metropolitan Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [Lords] 584

Simon Carves Bye-Product Coke Oven Construction and Working Company, Limited, Bill [Lords].—Without Amendment 584

Harrison's Patent Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time 584

Birmingham Corporation Water Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time 584

PETITIONS.

Congo Free State.—Petition from Wisbech, for protection of the Native Races; to lie upon the Table 584

Education (Scotland) Bill.—Petitions for alteration; From Lanark; and Urquhart; to lie upon the Table 585

Infant Life Protection Bill.—Petition from Bermondsey, in favour; to lie upon the Table 585

Marriage With a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.—Petitions against: From Chorleywood; and Holborn; to lie upon the Table 585

Newfoundland Fisheries.—Petition from Birmingham, for inquiry; to lie upon the Table 585

Notification of Births Bill.—Petition from Bermondsey, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 585

Vaccination Bill.—Petition from Bermondsey, in favour; to lie upon the Table 585

Weekly Rest-Day Bill.—Petition from Norbury and other places, in favour; to lie upon the Table 585

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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).—Copy presented, of Report No. 253 (Ashanti, Annual Report for 1906) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 585

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.—Copy presented, of List of all Pensions granted during the year ended 31st March, 1907, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of The Civil List, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the table and to be printed. [No. 206] 585

EAST INDIA (EXCISE COMMITTEE).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 12th June; Mr. Herbert Roberts]; to lie upon the Table 585

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3834 and 3835 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 585

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GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (CONTRACTS).—Return ordered, "of all Contracts made in the United Kingdom for manufactured articles by the several Government Departments in the year ending the 31st day of March, 1907, either with contractors outside the United Kingdom or with contractors or agents who obtain the articles from Abroad (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 283, of Session 1906.)"—(*Sir Howard Vincent*) 586

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SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND SPOTTED FEVER.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 600

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BRIGANDAGE IN TURKEY—MR. ABBOTT'S RANSOM.—Question, Mr. Fell; Answer, Sir Edward Grey 610

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.—Question, Mr. Alden (Middlesex, Tottenham), Mr. Bowles (Lambeth, Norwood); Answer, Sir Edward Grey 611

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BELFAST STRIKE.—Questions, Mr. C. Duncan (Barrow-in-Furness), Mr. Sloan, Captain Craig; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Birrell, Bristol, N.) 625

DERRINLAUGH GRAZING FARM DISPUTE.—Question, Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid); Answer, Mr. Birrell 626

ROXBURGH GRAZING FARM DISPUTE.—Question, Mr. Lonsdale; Answer, Mr. Birrell 626

HOPE ESTATE, CASTLEBLAYNEY.—Question, Mr. McKean (Monaghan, S.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 627

LIMAVADY POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Barrie (Londonderry, N.); Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 628

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND.—Question, Mr. Byles; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs) 629

GRANTS OF DISTRESS COMMITTEES.—Question, Mr. Lea (St. Pancras, E.); Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 630

LONDON REFORMS.—Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 631

TRANSVAAL LOAN.—Question, Mr. Fell; Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 630

THE HOUSE OF LORDS RESOLUTION.

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Sterling Burghs) 631

Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, W.) 633

Mr. A. J. Balfour (City of London) 635

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.) 636

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House of Lords (Restriction of Powers) Bill.—" So to restrict the power of the House of Lords to alter or reject Bills passed by the House of Commons as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the House of Commons shall prevail," presented by Lord Robert Cecil ; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 251] .. 637

Imported Watch Cases Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee C.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 207.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed.

[No. 207] 637

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 250.]

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES). — Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection ; that they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Leeds (South Parade Chapel) Charity, the Kingswood (Whitfield Tabernacle, Schoolroom, etc.) Charity, the Longton (Caroline Street Chapel) Charity, and the Board of Education (Hulme Trust Estates Educational) Confirmation Bill) : Mr. Lough ; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the said Bills) : Mr. McKenna.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee ; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee B (added in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill) : Mr. Silcock ; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill) : Mr. Atherley Jones.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee ; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill) : Sir John Benn, Major McMicking, Mr. Munro Ferguson, and Mr. Whitehead ; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill) : Sir John Bethell, Mr. Guest, Mr. Wedgwood, and Mr. Soares.

Reports to lie upon the Table 638

SUPPLY [11TH JUNE] [13TH] ALLOTTED DAY]

Resolutions reported.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1907–8.

1. " That a sum, not exceeding £1,996,400, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expense of Victualling and Clothing for the Navy, including the cost of Victualling Establishments at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1908."

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1907–8.

2. " That a sum, not exceeding £4,060,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for Supplies and Clothing, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1908."

3. " That a sum, not exceeding £1,671,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for Armaments and Engineer Stores, including Technical Committees, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1908."

4 " That a sum, not exceeding £2,436,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for Barrack Construction, for Purchases of Land, and for Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home and Abroad (including Staff in connection therewith), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1908."

First Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Mr. Bowles (Lambeth, Norwood) 639

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the debate be now adjourned." —*(Mr. Bowles.)*

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs) 639

Sir A. Acland-Hood (Somersetshire, Wellington) 640
Mr. J. A. Pease (Essex, Saffron Walden) 640
Sir A. Acland-Hood 640

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 62 ; Noes, 239. (Division List No. 247.)

Original Question again proposed.

Sir F. Banbury (City of London) 643
The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Edmund Robertson, Dundee) .. 644
Mr. Austin Chamberlain (Worcestershire, E.) 645
The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane, Haddington) 646
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 648
Viscount Turnour (Sussex, Horsham) 648
Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.) 648
Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.) 649
Mr. Forster (Kent, Sevenoaks) 651
Mr. Courthope (Sussex, Rye) 652
Mr. Arthur Lee (Hants, Fareham) 652
Mr. Edmund Robertson 653
Mr. Austin Chamberlain 653

Question put, and agreed to.

Second Resolution read a second time.

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Mr. Summerbell (Sunderland) 654
Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 655
Mr. Joyce (Limerick) 655
Mr. Rees (Montgomery Boroughs) 655
Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley) 655

Resolution agreed to.

Third Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Mr. Bellairs (Lynn Regis) 657
Mr. Courthope 660
Mr. Leverton Harris 662
Mr. Haldane 662
Sir F. Banbury 665
Mr. Cochrane (Ayrshire, N.) 665
Mr. Haldane 665
Mr. Bright (Oldham) 665
Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley) 666
Mr. Haldane 666
Captain Craig (Down, E.) 667
Major Anstruther-Gray 667
The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Buchanan, Perthshire) 668
Viscount Turnour 668
Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch) 668

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 240; Noes, 60. (Division List No. 248.)

Fourth Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Viscount Turnour 671
Major Anstruther-Gray 673
Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.) 674
Mr. McCrae 675
Mr. Buchanan 676
Mr. A. J. Balfour (City of London) 677
Mr. C. E. Price (Edinburgh, Central) 679
Mr. Claude Hay 679
Mr. Gulland (Dumfries Burghs) 680
Mr. J. F. Mason (Windsor) 681
Mr. Watt (Glasgow, College) 681
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 681
Mr. Bellairs 682
Mr. George Faber (York) 682
Mr. Arnold Forster (Croydon) 683
Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central) 685
Mr. Mond (Chester) 686
Mr. Cochrane (Ayrshire, N.) 687

Sir F. Cawley (Lancashire, Prestwich) 688
Mr. Stanley Wilson (Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness) 688
Colonel Kenyon Slaney (Shropshire, Newport) 689
Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.) 690
Sir F. Banbury 690
Mr. Buchanan 690
Lord Balcarres 691

And, it being a quarter-past eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further proceeding was postponed without Question put.

London Electric Supply Bill [BY ORDER].—Second Reading deferred till Thursday next.

SUPPLY [11TH JUNE] REPORT.

Postponed Proceedings on Question, " That this House doth agree with the Committee in the Fourth Resolution, 'That a sum, not exceeding £2,436,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for Barrack Construction, for Purchases of Land, and for Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad (including Staff in connection therewith), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1908,' "—resumed.

Mr. Buchanan 694
Mr. Rees 694

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 184 ; Noes, 40. (Division List No. 249.)

SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1907–8.

CLASS II

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum, not exceeding £35,700, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1908, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

Mr. Fell (Great Yarmouth) 697

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum not exceeding £35,600 be granted for the said service."—(*Mr. Fell.*)

Page

Mr. Summerbell (Sunderland) 700
Mr. Joyce (Limerick) 704
Mr. Mackarness (Berkshire, Newbury) 705
Dr. Rutherford (Middlesex, Brentford) 707
Mr. Lyttelton (St. George's, Hanover Square) 710
The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.) 719

And, it being Eleven of the Clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again upon Monday next.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the House do now adjourn."

Major Seely (Liverpool, Abercromby) 730
Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.) 731
Mr. Asquith 731
Mr. A. J. Balfour 731
Mr. George Whiteley 732

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at seventeen minutes after Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 21st JUNE, 1907.

The House sat at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (Additional Capital, etc.) Bill ; Barry Railway Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 733

Sutton Coldfield Rectory Bill [LORDS]. As amended, considered. To be read the third time 733

PETITIONS.

ADULT (WOMEN AND MEN) ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.—Petition from Bermondsey, against ; to lie upon the Table 733

BUTTER AND MARGARINE BILL.—Petition from Manchester, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table 733

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petitions for alteration : From Benholm ; Boharm ; Enzie ; and, Rothiemay ; to lie upon the Table 733

LONDON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLL) BILL.—Petition from Bermondsey, in favour ; to lie upon the Table 733

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MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.—Petition from Upper Norwood, against; to lie upon the Table 733

MUNICIPAL MILK DEPOTS BILL.—Petition of the Royal Sanitary Institute, in favour; to lie upon the Table 733

NOTIFICATION OF BIRTHS BILL.—Petition of the Royal Sanitary Institute, in favour; to lie upon the Table 733

PAUPER LUNATICS (COST OF MAINTENANCE).—Petition from Hexham, for legislation; to lie upon the Table 733

WEEKLY REST-DAY BILL.—Petitions in favour; from Harlesden and other places; and, London; to lie upon the Table 734

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

AMERICAN MAIL SERVICE.—Return [presented 20th June]; to be printed. [No. 208] 734

EAST INDIA (EXCISE COMMITTEE).—Return [presented 20th June]; to be printed. [No. 209] 734

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).—Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 31st March, 1907, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 210] 734

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Copy presented, of Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, that they are of opinion that the City of Glasgow Order ought to be dealt with by Private Bill and not by Provisional Order [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 211] 734

FINANCE ACCOUNTS.—Copy presented, of Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ended 31st March, 1907 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 212] 734

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of General Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers 1903-1907, with Historical Introduction [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 734

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Draft Order in Council continuing certain provisions in the Order in Council of 6th March, 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 734

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

WOOLWICH ARSENAL—SERVICE OF MEN DISCHARGED.—Question, Sir J. Randles (Cumberland, Cockermouth); Answer, Mr. Haldane 736

IRISH LAND ACT AND HOLDINGS IN TOWNS AND VILLAGES.—Question, Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 736

EVICTED TENANTS—APPLICATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MAURICE COWHEY.—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick, W.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 737

PAYMENT BY POST OFFICE OF PIER DUES FOR PARCELS AT INNELLAN.—Question, Mr. Lamont (Buteshire); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 737

POSTAL FACILITIES AT SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Question, Mr. Whitehead (Essex, S.E.) Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 738

BONDED WAREHOUSE ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUSTOMS SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Runciman 738

CUSTOMS BONDED WAREHOUSES.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Runciman 738

VOTERS LISTS AT ENNISKILLEN.—Question, Mr. Dolan (Leitrim, N.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 739

NEWPORT (COUNTY MAYO) POLICE ACTING AS WATER BAILIFFS.—Question, Dr. Ambrose (Mayo, W.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 740

HEAD CONSTABLE MAGEE OF NEWPORT, COUNTY MAYO.—Question, Dr. Ambrose Answer, Mr. Birrell 740

ERECTION OF NEW VICTORIA BARRACKS AT WINDSOR.—Question, Mr. J. F Mason (Windsor); Answer, Mr. Haldane 741

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE).

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 741

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House at its rising To-day do adjourn until To-morrow, at ten of the Clock."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.) 742
Mr. A. J. Balfour (City of London) 744
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 746

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

British North America Bill.—Order for the Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed—"That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Forster (Kent, Sevenoaks) 748
Mr. H. Greenwood (York) 751
Sir F. Banbury (City of London) 752
The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.) 753
Sir J. Jardine (Roxburghshire) 754
Mr. R. Duncan (Lanarkshire, Govan) 755

Question put, and agreed to

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Bill read a second time.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Monday next.—(*Mr. Churchill.*)

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS (EXPENSES).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of money provided by Parliament, of the salaries, remuneration, and expenses of the Small Holdings Commissioners and other officers appointed under any Act of the present session to amend the law with respect to small holdings and allotments; and to authorise the payment to the Small Holdings Account of the costs and expenses of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries incurred in pursuance of such Act."—(*Mr. Harcourt.*)

Mr. Chaplin (*Surrey, Wimbledon*) 756
The First Commissioner of Works (*Mr. Harcourt, Lancashire, Rossendale*) 758
Mr. Hicks Beach (*Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury*) 759
Sir F. Banbury 760

Amendment proposed—

"In line 2, after the word 'payment,' to insert the words 'a sum not exceeding £20,000 per annum."—(*Sir F. Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Cave (*Surrey, Kingston*) 761
Mr. Harcourt 762
Mr. Walter Long (*Dublin, S.*) 762
Mr. Munro Ferguson (*Leith Burghs*) 763
Mr. Jesse Collings (*Birmingham, Bordesley*) 764
Mr. Chaplin 765
Sir F. Banbury 766
Mr. Harcourt 767
Mr. Jesse Collings 768
Mr. Courthope (*Sussex, Rye*) 768
Captain Craig (*Down, E.*) 769
Sir F. Banbury 770
Mr. Harcourt 770
Mr. Walter Long 771
Colonel Lockwood (*Essex, Epping*) 772
Mr. T. L. Corbett (*Down, N.*) 773
Lord Balcarres (*Lancashire, Chorley*) 774
Mr. Fell (*Great Yarmouth*) 774
Mr. Abel Smith (*Herts., Hertford*) 776
Mr. Hicks Beach 776
Captain Craig 777

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Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 36 ; Noes, 215. (Division List No. 250.)

Mr. Jesse Collings 779
Mr. Harcourt 780

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next.

The House resumed, Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair.

Telegraph (Money Bill).—Order for Second Reading read.

The Postmaster-General (*Mr. Sydney Buxton, Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) .. 781

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Harold Cox (*Preston*) 783
Mr. Ridsdale (*Brighton*) 791

Amendment proposed—

" To leave out from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, and add the words 'it is undesirable to authorise further capital expenditure upon telegraphs or telephones until a full statement has been presented to Parliament showing the financial results of the past working of the Post Office telegraphs and telephones judged from the standpoint of an ordinary commercial undertaking.' "—(*Mr. Harold Cox.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Jowett (*Bradford, W.*) 793
Viscount Turnour (*Sussex, Horsham*) 794
Sir Edward Sassoon (*Hythe*) 795
Mr. Lupton (*Lincolnshire, Sleaford*) 796
Sir F. Banbury 797

And, it being Five of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

House of Lords (Restriction of Powers) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 800

Petty Sessions Clerks (Ireland) Bill.—Read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee.. 800

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection ; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill) : Mr. Solicitor-General ; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill) : Mr. Attorny-General for Ireland.

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. Charles Duncan and Mr. Atherley-Jones; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. W. Tyson Wilson and Mr. Silcock 800

Reports to lie upon the Table.

Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 800

Private Bills (Group G).—Sir Henry Kimber reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, one of the Members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table 800

Whereupon Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No. 3.

Adjourned at eight minutes after Five o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 24TH JUNE, 1907.

Lord Lucas.—The House being informed that his Lordship was attending with his writ of summons, the Lord Chancellor explained to the House his Lordship's descent. Then his Lordship was called in and took the Oath, and then took his place on the Baron's Bench next below the Lord Byron 801

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments has laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Sunderland Corporation.

Also the Certificate that no further Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill:—Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 4) [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 801

Hull and Barnsley Railway Bill.—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 801

Annfield Plain and District Gas Bill; City of London (Union of Parishes) Bill [H.L.]; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Collooney, Ballina, and Belmullet Railways and Piers Bill.—Leave given to the Select Committee not to sit again till Wednesday next 801

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London United Tramways Bill.—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the Opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The order made on the 5th instant discharged, and Bill committed 801

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Bill.—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The order made on the 11th instant discharged, and Bill committed 801

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Committed 802

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (Additional Capital, etc.) Bill; Barry Railway Bill; Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill.—Brought from the Commons, read 1ª, and referred to the Examiners 802

Great Central Railway Bill; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.] (Herts and Essex Water Order); Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (West Ham Corporation Order); London and North Western Railway Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills, viz.:—

E. Dartmouth.

L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*).

L. Leigh.

L. Monk Bretton.

L. Hindlip.

agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly: The Committee to meet on Wednesday next, at Eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills 802

Neath, Pontardawe, and Brynaman Railway Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment 802

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Colonies: Annual.—No. 524. Jamaica (Report for 1905–1906) 802

Board of Education.—General Report on the instruction and training of pupil teachers, 1903–1907, with Historical Introduction 802

Trade Reports: I. Annual Series.

No. 3834. Russia (Odessa).

No. 3835. Russia (Finland).

No. 3836. Spain (Barcelona).

No. 3837. China (Newchwang).

No. 3838. Turkey (Aleppo) 803

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II. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 661. Germany (Vine Culture and Wine Trade) 803

TUBERCULOSIS (HUMAN AND BOVINE).—Second Interim Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the relations of human and animal tuberculosis. Appendix, Vol. 1 803

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1898.—Return showing the total payments into and out of the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account for the financial year 1906–1907 803

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND CORPORATION.—Third Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, for the year 1906.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 803

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Order in Council continuing certain provisions contained in the Order in Council of 6th March, 1902 803

ARMY.—Declaration by the Secretary of State for War as to classes of persons not to be transferred to detention barracks in the United Kingdom 803

PRIVATE PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, under Section 2 of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899—

That the provisions of the City of Glasgow Order are of such a character that they ought to be dealt with by Private Bill and not by Provisional Order.

That, save as aforesaid, the Provisional Orders be allowed to proceed, subject to such recommendations as may be hereafter made with respect to the several orders 803

FINANCE.—Finance accounts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the financial year ended 31st March, 1907 804

COUNTY COURT FEES (ENGLAND).—Treasury Order, dated 30th May, 1907, regulating fees in county courts 804

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.—Account prepared in pursuance of the Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 1875, showing the receipts and expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal during the year ended the 31st March, 1907 804

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.—Accounts of all deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1906; together with statement showing the aggregate amount of liabilities of the Government to depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank on 31st December, 1906, and the nature and amount of the securities held by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to meet those liabilities at that date.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 804

THE CARRIAGE OF DECK-LOADS.

Lord Muskerry .. 804
Lord Kelvin .. 811
The Earl of Granard .. 812

THE STATE OF IRELAND.

The Earl of Arran .. 813
Lord Denman .. 819
Lord Clonbrock .. 822
The Lord Chancellor (Lord Loreburn) .. 824
Lord Ashbourne .. 828
The Earl of Mayo .. 832
The Earl of Donoughmore .. 833
The Lord President of the Council (The Earl of Crewe) .. 835
The Marquess of Londonderry .. 841

THE MARSHALL ISLANDS.

The Earl of Jersey .. 845
The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Fitzmaurice) 845

INTERNATIONAL LOAD LINE.

The Marquess of Salisbury .. 846
Lord Fitzmaurice .. 846

THE REORGANISATION OF THE ARMY—POSITION OF THE MILITIA.

The Earl of Wemyss .. 847
The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Portsmouth) .. 848

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 24TH JUNE, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—North British Railway Bill [Lords]; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill [Lords]; Merthyr Tydfil Stipendiary Justice Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time .. 849

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz.:—Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (Surrey, etc.) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time To-morrow 849

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 849

Harrison's Patent Bill [LORDS]; Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment .. 849

Aberdeen Corporation Electricity Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time, and committed 850

Coventry Corporation Bill [LORDS]; Glasgow Corporation Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed 850

National Trusts for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty Bill [LORDS]; Oxford and District Tramways Bill [Lords]; Sheffield Corporation Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed 850

St. Neot's Urban District Council Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 850

Tynemouth Corporation (Water) Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—Read a second time, and committed 850

Ladybank Sewerage Drainage and Water Provisional Order Bill.—Considered; to be read the third time upon Thursday 850

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill (BY ORDER).—Read a second time; and ordered to be considered upon Thursday 850

Lower Thames Tunnel Railways Bill—Order [13th June] that the Lower Thames Tunnel Railways Bill be committed, read and discharged. Bill withdrawn.—(*Mr. Caldwell*) 850

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to:—Grays and Tilbury Gas Bill, without Amendment.

Taff Vale Railway Bill; Great Yarmouth and Port and Haven Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled "An Act for further promoting the revision of the Statute Law by repealing enactments which have ceased to be in force or have become unnecessary." [Statute Law Revision Bill [Lords.]

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Also a Bill intituled, " An Act to enable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of York to acquire the rights of the freemen and others in or in respect of certain lands or strays known as the Micklegate Strays, and to make provision for the management thereof; and for other purposes." [York (Micklegate Strays) Bill [Lords.]

And also, a Bill, intituled, " An Act to declare legitimate certain children of Thomas Hamilton Sabine Pasley." [Pasley Children Legitimisation Bill [Lords.] 850

York (Micklegate) Strays Bill [Lords]; Pasley Children Legitimisation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 851

PETITION.

Congo Free State.—Petition from Fulham, for protection of the Native Races; to lie upon the Table 851

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Board of Education.—Paper [presented 21st June] to be printed. [No. 213.] 851

Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation.—Copy presented, of Third Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation for the year 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 851

Tuberculosis (Human and Bovine) (Royal Commission).—Copy presented, of Second Interim Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the relations of Human and Animal Tuberculosis. Appendix, Vol. I. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 851

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3836 to 3838 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 851

Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Report, Miscellaneous Series. No. 661 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 852

Army.—Copy presented, of Declaration by the Secretary of State for War as to classes of Persons not to be transferred to Detention Barracks in the United Kingdom [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 852

Post Office Savings Banks.—Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1906, together with a Statement showing the aggregate amount of the liabilities of the Government to Depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks on the 31st December, 1906, and the nature and amount of the Securities held by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to meet those Liabilities at that date [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 214.] 852

High Court of Justice and Court of Appeal, etc.—Copy presented, of Account showing the Receipts and Expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal during the year ended 31st March, 1907 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 215.] 852

COUNTY COURTS (ENGLAND) (FEES).—Copy presented, of Treasury Order, dated 30th May, 1907, regulating Fees in County Courts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 852

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1898.—Copy presented, of Return showing the Total Payments into and out of the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account for the financial year 1906–7 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 852

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

MAXIMUM WAGE OF ADULT MESSENGERS AT GENERAL POST OFFICE, LONDON.—Question, Mr. Summerbell (Sunderland); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton .. 853

THE O'DONEL ESTATE, COUNTY MAYO.—Question, Dr. Ambrose (Mayo, W.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 853

IRISH EVICTED TENANTS—CASE OF THOMAS BRIDGEMAN.—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick, W.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 854

THE SOUTHERN MOTOR CLUB'S HILL-CLIMBING COMPETITIONS.—Question, Mr. C. H. Corbett (Sussex, East Grinstead); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 854

CAUSE OF DELAY IN CONSTRUCTION OF ARMOURED CRUISER "DEFENCE."—Question, Mr. Nield (Middlesex, Ealing); Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson .. 855

POST OFFICE SERVANTS—SENIORITY OF TRANSFERRED OFFICERS.—Question, Mr. Richardson (Nottingham, S.); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 855

REGISTERED CLUBS.—Question, Mr. Cremer (Shoreditch, Haggerston); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 855

GRANT TO CENTRAL UNEMPLOYED BODY FOR WOMEN'S WORKROOMS.—Question, Mr. T. F. Richards (Wolverhampton, W.); Answer, Mr. John Burns .. 856

IRRIGATED LANDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.—Question, Mr. Rees (Montgomery Boroughs); Answer, Mr. Morley 857

EVICTED TENANTS IN COUNTY CAVAN.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 857

IRELAND'S SHARE OF CUSTOMS AND REVENUE DUTIES.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy; Answer, Mr. Birrell 858

IRISH EVICTED TENANTS—CASE OF JOHN M'MANUS.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy; Answer, Mr. Birrell 858

THE IRISH EDUCATION ACT, 1892, IN COUNTY CAVAN.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy; Answer, Mr. Birrell 859

COMPLETION OF SALE OF ESTATE OF MR. J. SINGLETON. — Question, Mr. Nolan Louth, S.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 860

REPAIRS OF BARRACK BEDDING AT DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Haldane 860

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ARMY PENSIONS—CASE OF HUGO CRAIG.—Question, Mr. W. Benn (Tower Hamlets, St. George's); Answer, Mr. Haldane 861

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EXCHEQUER AND AUDIT DEPARTMENT LUNCHEON ROOM.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Runciman 862

REORGANISATION OF EXCHEQUER AND AUDIT DEPARTMENT—TREATMENT OF OFFICIALS.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Runciman 863

EXCHEQUER AND AUDIT DEPARTMENT—ALLOWANCE AND PENSION OF PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE COMPTROLLER.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Runciman 863

SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Runciman 865

MARKING OF IMPORTS OF FOREIGN YEAST.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 865

ROAD SIGNS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.—Question, Mr. Marnham (Surrey, Chertsey); Answer, Mr. John Burns 866

POOR LAW MAINTENANCE OF RELATIVES.—Question, Mr. Rees; Answer, Mr. John Burns 867

EX-TELEGRAPH MESSENGERS AT DUNDEE—APPOINTMENTS AS POSTMEN.—Question, Mr. Wilkie (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 868

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AMMUNITION ALLOWANCE TO THE FLEETS.—Question, Mr. Nield; Answer, Mr. Lambert 869

SENTENCE ON HENRY BYNE.—Question, Mr. Alden (Middlesex, Tottenham); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 870

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EDUCATION OF CHILDREN ON INDIAN TEA PLANTATIONS.—Question.—Mr. Hicks Beach; Answer, Mr. Morley 871

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SALTBURN GUN PRACTICE ACCIDENT.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Lambert, Devonshire, South Molton) 871

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CHATHAM DOCKYARD.—Question, Mr. Fell; Answer, Mr. Lambert 872

CHATHAM DOCKYARD CHANNEL.—Questions, Mr. Fell, Mr. Arthur Lee; Answer, Mr. Lambert 872

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THE CHANNEL FLEET.—Question, Mr. Bellairs (Lynn Regis), Mr. George Faber York); Answer, Mr. Lambert 873

H.M.S. "TRIUMPH."—Questions, Mr. Bellairs, Viscount Turnour (Sussex, Horsham); Answers, Mr. Lambert 874

RATES ON ORDNANCE FACTORIES.—Question, Mr. Bellairs; Answer, Mr. Lambert 875

DOCKYARD RATES.—Question, Mr. Bellairs; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Runciman, Dewsbury) 875

ABEL HEAT TEST.—Question, Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane, Haddington) 876

GENERAL OFFICERS AND STAFF SALARIES.—Question, Viscount Castlereagh (Maidstone); Answer, Mr. Haldane 876

LYDDITE SHELLS.—Question, Major Anstruther-Gray (St. Andrews Burghs); Answer, Mr. Haldane 876

PIERSHILL BARRACKS.—Questions, Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton), Mr. George Faber; Answer, Mr. Haldane 877

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NEW WAR OFFICE FLAG STAFF.—Questions, Viscount Turnour (Sussex, Horsham); Answers, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Ward (Stoke-on-Trent) 878

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WOOLWICH ARSENAL DISCHARGES.—Questions, Mr. Fell, Major Anstruther-Gray; Answers, Mr. Haldane 878

ORANGE COLONY UPPER HOUSE.—Question, Mr. Alden (Middlesex, Tottenham); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.) 880

REPATRIATION OF CHINESE COOLIES.—Questions, Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid.), Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (Lanarkshire, N.W.), Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley), Sir Gilbert Parker (Gravesend); Answers, Mr. Churchill 880

OPIUM.—Question, Mr. Hart-Davies (Hackney, N.); Answer, Mr. Runciman (for Sir Edward Grey) 882

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TAXATION OF UNWORKED MINING RIGHTS.—Question, Mr. Wedgwood (Newcastle under-Lyme); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.) 883

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WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT—FEMALE MEDICAL REFEREES.—Questions, Mr. Ferens (Hull, E.), Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.) 884

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IMMIGRATION BOARDS.—Questions, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Crooks; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 887

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RAILWAY NATIONALISATION.—Questions, Mr. Chiozza Money, Sir Gilbert Parker; Answers, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs) 889

INCREASED COAL FREIGHTS.—Question, Mr. Chiozza Money; Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 890

GERMAN NATIONAL RAILWAY SYSTEMS.—Questions, Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. Harold Cox (Preston); Answers, Mr. Lloyd-George 890

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S.S. "SIBERIAN."—Question, Mr. Havelock Wilson; Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 894

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INQUIRY INTO THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF GERMANY.—Question, Mr. Pike Pease (Darlington); Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 896

GERMAN TRADE STATISTICS—MARK VALUE.—Question, Mr. Bellairs; Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 896

COLWYN BAY SEWERAGE.—Questions, Mr. Weir, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. John Burns, Battersea) 897

EDUCATION ACT—WEAR AND TEAR CLAUSE.—Question, Mr. Massie (Wiltshire, Cricklade); Answer, Mr. John Burns 898

LABOUR REGISTERS.—Question, Mr. Alden, ; Answer, Mr. John Burns 899

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COMPULSORY NOTIFICATION OF PHTHISIS.—Question, Sir F. Channing; Answer, Mr. John Burns 900

PHTHISIS—DR. BULSTRODE'S REPORT.—Question, Sir F. Channing; Answer, Mr. John Burns 900

TELEPHONE SERVICE — TRUNK CALL FEE. — Question, Sir Gilbert Parker; Answer, The Postmaster-General (Mr. Sydney Buxton, (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) 901

GREAT ROYAL SAXON LOTTERY.—Question, Mr. Watt (Glasgow College); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 901

MEALS FOR INDIGENT CHILDREN.—Question, Mr. Brook (Tower Hamlets, Bow and Bromley); Answer, The President of the Board of Education (Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.) 902

FLINTSHIRE EDUCATION COMMITTEE.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. McKenna 902

CARNARVONSHIRE NON-PROVIDED SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas; Answer, Mr. McKenna 903

ADULTERATION OF FEEDING STUFFS.—Question, Mr. C. E. Price (Edinburgh, Central); Answer, The Treasurer of the Household (Sir Edward Strachey, Somersetshire, S.) 903

NEWSPAPER COMPETITIONS.—Question, Mr. Alden; Answer, The Attorney-General (Sir John Walton, Leeds, S.) 904

DUNCANSTOWN EVICTION.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire) 904

ARDARROCH PIER.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Sinclair 905

MELLON UDRIGLE BOATSLIP.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Sinclair .. 905

ISLAND OF LEWIS SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Sinclair 905

SHADER LANDING PLACE.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Sinclair 905

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SKIGERSTA PIER.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Sinclair 906

DUMBARTON SEWERAGE.—Question, Mr. R. Duncan (Lanarkshire, Govan); Answer, Mr. Sinclair 906

REPORTING GRAND COMMITTEES.—Questions, Mr. Menzies (Lanarkshire, S.), Mr. Laurence Hardy (Kent, Ashford), Viscount Turnour; Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs) 906

HOUSE OF LORDS RESOLUTION.—Question, Mr. Pike Pease; Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 908

MR. SPEAKER AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY.—Mr. SPEAKER informed the House that he had been honoured by the proposal of the University of Oxford to confer upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. If accepted, this would necessitate his absence from this House and his attendance at Oxford on Wednesday next, and asked the indulgence and leave of the House so to absent himself 908

NEW BILLS.

Sale of Food and Drugs Amendment (Scotland) Bill.—"To amend the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875 to 1899," presented by Mr. Mitchell-Thomson; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 3rd July, and to be printed. [Bill 252.] 908

Isle of Man (Customs) Bill.—"To amend the Law with respect to Customs Duties in the Isle of Man," presented by Mr. Runciman; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 253.] 908

Married Women's Property Bill.—Reported, without Amendment, from Standing Committee A.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 216.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 216.]

Bill [not amended] to be taken into consideration To-morrow 909

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs) 909

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."—(*Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Mr. A. J. Balfour. (City of London) 926
Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe) 941
Mr. Ridsdale (Brighton) 947
Mr. Remnant (Finsbury Holborn) 951

Mr. Belloc (Salford, S.) 954
Mr. Butcher (Cambridge University) 958
Mr. Duncan Schwann (Cheshire, Hyde) 963
Mr. Evelyn Cecil (Aston Manor) 968
Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs) 973

And, it being a quarter past Eight of the Clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further proceeding was postponed without Question put.

North Staffordshire Railway Bill (BY ORDER) (KING'S CONSENT SIGNIFIED.)—Bill read the third time, and passed 975

Central London Railway Bill (BY ORDER).—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 975

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Postponed Proceeding on Question, "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail,".

Mr. Munro Ferguson 975
Mr. Samuel Roberts (Sheffield, Ecclesall) 976
Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.) 980
Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central) 982
Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) 985
Mr. C. Duncan (Barrow-in-Furness) 989
Mr. Hemmerde (Denbighshire, E.) 992
Sir William Anson (Oxford University) 997
The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Herbert Samuel, Yorkshire, Cleveland) 1003

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Arthur Lee,*)—put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

British North America Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committe.)

Clause 1 :—

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

Sir F. Banbury (City of London) 1012

And it being Eleven of the Clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS [EXPENSES].

Resolution reported; "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of money provided by Parliament, of the salaries, remuneration, and expenses of the Small Holdings Commissioners and other officers appointed under any Act of the present Session to amend the Law with respect to Small Holdings and Allotments; and to authorise the payment to the Small Holdings Account of the costs and expenses of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries incurred in pursuance of such Act."

Resolution agreed to 1012

Adjourned at five minutes after Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 25TH JUNE, 1907.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Barry Railway; Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (Additional Capital, etc.); Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers).

Also the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1013

Rawtenstall Corporation Bill; Alton Military Hospital Bill (H.L.); South Wales Mineral Railway Bill.—Reported, with Amendments - - 1013

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill (H.L.]; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, and committed to Committee of the House To-morrow - 1013

North Staffordshire Railway Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; and referred to the Examiners 1013

Harrison's Patent Bill [H.L.]; Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to 1013

St. Neots Urban District Council Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 1013

Annfield Plain and District Gas Bill; City of London (Union of Parishes) Bill [H.L.]; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Collooney, Ballina, and Belmullet Railways and Piers Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Hamilton of Dalzell be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Oriel (*V. Massereene*); read, and agreed to 1013

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Portobello and Musselburgh Tramways (Levenhall Extension) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Portobello and Musselburgh Tramways (Levenhall Extension): Was presented by the Lord Hamilton of Dalzell (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, sections 8 and 9); read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 82) 1014

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order). The Amendments proposed by the Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow 1014

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H. L.].—Read 2ª (according to order) 1014

Killery's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made: Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow 1014

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES ANNUAL.—No. 525. Uganda Protectorate (Report for 1905–1906) 1014

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—No. 3839. Persia (Trade of Kerman) .. 1014

SPAIN, No. 1 (1907).—Notes exchanged with the Spanish Government respecting the maintenance of the territorial "status quo" in the Mediterranean and the East Altantic Ocean. 16th May, 1907.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1004

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prison Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to remissions and punishments 1015

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.—Order made by the Council of the Borough of Newport (Monmouthshire), and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain classes of shops within the borough 1015

SUPERANNUATION.—Treasury minute, dated 17th June, 1907, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Permanent Secretary to the Welsh Department of the Board of Education, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired on the public service are required.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act,) and ordered to lie on the Table 1015

Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment Bill [H.L.].—The evidence taken before the Select Committee from time to time to be printed, but no copies to be delivered out, except to members of the Committee, and such other persons as the Committee shall think fit, until further order. (No. 81) .. 1015

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THE WELSH CHURCH COMMISSION.

Earl Cawdor 1015
The Lord Chancellor (Lord Loreburn) 1015

Prohibition of Medical Practice by Companies Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Lord Hylton 1016
The Lord President of the Council (The Earl of Crewe) 1016

Bill reported without Amendments: Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª on Wednesday, the 3rd of July next.

Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill.—[SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Portsmouth) .. 1016

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Portsmouth.*)

Viscount Midleton 1034
Earl Roberts 1046
The Duke of Bedford 1060
Earl Fortescue 1066
Viscount Hardinge 1073
The Earl of Scarborough 1076
Lord Monkswell 1081
Viscount Milner 1087
Lord Lucas 1094
The Earl of Donoughmore 1105

Further debate adjourned till To-morrow.

Destructive Insects and Pests Bill [H.L.].—Order of the Day for considering the Commons' Amendments read.

Earl Carrington 1121

Commons' Amendments considered and agreed to.

Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment Bill [H.L.].—The Lord Brassey discharged from serving on the Select Committee, and the Lord Stanley of Alderley added to the Committee in his place 1121

House adjourned at five minutes before Twelve o'clock, till To-morrow at a quarter-past Four o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 25TH JUNE, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Sutton Coldfield Rectory Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1121

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1122

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (Surrey, etc.) Bill [LORDS]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed .. 1122

STANDING ORDERS.—Resolution reported from the Select Committee: "That, in the case of the Renfrewshire Upper District (Eastwood and Mearns) Water Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the 'Calico Printers' Association,' the said Standing Order ought to be dispensed with."

Resolution agreed to 1122

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP H.).—Sir JOSEPH LEESE reported from the Committee on Group H of Private Bills; That, at the meeting of the Committee this day, notice was received from Sir Walter Nugent, one of the Members of the said Committee, stating that he was unable, on account of an urgent public engagement to attend the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table 1122

PETITIONS.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.—Petition from Oldbury, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table 1122

WEEKLY REST DAY BILL.—Petition from Burton-on-Trent, and other places, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1122

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SPAIN (No. 1, 1907).—Copy presented, of Notes exchanged with the Spanish Government respecting the maintenance of the territorial "status quo" in the Mediterranean and the East Atlantic Ocean, 16th May, 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1122

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Report, Annual Series, No. 3839 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1123

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.—Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Newport (Mon.), and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain Shops within the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1123

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PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Copy presented, of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Dpartment under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to remissions and punishments [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 217] 1123

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1859.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 17th June, 1907, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Permanent Secretary to the Welsh Department of the Board of Education, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the Public Service are required [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1123

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).—Copies presented, of Reports Nos. 524 (Jamaica Report for 1905–6) and 525 (Uganda Protectorate, Report for 1905–6) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1123

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN ACT, 1903 (BYE-LAWS).—Address for "Return of Local Authorities which have made Bye-laws under the Employment of Children Act, 1903, distinguishing those which have made Bye-laws prohibiting street-trading by girls under sixteen years of age."—(*Mr. Tennant*) .. 1123

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

PAPER TRANSFER OF POSTMEN.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1123

JURY SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Rees (Montgomery Boroughs); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1124

REGULATIONS GOVERNING EXHUMATION OF BODIES.—Question, Mr. Rees; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1124

WORKING OF THE UGANDA FORESTS.—Question, Sir C. Hill (Shrewsbury); Answer, Mr. Churchill 1125

MAUNDY MONEY.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Runciman 1125

ALTERATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Runciman 1126

TREASURY RULES AFFECTING IRISH LAND PURCHASE FINANCE.—Question, Mr. Ginnell (Westmeath, N.); Answer, Mr. Runciman 1126

RESERVE OF HEAVY GUNS.—Question, Mr. Nield (Middlesex, Ealing); Answer, Mr. Lambert 1127

POSTAL SERVANTS—THE EFFICIENCY BAR.—Question, Mr. Steadman (Finsbury, Central); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1127

GRANTS TO UNIVERSITY COLLEGES—REPORT OF TREASURY COMMITTEE.—Question, Sir W. J. Collins (St. Pancras, W.); Answer, Mr. Asquith 1128

LORD TWEEDMOUTH AND MEUX AND COMPANY.—Question, Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.); Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 1128

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QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AND THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.—Question, Mr. Bramsdon (Portsmouth); Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Lambert, Devonshire, South Molton) 1128

HOME FLEET—PRIZE FIRING AMMUNITION.—Question, Captain Hervey (Bury St. Edmunds); Answer, Mr. Lambert 1128

INSPECTION OF ADMIRALTY CONTRACT WORK.—Question, Mr. Bellairs (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. Lambert 1129

NAVAL MANŒUVRES.—Question, Mr. Bellairs; Answer, Mr. Lambert 1129

WOOLWICH ARSENAL AND TRADE UNION WAGES.—Question, Mr. T. F. Richards (Wolverhampton, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane, Haddington 1130

SPECIAL RESERVISTS.—Question, Mr. Gretton (Rutland); Viscount Turnour (Sussex, Horsham); Answer, Mr. Haldane 1130

LALA LAJPAT RAI.—Questions, Mr. Scott (Ashton-under-Lyne), Sir H. Cotton (Nottingham, E.), Mr. Lupton (Lincolnshire, Sleaford); Answers, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Morley, Montrose Burghs), Mr. Speaker .. 1131

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY QUESTIONS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.) 1132

ST. HELENA.—Question, Major Anstruther-Gray (St. Andrews Burghs); Answer, Mr Churchill 1132

TRANSVAAL LOAN.—Question, Mr. Pike Pease (Darlington); Answer, Mr. Churchill 1133

BRITISH GRANTS TO THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (Lanarkshire, N.W.); Answer, Mr. Churchill 1133

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE RAILWAYS IN CEYLON.—Question, Mr. Rees (Montgomery Boroughs); Answer, Mr. Churchill 1133

TRANSVAAL FINANCE.—Question, Mr. Bridgeman (Shropshire, Oswestry), Mr. Lyttelton (St. George's, Hanover Square), Viscount Turnour; Answers, Mr. Churchill 1133

INCOMES.—Question, Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exxchequer (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.) 1134

INCOME-TAX-INQUIRIES.—Question, Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald; Answer Mr. Asquith 1135

COST OF INCOME-TAX COLLECTION.—Question, Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald; Answer, Mr. Asquith 1136

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—Question, Mr. Pike Pease, Sir Gilbert Parker (Gravesend); Answer, Mr. Asquith 1136

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PRECAUTIONS AGAINST INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.—Question, Mr. Alden (Middlesex, Tottenham); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.) 1136

CLERKS TO LICENSING JUSTICES.—Question, Mr. Stephen Collins (Lambeth, Kennington); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1137

METROPOLITAN POLICE COMMISSION.—Question, Mr. Bowerman (Deptford); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1138

OVERCROWDING ON THE DISTRICT RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. Power (Waterford, E.), Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs) 1138

LLANFAIR FALHAIARN SCHOOL.—Question, Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.); Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education (Mr. Lough, Islington, W.) 1139

GRANTS-IN-AID FOR HOSTELS.—Question, Mr. Gretton; Answer, Mr. Lough .. 1140

SHEEP DIPPING ORDER.—Question, Mr. Rendall (Gloucestershire, Thornbury); Answer, The Treasurer of the Household (Sir Edward Strachey, Somersetshire) 1140

SWINE FEVER.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Sir Edward Strachey 1141

JUDICATURE ACTS COMMITTEE.—Question, Mr. Rufus Isaacs (Reading); Answer, The Attorney-General (Sir John Walton, Leeds, S.) 1142

SCOTTISH PRISONERS' ESCORTS.—Question, Mr. Mitchell-Thomson; Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Herbert Samuel, Yorkshire, Cleveland) 1142

PROSECUTIONS FOR AGRARIAN OFFENCES IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. James Campbell (Dublin University), Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, E.); Answers, The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Cherry, Liverpool Exchange) 1142

IRISH PROSECUTIONS—DIVIDED BENCHES.—Questions, Mr. James Campbell, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. Cherry 1144

IRISH AGRARIAN OUTRAGES.—Question, Mr. Pike Pease; Answer, Mr. Cherry .. 1145

CROOKENDEN ESTATE, CAVAN.—Questions, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh (Fermanagh, N.), Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answers, Mr. Cherry 1146

BIRR UNITED IRISH LEAGUE.—Questions, Mr. Moore (Armagh, N.), Mr. Kettle (Tyrone, E.), Mr. James Campbell; Answers, Mr. Cherry 1147

IRISH MAGISTRATES AND AGRARIAN PROSECUTION.—Questions, Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh Mid.), Mr. Moore; Answers, Mr. Cherry 1148

ARMAGH LAND PURCHASE AGREEMENTS.—Question, Mr. Lonsdale; Answer, Mr. Cherry 1149

IRISH BANK DEPOSITS.—Question, Mr. Lonsdale; Answer, Mr. Cherry 1149

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ARTERIAL DRAINAGE COMMISSION SECRETARY'S SALARY.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Runciman 1150

IRISH BOARD OF WORKS ACCOUNTANT.—Question, Mr. Delany; Answer, Mr. Runciman 1150

VISCOUNT IKERRIN.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, The Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture for Ireland (Mr. T. W. Russell, Tyrone, S.) 1151

IRELAND AND THE EDUCATION REPORT.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Lough 1151

IRISH PIG IMPORTS INTO GREAT BRITAIN.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Sir Edward Strachey 1152

THE COUNTY MAGISTRACY.—Question, Mr. Henry (Shropshire, Wellington); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs) 1152

PARLIAMENT AND PEERS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 1152

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A. (added in respect of the Leeds (South Parade Chapel) Charity, the Kingswood (Whitfield Tabernacle, Schoolroom, etc.) Charity, the Longton (Caroline Street Chapel) Charity, and the Board of Education (Hulme Trust Estates Educational) Confirmation Bills: Mr. Leicester Harmsworth; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the said Bills): Mr. Dobson 1154

NEW BILLS.

Trade Disputes Bill—"To promote and facilitate arbitration in Trade Disputes," presented by Mr. Cleland; supported by Mr. Walters, Mr. Parker, Mr. Whitwell Wilson, Mr. Findlay, Mr. Dalziel, Mr. William Jones, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor; to be read a second time upon Friday, 5th July, and to be printed. [Bill 254.]

Report to lie upon the Table 1154

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL HEATING.

Captain Craig (Down, E.) 1154

Bill to provide for the Heating of National School Houses in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Captain Craig, Colonel M'Calmont, Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. T. L. Corbett, Mr. Charles Craig, Mr. Barrie, and Mr. Moore.

Irish National Schools Heating Bill.—"To provide for the Heating of National School Houses in Ireland," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed [Bill 255.]

House of Lords.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [24th June], "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by Law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Question again proposed.

Mr. Arthur Lee (*Hampshire, Fareham*) 1157
The Attorney-General (*Sir John Walton, Leeds, S.*) 1167
Lord R. Cecil (*Marylebone, E.*) 1176
Mr. Swift MacNeill (*Donegal, S.*) 1185
Mr. Arthur Henderson (*Durham, Barnard Castle*) 1193
Mr. Macpherson (*Preston*) 1202

Amendment proposed—

"In line 1, to leave out all the words after the word 'That,' and insert the words 'the Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the Legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress, and ought to be abolished.'"—(*Mr. Arthur Henderson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (*Lanarkshire, N.W.*) 1203
Captain Kincaid-Smith (*Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon*) 1211
Mr. Fenwick (*Northumberland, Wansbeck*) 1214

And, it being a quarter past Eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further Proceeding was postponed without Question put.

Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords] (by order).—Second Reading deferred till Tuesday next, at a quarter past Eight of the clock 1218

House of Lords.

Postponed Proceeding on Amendment on Question [24th June], "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by Law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."—(*Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Which Amendment was—

"To leave out from the word 'that,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, 'the Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the Legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress, and ought to be abolished '—(*Mr. Arthur Henderson*)—instead thereof "—resumed.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Fenwick 1219
Sir Francis Powell (*Wigan*) 1219
Mr. Agnew (*Salford, W.*) 1223
Sir Henry Kimber (*Wandsworth*) 1227
Mr. J. M. Robertson (*Northumberland, Tyneside*) 1231
Mr. Lyttelton (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) 1234
The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.*) 1240

Motion made, and Question, "That the debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Campbell*)—put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

British North America Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

Sir F. Banbury (*City of London*) 1254

Mr. Churchill rose to reply, but it being Eleven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress.

Resolved, That the House will immediately resolve itself into Committee on the Bill.—(*Mr. Churchill.*)

Bill again considered in Committee—

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Churchill 1255
Mr. Claude Hay (*Shoreditch, Hoxton*) 1256

And, it being after Eleven of the clock, and objection being taken to further proceeding, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again To-morrow.

Married Women's Property Bill.—Not amended (by the Standing Committee), considered ; to be read the third time to-morrow 1256

Adjourned at ten minutes after Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: WEDNESDAY, 26TH JUNE, 1907.

The Earl of ONSLOW—Sat Speaker.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

London and North-Western Railway Bill.—A petition of Mr. Edgar Francis Briggs, of 14, Great Marlborough Street, London, Solicitor, praying for leave to present a petition of the Hon. Cecil Saumarez Irby, praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill, although the time limited by Standing Order No. 93 for presenting such petition has expired ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table, and Standing Order No. 93 to be considered To-morrow in order to its being dispensed with in respect of the said petition 1257

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition to the Herts and Essex Water Order having been withdrawn ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table : The orders made on the 6th of June and Monday last discharged, and Bill committed .. 1257

Collooney, Ballina, and Belmullet Railways and Piers Bill.—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table : The orders made on the 4th instant discharged, and Bill committed 1257

Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the West Ham Corporation Order was withdrawn : The orders made on the 6th instant and Monday last discharged, and Bill committed 1257

Broadstairs and St. Peter's Urban District Water Bill [H.L.].—The King's consent signified ; and Bill reported, with Amendments 1257

Sunderland Corporation Bill.—Moved, That the order made on the 20th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2ª ; agreed to. Bill read 2ª accordingly, and committed 1258

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª (according to order) 1258

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Killery's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bills to be read 3ª To-morrow 1258

Colne Valley Water Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª. Amendments made. Bill passed, and sent to the Commons 1258

Sutton Coldfield Rectory Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to .. 1258

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order). The Amendments proposed by the Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow 1258

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3840. France (Pondicherry).
No. 3841. China (Wenchow) 1258

COMMERCIAL No. 5 (1907).—Despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Brussels respecting the International Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902 1258

MINES AND QUARRIES.—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by W. N. Atkinson and J. Dyer Lewis, two of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines, on the circumstances attending an explosion which occurred at Genwen Colliery on the 5th March, 1907 1258

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.—Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, for the year 1906 1259

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—List of certified schools for blind, deaf, defective, and epileptic children in England and Wales on 1st August, 1906.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1259

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Account of receipts and expenditure of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the year ended 31st December, 1906; together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1259

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.—Statutes made by the Governing Body of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, on the 7th March, 1907, amending certain of the College Statutes. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 83.) 1259

Metropolitan Water Board (Charges, Etc.) Bill; Metropolitan Water Board (Various Powers) Bill.—Report from the Joint Committee that the Bills ought to be allowed to proceed; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The Proceedings of the Joint Committee laid upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 84) 1259

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A Derelict.

Lord Muskerry 1259
The First Lord of the Admiralty (*Lord Tweedmouth*) 1260

Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill.—Order of the Day read for resuming the adjourned debate on the Motion for the Second Reading.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Earl of Elgin*) 1260
The Marquess of Salisbury 1273
Lord Newton 1287
Lord Raglan 1294
Lord Haversham 1308
Lord Ampthill 1313
Earl of Dundonald 1314
The Marquess of Bath 1319
Lord Castletown 1320
Lord Harris 1323
The Marquess of Lansdowne 1332
The Lord President of the Council (*The Earl of Crewe*) 1343

On Question. Bill read 2^a.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday the 8th of July next.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Twelve o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY 26th JUNE, 1907.

The House met at quarter before Three of the Clock.

Mr. Speaker's Absence.—The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence from this day's sitting of Mr. Speaker; whereupon Mr. Emmott, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table, and, after Prayers, took the Chair as Deputy-Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order 1356

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Birmingham Corporation Water Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 1357

London County Council (General Powers) Bill (by Order).—Consideration as amended, deferred till Wednesday next 1357

London County Council (Electric Supply) Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee [Preamble not proved].

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 220.] 1357

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1357

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Metropolitan Water Board (Charges, Etc.) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from the Joint Committee on the Metropolitan Water Board (Charges, etc.) Bill and the Metropolitan Water Board (Various Powers) Bill; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1357

Metropolitan Water Board (Various Powers) Bill.—Reported with Amendments, from the Joint Committee on the Metropolitan Water Board (Charges, etc.) Bill and the Metropolitan Water Board (Various Powers) Bill; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1357

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill.—Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the Third time To-morrow 1357

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow 1357

PETITIONS.

Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill.—Petitions in favour: From the House of Thurso; Ormiston; Penston; Tranent; and, Woodhall Collieries; to lie upon the Table 1357

Liquor Traffic (Local Option) (Scotland) Bill.—Petitions in favour: From Haddington; Latheron; and Tranent (two); to lie upon the Table .. 1358

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Factories and Workshops.—Copy presented, of Report of the Chief Inspector for 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1358

Explosions (Genwen Colliery, Carmarthenshire).—Copy presented, of Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by W. N. Atkinson, esquire, and J. Dyer Lewis, esquire, two of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines, on the circumstances attending an Explosion which occurred at Genwen Colliery on 5th March, 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1358

Board of Education.—Copy presented, of List of Certified Schools for Blind, Deaf, Defective, and Epileptic Children in England and Wales on the 1st August, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1358

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Cambridge).—Copy presented, of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, on the 7th March, 1907, amending certain of the College Statutes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 218] 1358

Sugar Convention (Commercial, No. 5, 1907).—Copy presented, of Despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Brussels, respecting the International Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 1358

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3840 and 3841 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1358

Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House :—

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure for 1906, with Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 219] 1359

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

AUTOMATIC RAILWAY COUPLINGS.—Question, Mr. Berridge (Warwick and Leamington); Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 1359

LONDON POOR LAW EXPENDITURE.—Question, Mr. Brooke (Tower Hamlets, Bow and Bromley); Answer, Mr. John Burns 1359

PROMOTION IN SALISBURY POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1360

APPOINTMENT OF WOMEN INSPECTORS UNDER THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.—Question, Mr. Stuart (Sunderland); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1361

PAY OF FEMALE OPERATORS FOR THE LONDON TELEPHONE SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Steadman (Finsbury, Central); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1361

EVICTED TENANTS—CASE OF TERENCE DUNNE.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Birrell 1362

CLOSING TO PUBLIC OF BANKS OF THE SHANNON AT BANAGHER.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, Mr. Runciman 1362

GRANT OF MONEY TO LORD CROMER.—Question, Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.); Answer, Sir Edward Grey 1363

SIR ELDON GORST'S PENSION FROM THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT.—Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Sir Edward Grey 1363

IRISH LAND PURCHASE, MORTGAGED ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Ginnell (Westmeath, N).; Answer, Mr. Birrell 1364

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Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 221.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 256] 1407

Incest Bill—Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee A.

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Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 257] 1408

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A: Mr. Beckett.

SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee C: Mr. Bowles; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Beckett.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. George Faber; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. Mansfield.

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MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to Amendments to: Destructive Insect and Pests Bill [Lords]; St. Neot's Urban District Council Bill [Lords], without Amendment 1408

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (HOUSE OF LORDS).

Ordered, That the Proceedings on the House of Lords Motion, if under consideration at Eleven o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House).—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) 1408

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [25th June] to Question [24th June], " That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House

should be so restricted by Law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail".—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman*).

Which Amendment was—

"In line 1, to leave out from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'The Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the Legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress, and ought to be abolished.'"—(*Mr. Arthur Henderson.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed tobe left out stand part of the Question."

Debate resumed.

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Sir Edward Sassoon (Hythe) 1489
Mr. Rufus Isaacs (Reading) 1492
Earl Percy (Kensington, S.) 1496
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.) 1506

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," put.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 315 ; Noes, 100. (Division List No. 251.)

Main Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 432 ; Noes, 147. (Division List No. 252.)

Resolved, That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by Law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail.—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

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British North America Bill

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 :—

Question proposed, " That the clause stand part of the Bill."

And, it being Eleven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again To-morrow 1523

And, it being after half-past Eleven of the clock, Mr. Deputy-Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

Adjourned at thirteen minutes before Twelve o'clock.

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION)

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-EIGHTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED TO MEET
THE TWELFTH DAY OF FEBRUARY IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE
REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1907.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 14*th June*, 1907.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

MR. SPEAKER'S ABSENCE.

The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the absence of Mr. Speaker through continued indisposition.

Whereupon Mr. EMMOTT, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table, and, after prayers, took the Chair as Deputy Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Shanklin Gas Bill, South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill. Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Manchester Ship Canal (Various Powers) Bill [Lords] (King's Consent signified). Bill read the third time and passed with Amendments.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Read the third time and passed.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Lerwick (two); and, Thurso; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SPECIAL RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION) BILL.

Petition from Wigan, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING ACTS.

Petition from Leicester, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Burghead, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WTH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petitions against; from Helmsley; Granchester; St. Leonards-on-Sea; Sherborne; and, Southampton; to lie upon the Table.

PAUPER LUNATICS (COST OF MAINTENANCE).

Petition from Whitehaven, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

WEEKLY REST DAY BILL.

Petition from Harringay and other places, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (TONNAGE DEDUCTION FOR PROPELLING POWER) BILL.

Petitions against, praying to be heard by counsel; from Undertakers of the Aire and Calder Navigation; Barry Railway Company; Caledonian Railway Company; P. and A. Campbell, Limited; Dee Conservancy Board; Glasgow Shipowners' Association; Clyde Steamship Owners' Association; Cardiff Shipowners' Association; Hartlepools Shipowners' Society; North of England Steamship Owners' Association; and various other Companies, Associations, and persons being, and representing Shipowners trading at Ports in the United Kingdom; Great Central Railway Company; Greenock; Hull and Barnsley Railway Company; Irish Pilots; Leith Harbour and Docks Commissioners; Midland Railway Company; Milford Docks Company; Port Talbot Railway and Docks Company; Corporation of St. Ives; Pilots at the Ports of St. Ives and Hayle; Sligo Harbour Commissioners; Taff Vale Railway Company; and, Companies, Associations, and persons representing Shipowners and Owners and Managers of Steam Tugs in various Ports of the United Kingdom; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

Petition from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Penzance, against; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

Petition from Cork Harbour Commissioners, against alterations, praying to be heard by counsel; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

MINES AND QUARRIES.

Copy presented, of General Report and Statistics for the year 1905, Part IV., Colonial and Foreign Statistics; Statistics relating to Persons employed, Output, and Accidents at Mines and Quarries in the British Colonies and in Foreign Countries [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the County of Glamorgan, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain classes of Shops within the Blaengarw, Pontycymmer, Bettws, and Pontyrhil Wards of the Ogmore and Garw Urban District [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

Copy presented, of further Correspondence relating to affairs in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS).

Copy presented, of Report No. 41 (East Africa Protectorate; Report on the Forests of Kenia by Mr. D. E. Hutchins) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Dock Accommodation at Belfast.

MR. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the correspondence between Messrs. Harland and Wolff and the Belfast Harbour Commissioners with reference to the inadequacy of the graving-dock accommodation at that port; whether he is aware that within thirty-one days of 2nd July, 1906, this firm were compelled to dock in Liverpool, London, and elsewhere six of their ships with a tonnage of 55,757 because of the lack of docking accommodation in Belfast; that in the six or seven months preceding the date given above fifteen large steamers which the firm of Harland and Wolff controlled had to be docked in either Liverpool, Southampton, the Clyde, Rotterdam, and other ports; that the loss in wages to the workers of Belfast in consequence of the removal of shipping contracts to other ports was over £250,000; that since then other contracts have had had to be refused for the same reason; that the need for graving-dock accommodation is urgent; that the necessary repairing of the Alexandra Graving Dock has been unduly delayed; that the construction of the new graving dock is likely to occupy ten years; that when Messrs. Harland and Wolff renewed their lease they were given to understand that the new graving dock would be completed in two years, and, in order to expedite this construction, contributed £2,000 annually as a guarantee that the revenue from it would not be less than £6,000 per annum; that the harbour commissioners refused to entertain the proposal of Messrs. Harland and Wolff to build a dock themselves; that the situation with reference to graving-dock accommodation has grown so serious at Belfast that Messrs. Harland and Wolff have been compelled to establish a new repairing yard at Southampton; that in consequence of the failure of the commissioners not only the shipbuilding trade of the port of Belfast but the numerous local industries dependent upon it are seriously threatened; and whether, seeing that the harbour board is elected on a restricted franchise, and is immune from the influence or control of the overwhelming majority of the people of Belfast, he will introduce a Bill to place the franchise on a popular basis or, failing that, will undertake to support a Bill introduced by a private Member with that object.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) My attention has been called to the correspondence referred to by the hon. Member, and I have made inquiries into the matter. It appears to be the fact that within thirty-one days of the 2nd July, 1906, Messrs. Harland and Wolff docked elsewhere than at Belfast six of their ships with a gross tonnage of 55,642 tons, and also that within six or seven months preceding the above date fifteen other large vessels were docked elsewhere. I am not in a position to say what was the consequent loss of wages to the workers of Belfast, nor have I any information as to the refusal of other shipping contracts. I am aware that the need of graving-dock accommodation is urgent, and that delay may imperil the prosperity of Belfast. The commissioners with whom I have communicated deny that there has been any undue delay in repairing the Alexandra Graving Dock, on which they state that men are working day and night, and which they hope will be available for use before the end of the year. They further state that the completion of the new graving dock is likely to occupy two years and not ten, as stated in the Question, and that they have offered a bonus of £600 to the contractors for every month that the dock is completed before the stipulated time. As the result, however, of further inquiries which I have made on this point, I find that only a few men have been employed at night, and I do not feel satisfied that the work has been expedited as much as possible. With regard to the guarantee offered by Messrs. Harland and Wolff, the Commissioners state that the company undertook that if the gross receipts from the new graving dock should in any year be less than £8,000, they would make good the deficiency to an extent not exceeding £2,000 a year. The Commissioners deny that they have refused to entertain any proposal of Messrs. Harland and Wolff to build a graving dock themselves, and state that they have informed that firm that they are prepared to consider any definite proposal on the subject. I understand that Messrs. Harland and Wolff are establishing a new repairing yard at Southampton, but I am not able to state the reasons which influenced them in so doing. The transference of a portion of the shipping with which they deal from Liverpool to Southampton may of course, have been a contributory cause. I am informed that Belfast industries, including shipbuilding, are very prosperous at present. The constitution of the Harbour Commission is fixed by the Belfast Harbour Act, 1883. The Commission consists of the Lord Mayor of Belfast and twenty-one other members elected by a constituency of shipowners and occupiers of premises within the city rated at £20 and upwards. The number of such electors is, I understand, 9,869, which is a much larger number than at Liverpool, Glasgow, or Dublin. Comparatively speaking, therefore, the franchise can hardly be termed restricted, and I do not see my way to propose an alteration at present.

Payment of Income Tax on Interest on Loans.

MR. VIVIAN (Birkenhead): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the repayment of Income Tax on interest paid to banks by borrowers, is there any reason why loans negotiated direct with a bank should be treated differently from exactly similar loans negotiated with a bank through a broker; and whether he will arrange that no disability shall accrue to a borrower who employs a broker.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) No difference is made between one loan and another, provided the immediate lender be a bank. But a loan cannot be treated as made by a bank, unless a bank be the immediate creditor. The fact that a loan from a bank was negotiated by a third person would not make the treatment of the interest of the loan different from what it would be if the borrower had himself negotiated the loan.

Irish Education Commissioners and Insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

MR. MOORE (Armagh, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if that Department has received a remonstrance from the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland against the refusal of the Treasury to insure managers under the Board against loss from accidents to teachers within the meaning of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906; if he is aware that the teachers are paid by the Commissioners and are, in fact, in their employment, and that the Commissioners are willing to undertake the liability of insurance if authorised by the Treasury; and whether, having regard to the fact that in many cases the managers are in no better financial circumstances than the teachers, the Treasury will authorise the Commissioners to effect insurances of teachers, so as to secure an indemnity for them, as well as the managers, in case of accidents.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) A communication from the Commissioners of National Education on this subject was received by the Treasury on the 11th instant, and is now under consideration.

Distribution of Seed Potatoes in the Glenties Union.

MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): To ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether he has received any complaints relative to the distribution of seed potatoes, etc., in the Glenties union of county Donegal; whether he is aware that the Glenties District Council has requested the county council to discontinue the raising of a rate in that district in connection with the schemes of the Department, on the ground that the Glenties district, which is one of the poorest and most congested districts in Ireland, receives no benefit from the expenditure of this money; and what action he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. T. W. Russell.*) The Department have received complaints relative to the distribution of seeds and manures for demonstration purposes in the Glenties union, county Donegal. They are not aware, however, that the Glenties District Council have requested the county council to discontinue the raising of a rate in that district in connection with the schemes of the Department, and they consider it unlikely that this is the case, seeing that no part of the rates is applied to the scheme in question. The rate is applied to the schemes administered by the County Committee of Agriculture, while the cost from the public funds of the administration of the demonstration plot scheme referred to is borne by the Department's endowment. This scheme is supplementary to those administered by the County Committee. The Department do not propose to take any action relative to the future administration of these special and supplementary schemes, pending consideration of the question as to whether they are to be put into operation during the year 1908.

Transfer of Head Constable Megarry from Depot Store.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say why Head Constable Megarry was transferred from the depot store; what was the nature of the irregularities carried on at the depot store prior to Megarry's transference; was an official inquiry held; and, if so, who comprised the court, and what was their decision.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Head Constable Megarry was transferred from the depot store to a country station upon his own application, made in consequence of his wife's ill-health. No irregularities took place at the depot prior to the transfer, and consequently no official inquiry was held. The Inspector-General informs me that this officer gave entire satisfaction during several years' service at the depot, and it is, I think, a matter for regret that the imputation conveyed in the Question should have been made.

Irish Junior Assistant Mistresses under Eighteen Years of Age.

MR. MOORE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland have junior assistant mistresses under eighteen years of age been recognised in any case and paid by the Commissioners of National Education.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Commissioners inform me that the Answer is in the affirmative. Under a recent modification of their rules a junior assistant mistress may be recognised at the age of seventeen years in a school of which the principal teacher is a woman.

Payment of Irish Junior Assistant Mistresses.

MR. MOORE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when a junior assistant mistress is recognised during the currency of a quarter, and where from the date of her recognition the attendance averages the prescribed limit of thirty-five, do the National Education Commissioners pay the mistress £6 per quarter for the period subsequent to her recognition in the same quarter.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) In every school with an average attendance of from thirty-five to fifty pupils the payment to a recognised junior assistant mistress is at the rate of £6 a quarter.

MR. MOORE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland do the Commissioners of National Education pay a junior assistant mistress full salary when, by reason of an epidemic in the district, the attendance falls below thirty-five.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) In cases in which the appointment of a junior assistant mistress has been sanctioned by the Commissioners in a school with an average attendance of thirty-five or upwards the grant is not withdrawn until the end of two consecutive quarters of insufficient average, and, if an epidemic should have been the cause of the insufficiency, the grant may be continued exceptionally for a further period not exceeding two quarters. Junior assistant mistresses are also recognised and paid full salary even if the average is under thirty-five, provided that the school is a mixed one under a master, and that there are at least twenty girls in average attendance. If, however, the average attendance of girls is less than twenty, the junior assistant mistress is paid a capitation rate on the number of girls in actual average attendance in each quarter.

Evicted Tenants Return.

MR. GINNELL (Westmeath, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will obviate the necessity for individual inquiries by having incorporated in the promised Report on Evicted Tenants a list, by counties, of those whose claims have been found to be good and to whom the forthcoming Evicted Tenants Bill will apply.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Report of the Estates Commissioners will contain a statement showing, by counties, the number of the evicted tenants who, in the Commissioners' opinion, are suitable to receive holdings. It is not intended to publish the names of these persons.

Poor Law Reform in Ireland.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the Report of the Viceregal Commission on Poor Law Reform in Ireland; and, if so, whether he will consider the advisability of legislating, as early as possible, on the basis of this Report.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I would refer to my Answer to the hon. Member for South Sligo on 6th May.†

ADVERTISEMENTS REGULATION BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

MR. HARMOOD-BANNER (Liverpool, Everton) said he desired to move that this Bill be recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House in order that he might move the following new clause: "The powers and provisions of this Act shall be deemed to be in addition to, and not in derogation of, any other powers or provisions contained in any local Act of Parliament, and the powers and provisions of any such local Act may be exercised and enforced in the same manner as if this Act had not been passed." It was with no hostility to the Bill that he made this Motion, but because he was not present at the time it came up on Report, although the clause was then on the Paper, and he was in consequence unable to move it. The reason he asked that the Bill should be recommitted was that as it at present stood, it would invalidate the regulations which the larger municipalities had already in force. They had made a good many regulations which they thought were complete and ample to deal with the question, and they preferred to continue with those regulations rather than be brought under the regulations of the Bill. He begged to move.

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) seconded the Amendment. Though he personally was not in favour of the Bill he believed it would be passed, and he thought if they were going to pass such a Bill it should be recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House, in order that it might be made as perfect as possible. His hon. friend had stated that the reason the Amendment was not accepted on the Report Stage was that he was not in his place to move it. That was not a very good reason, because if hon. Members wished to amend a Bill they should be in their place when that Bill came before the House, and if they were not they should take the consequences. But under the special circumstances he would assist his hon. friend as far as he could, and he hoped the House would give his hon. friend an opportunity to move the Amendment.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.) said before Mr. Deputy-Speaker put the Question he would like to know whether he would be entitled to protest against the Third Reading of the Bill if the Amendment were agreed to, and whether he would be entitled to move certain Amendments which he had moved in the Committee, or whether the Bill would be recommitted simply to deal with the Motion of the hon. Member.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER said the hon. Member must raise in the Committee the question of what was in order in Committee. He (Mr. Deputy-Speaker) could not rule upon it now, and the recommittal stage of the Bill might not be taken before him.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'be' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House in respect of a new clause (Powers of Act accumulative).'"—(*Mr. Harmood-Banner.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.) said he had no objection to the recommittal of the Bill for this particular clause. He thought it was superfluous, but it might be a useful clause, and therefore he did not object.

MR. W. MOORE (Armagh, N.) said he should vote for the Bill as it stood, but there were certain matters he would like to see put into it. He wished the whole question of the powers of the local authorities to deal with advertisements to be considered, and to that end he would very much welcome the re-committal of the Bill, in order to enable urban councils in Ireland to have the powers given to urban councils in England to advertise the particular merits of their own localities, and thus offer inducements to tourists and visitors. At Blackpool, for instance, could be seen what it was possible for a local authority to do by advertising the attractions of the place and neighbourhood; but there was no corresponding power given under the Irish Local Government Act. He thought that a County Council was much too large an authority to deal with this question.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxiii., 1314.

***MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER**: Order, order. This question does not arise on the Motion before the House.

MR. W. MOORE: I understood that the Motion was to recommit the Bill to a Committee of the Whole House.

***MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER**: The Motion is to recommit the Bill for a certain definite purpose, and what the hon. Member desires does not come within the scope of that purpose as I understand it.

MR. MOORE: I assume then that when this Motion is disposed of it would be open to me to move to recommit the Bill in respect of another purpose.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 78; Noes 33. (Division List No. 232).

AYES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Balcarres, Lord
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Beale, W. P.
Benn, W.(T'w'r Hamlets,S.Geo
Black, Arthur W.
Brigg, John
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett,C H(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W.H.(St.Pancras,N
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Esslemont, George Birnie
Everett, R. Lacey
Findlay, Alexander
Fletcher, J. S.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Harvey,W.E.(Derbyshire, N.E.
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Hazleton, Richard
Higham, John Sharp
Holt, Richard Durning
Jowett, F. W.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs)
MacVeigh,Charles (Donegal,E.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Magnus, Sir Philip
Marnham, F. J.
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,Charles N.(D'ncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Dowd, John
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley,W.E.B. (Bradford, E.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Br'dfo'd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Scott,A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Summerbell, T.
Tennant, Sir Edward(Salisbury
Thomas,David Alfred(Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Ward,John (Stoke upon Trent)
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay, T.
Watt, Henry A.
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Godfrey Baring and Major Seely.

NOES.

Ashley, W. W.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Boland, John
Bowerman, C. W.
Bowles, G. Stewart.
Carlile, E. Hildred
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Craig,Captain James(Down, E.
Doughty, Sir George
Gill, A. H.
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r.)
Hill, Sir Clement(Shrewsbury)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Kelley, George D.
Lockwood, Rt.Hn.Lt.-Col.A.R.
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Moore, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Renton, Major Leslie
Ridsdale, E. A.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sheffield,Sir BerkeleyGeorge D.
Smith,Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whitehead, Rowland
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Younger, George

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Harmood-Banner and Mr. Mitchell-Thomson.

Main Question again proposed.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) said he was in considerable difficulty in discussing this Bill, because he really did not know what the Bill was. [Laughter.] Hon. Members laughed, but if they would follow him for a moment he thought they would see that they did not know what they were discussing any more than he did. The Bill was originally introduced in one form. It was amended in Standing Committee, and he held in his hand a copy of the Bill as amended in Committee. It was then amended on Report, and he did not know whether the Bill as presented represented what had come down from the Committee, or that which came down from Report. He wished to know what Bill they were really discussing.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER said that if the noble Lord wished to know what Bill was under discussion he should come to the Table and look at the corrected copy. The usual course adopted in these cases had been adopted here. The copy had been corrected. It was not usual where the Amendments on Report were not numerous to reprint a Bill of this character.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said that, as a Member of the Standing Committee which dealt with this Bill, he had taken great interest in it, and yesterday when he obtained a copy of the Bill he was surprised to find that the Amendments inserted in Committee were not in it. He wished to raise this question on a point of order a short time ago, and then an hon. Member handed him another copy which contained the Amendments. He protested against the clerks in the Vote Office handing out Bills in such a way, and he opposed the Third Reading of the Bill because an Amendment he moved in the Committee was rejected.

MR. MOORE asked if he would be in order in moving that the Bill be recommitted in respect to Clause 6.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No, the question I put was that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question. That was carried, and those words stand part.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL, Yorkshire, Cleveland) said the only Amendment made on the Report stage was one which extended the powers under the Bill to the City of London.

SIR F. BANBURY said he had an Amendment to move—"that this Bill be read a third time this day three months."

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Baronet must be sufficiently familiar with the forms of the House to know that such a proposal is not in order now.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.) said that the Bill had now got into an exceedingly complicated condition. He had always been a strong supporter of the measure, and he thought hon. Members opposite would admit that he had done something to facilitate its passage through the earlier stages. The position now was that a number of Members came in upon the last division without knowing what the question was, and had voted against a recommittal of the Bill. He wished to explain the position. The Bill conferred upon local authorities certain powers for the regulation of advertisements; but there were certain local authorities who already possessed similar powers, and the City of Edinburgh had enjoyed those powers ever since the year 1899. In fact the powers which they enjoyed were fuller than those conferred by the Bill. The Amendment suggested by his hon. friend was to insert a clause to secure that the powers and provisions of the Bill should be deemed to be in addition to and not in derogation of any of the powers contained in other local Acts of Parliament. When that Amendment was proposed the hon. Member in charge of the Bill rose in his place and stated that the promoters were prepared to accept it. Upon that understanding the Motion for recommitting the Bill was put to the House, and hon. Members below the gangway challenged the division. From their action he took it that they desired that the local authority should not exercise those powers which they already possessed. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No, no."] He considered there had been a deliberate breach of a Parliamentary pledge. The matter had been practically agreed to, and the action which had been taken put him and those who agreed with him and were in favour of the Bill in an impossible situation. If the House of Commons were to pass the Bill upon the distinct understanding that the powers of local authorities were not to be safeguarded, he should certainly oppose the Third Reading. If on the other hand the promoters were prepared to say that in another place they would have an Amendment inserted which would incorporate the proposed clause in substance the matter could be put right.

MR. BEALE (Ayrshire, S.) said he was little surprised at the attitude which had been taken by hon. Gentlemen opposite who he knew were heartily in sympathy with the real objects of the Bill. He agreed that what was being done by those municipalities which had been referred to should not be in any way imperilled; on the contrary, he was anxious that their powers should be preserved. He did not, however, think that the proposed clause was at all necessary, and the case would remain exactly the same if it were not inserted. He did not apprehend that the last division was intended to negative the desire of hon. Members to preserve the existing powers of municipalities. He should certainly welcome such a clause if it would tend to put the minds of hon. Members opposite quite easy.

Sir F. BANBURY and Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY rose to address the House.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Baronet seconded the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liverpool, and therefore he has exhausted his right to speak; and the hon. Member for West Limerick has already spoken against the Third Reading.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said he had not spoken on the question before the House because he only rose on a point of order. He wished to know if he was entitled to speak on the Third Reading.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When the Amendment had been defeated the hon. Member got up and spoke upon the Third Reading, whether he intended to do so or not.

SIR F. BANBURY said that he did not speak after the Amendment had been defeated; he spoke upon the recommittal of the Bill. When the Amendment was defeated he rose to move another Amendment which was ruled out of order, and therefore he submitted that he had not spoken on the question before the House.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Baronet seconded the Amendment to leave out certain words; that being so he has spoken on the main question and has exhausted his right.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping) said he was opposed to the Bill, and the fact that it was brought in with good intentions was not sufficient to induce him to withdraw his opposition. Hon. Members having no idea of an evil they wished to remedy never had any hesitation in introducing a Bill to remedy it, forgetful of the fact that in drawing up their measure they might get into difficulties out of which they would very likely be unable to extricate themselves. One of his objections was to the words "disfiguring the natural beauty of the landscape." The ideas of some county councils upon such a question might be totally different from the views of the House, and therefore it was a very dangerous power to place in their hands. This measure was founded upon a Bill which was brought forward in June, 1905, and the reason he found fault with it was that certain clauses had been dropped which were inserted as a compromise arrived at between those who were mostly interested in the subject. Compromise was the essence of legislation, and the compromise he had referred to had been arrived at after full consideration, and yet the Committee had gone out of its way to alter the Bill in most serious particulars. The original Bill contained a provision that it should not apply to advertisements unless they were over 12 ft. in height. That was a compromise arrived at with the trade, and it had been left out of the present Bill. Another point was that the Bill should not come into operation until five years had elapsed; for some unexplained reason that period had been altered to two years. That change was very unfair, and would press very hardly upon the trade interested in advertisements. The question had been discussed in another place, and he hoped the Under-Secretary for the Home Office would be able to tell them what the law was as regarded Scotland, and why these various changes had been made in the Bill. He particularly desired to know why two years had been substituted for five years, and why the 12 feet limit had been omitted. The general provisions of the Bill were quite fair and its objects were laudable, but when they discovered that the compromise upon which the Bill was founded had been deliberately broken he thought they would agree that it ought not to pass in its present form.

MR. HART-DAVIES said he hoped the House would not be very long before it decided to pass the Third Reading of this Bill as there were many other measures waiting to be dealt with. The subject dealt with in this Bill had been before the public for many years, and a similar measure had passed through the House of Lords. Consequently it was a question upon which they were all agreed [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] He did not think anybody had a right, from purely selfish motives, to interfere with the beauty of any landscape or any public park, and that, after all, was what the Bill proposed to secure. He hoped the measure would not be discussed at any further length. With regard to the objections which had been taken by hon. Members opposite, he was himself sorry that the changes were made in Committee, but the Committee would have its own way. He appealed to the House to pass the Third Reading so as to enable them to get on with the other business.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) said that they appeared to be getting more confused than ever. The hon. Member in charge of the Bill promised that in another place certain alterations which had been suggested would be made. He was afraid that under the Bill as drafted there might be a great misuse of the powers conferred, and he hoped some steps would be taken to insert a clause which would clearly define what was meant by a pleasure promenade. Did that phrase simply mean to apply to those objectionable advertisements which they saw displayed in the fields in the country? He would like to know whether the term "pleasure promenade" would refer to a street in a town which was recognised by the people as a promenade. Was a street from which could be viewed a sign advertising somebody's very necessary article to be construed as a pleasure promenade, and would the advertising boards in such a street have to be taken down? The Bill might be twisted into an onslaught upon certain businesses, and some large firms would be very hardly hit unless it was a recognised thing that a pleasure promenade did not cover those parts of the city used for promenading purposes. There was no reason why a local authority which desired to do an injury to some particular firm should not take advantage of the Bill. Some particular county council might entertain objections to a certain class of advertisement, and take a view which would come very hard upon that particular firm. He would also like to know if the term "pleasure promenade" covered public parks. If so, what might be objectionable in the case of a small promenade might not be so objectionable in a large park. He instanced a park of about twenty or thirty acres used by children. Many such parks obtained a considerable revenue from letting hoardings for advertisements, and that source of revenue might be interfered with. He regretted that these matters had not been more fully explained to the House. It should be remembered that was the first opportunity that they had had of criticising the Bill in the House. Another point was the very severe blow which the Bill would strike at the printing and publishing business throughout the country. At the will of some county council great damage might be done to a printing firm. The Bill applied to Ireland, and he had in his mind's eye a great number of advertisements which might be objected to from the sentimental point of view, but it should be remembered that they were displayed for the purpose of promoting business. He would not like the business of the firms who advertised to be interfered with simply on the sentimental ground that their announcements were exhibited in a manner which interfered with the beauty of the landscape. Were the sentimentalists in a county council to have it in their power on the whim of the moment to ruin a whole industry? He also objected to the Bill on the ground that while powers were conferred on the county council no powers were given to the district councils. There were salt springs at Ballynahinch, and it would be very hard if the county council could interpose and prevent the attractions of the place from being advertised, while the district council had no power to protect its interests in the matter. He maintained that the subject of the Bill was one with which the district councils should have power to deal, and he hoped that the promoters would give an undertaking that when the Bill went to another place it would be amended in such a manner as to enable the local councils to determine what advertisements should or should not be permitted. Blackpool had obtained statutory powers to advertise its attractions, and he hoped that nothing would be done by this Bill to place private enterprise, whether on the part of one man or of syndicates, at a disadvantage as compared with large corporations which already had Parliamentary powers. There were beautiful parts in Ireland to which it was desirable to attract tourists in order that the localities might be benefited, and the rules made by county councils should not be such as to prevent those places from competing for visitors on terms as favourable as those enjoyed by the wealthy corporations of England and Scotland. He wished to know what bearing the provisions of the Bill would have in relation to clause 5 of the Advertising Stations Rating Act of 1889. When reading the terms of that clause——

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member appears to be asking a number of questions on the clause, whereas he ought to be stating his own objections to it. What he is now doing is not a usual method of argument on a motion to omit the clause.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said he would not pursue that subject. The points to which he had called attention should have been explained on the Third Reading by the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill. He had raised them in order that the measure might be improved and not destroyed.

MR. MOORE said he intended to support the Bill. On the general principle he thought that the local bodies should have complete control of all advertisements. He admitted that they were still some way from the realisation of that system, but he thought a beginning was foreshadowed in the section of the Act of 1889 to which his hon. and gallant friend had referred. There might be some difficulty in carrying out Sub-section (2) of Clause 2. It was entirely a matter of taste whether certain advertisements did "disfigure the natural beauty of a landscape," and if that was to be left to the discretion of the county council conflict of opinion would in some cases arise. A county council that might perform its ordinary work in a satisfactory manner might not feel very much at home in matters of art when deciding whether advertisements were or were not objectionable within the meaning of the sub-section. There was a general principle in the Bill which he hoped would not be extended, and he wished to make an appeal to the promoters on the subject before the measure took its final form. He thought every Member of the House objected to the multiplication of rule-making authorities. The regulation of advertisements was a matter for each locality, because different localities had different needs, and the subject would not always be viewed from the same standpoint. He could not see why a large and cumbrous county council should be the supreme power. They might override the opinion of the district council. The local body should have the power of making the by-laws in this as in other matters in conformity with local requirements. He was not suggesting that the county councils were not absolutely representative, but there were many county councils in Ireland which met only four times a year, and sometimes the places of meeting were 100 miles from the areas of certain rural or urban local authorities. The people on the spot were the best judges to decide what the by-laws should be. A Bill of this kind was worth nothing unless its provisions could be enforced. Was the county council to decide whether a prosecution was to be instituted against a person who had exhibited in a remote part a bill announcing, it might be, an auction sale in a form which in their opinion infringed the by-laws? If the by-laws were to be sanctioned by an authority hundreds of miles away, it might lead to a great deal of expense. Prosecutions under the by-laws would be few, and in course of time little attention would be paid to the by-laws. He took the view of his hon. and gallant friend, and he appealed to the promoters of the Bill to allow local bodies to advertise the particular claims of their own neighbourhood out of the rates for the attraction of tourists. That was not in the Bill as it now stood. The Bill was also faulty in some other respects, and he should vote against the Third Reading.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) said that this was a Bill with the principle of which he was very much in favour; but at the same time there were certain provisions in it, as it now read, which made him reluctant to vote for the Third Reading. It was, he thought, a matter for regret that some Amendments proposed in Committee were not accepted by the promoters. One of the difficulties that had to be encountered was the fact, overlooked by the Committee, that affairs in Ireland were not on all-fours with affairs in this country. As the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Armagh had said, the Bill as it stood at present must work very unsatisfactorily and cause great injustice. Clause 6 defined a local authority as any urban district containing a population of 5,000. He thought that in such matters it was entirely wrong to fix a limit of that kind. The county councils in Ireland presided over very wide areas. It was intended originally by the Bill that specific areas should be dealt with, but a county council might be called upon to decide on matters affecting some far distant district of which they had little or no knowledge. He regretted more than he could say that the promoters of the Bill did not in Committee accept the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Limerick, who was the only Irish Member on the Committee, which would have reduced the limit of 5,000, because it would have withdrawn from the county council a great deal of work which they were not in a position to carry out. Why should not the district councils have the power of making by-laws in reference to objectionable advertisements in their own district? The Bill, as it stood, said that unless there was an urban population of 5,000 the people of that district should have no control over the advertisements published in the district unless with the consent of the county council which knew nothing of the district. He thought that was unreasonable and would make the Bill difficult to work. He was very reluctant to oppose the Third Reading of the Bill, for any one who had travelled much objected to the glaring and flaring advertisements of quack medicines, etc., which frequently disfigured the most beautiful scenery. He had seen that himself in the Canyons of America and the mountain regions of Australia. He did not object to advertisements, but they were out of place in such situations. There were, however, other advertisements which did not refer to quack medicines, but which were objectionable from other points of view; and everybody agreed that power should be given to prohibit the putting up of such advertisements throughout the country. He objected that in a measure of general utility anything should have been inserted which would make its working in Ireland impossible. That was very unwise and had led him and other Irish Members to enter their protest against it. There was another objection he had to the Bill which he could not get over at all; and that was that the county councils in making by-laws would not be in touch with the rural population. There was nothing more futile than to give half-powers to local authorities. If they were going to trust local authorities full powers ought to be given to them. By the Bill no by-laws passed by a local authority could come into operation unless they received the sanction of the Secretary of State. Surely the Secretary of State had sufficient work in hand without there being imposed upon him the duty of revising the advertisements that were placarded in every remote district of the country. If it was thought in England that they could not trust the local authorities to make by-laws in regard to advertisements without being supervised by the Home Secretary, good and well. But in Ireland the application of the Act was to be made by the Lord-Lieutenant acting with the advice of the Privy Council. Was there anything more preposterous? He had nothing whatever to say against the present Lord-Lieutenant, who, he believed, was a most estimable nobleman, but he thought the noble Lord had plenty to do without interfering with the by-laws made by the urban councils or the county councils. Nevertheless, the Privy Council of Ireland was to be called in to deal with by-laws relating to objectionable advertisements. One would almost imagine, from the wording of it, that the Bill was to secure the integrity and the security of the British Empire. If it were for Clause 7 alone he would enter his strongest and most emphatic protest against the Bill. It would lead to endless trouble. It might be said that the Lord-Lieutenant and the Privy Council of Ireland would not interfere, but leave the framing of the by-laws to the local authorities. That might be the natural course of things in this country, but he was not sure that it would be the case in Ireland, because they found the Dublin Castle officials interfering with the local authorities in the smallest possible affairs. Whatever might be said about the Lord-Lieutenant he did not like the Privy Council in Ireland. He knew a few of the members and he had no doubt they were all intensely respectable men, but the Privy Council was a body which in Ireland did not command the respect of public opinion and was very often in conflict with it. He thought, therefore, as far as Ireland was concerned, the representative of His Majesty and the Privy Council might be left out altogether. It might be said that after all it was a small point, but that was not the case, because the people of Ireland were intensely jealous of interference by the Lord-Lieutenant and the Privy Council with their affairs. He might instance the case of the Irish Council Bill; whether it was dead or not he did not know, but at all events it was in a bad way. It was, in his judgment, killed almost entirely because in it it was proposed to give to the Lord-Lieutenant exactly the same power to over-ride the Irish Council as was given in this Bill in regard to the decisions of the local authorities. Under the Council Bill the Lord-Lieutenant might withhold his sanction, or, if he did not like what the Council had done, do something himself. He objected to this Bill on two grounds. First, that it left the power to the wrong authority. Why did not the Government leave to the district councils that which they would not get done by the county councils? His second objection was that the Lord-Lieutenant and the Privy Council were given any powers in the matter. He could assure the promoters of the Bill, however, that in the main it was a measure which he heartily welcomed, because many times during his travels he had felt the necessity of protection being given to prevent beautiful countrysides from being destroyed. It was to be regretted that the representations of the Irish Members on the Committee were entirely ignored, and he did hoped in the future, even if they did not get Home Rule, that Irishmen who were put to represent Ireland upon Committees would have their voice listened to with respect and not be voted down as they were on this occasion. He had only one further remark to make. He did not know who was responsible for the occurrence, but it was unfortunate that the Bill should have been circulated without the Amendments having been inserted. He had had in his possession for some time past a copy of the Bill which was handed him by a friend who was most anxious he should know all about it. But when he commenced to read the Bill before the House he found that the copy supplied to him was not the Bill as amended. The Bill which he had now obtained was inscribed "Advertisements Regulation Bill as amended by Standing Committee A." That was the only copy which should have been circulated. He did not know whether the other copy was circulated by the Vote Office, but it ought not to have been issued, and he thought it was a matter of some regret that it should have been.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL said he rose, not for the purpose of prolonging the debate, but in the hope that he might, by a somewhat brief answer to some of the points raised, shorten the discussion, as other important measures were to follow. The Amendment to which allusion had been made was defeated by a majority of twenty-one to three, and by that majority it was determined that the smaller authorities should not make by-laws. The Irish Members were not out-voted, as there were two on one side and two on the other, and the point was carried by seven to one. In regard to the other point that it was absurd to insert provisions as to the sanction of the Secretary of State in England and the Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland, he might point out that that was common form. It was exceedingly useful, as it prevented local authorities passing by-laws which the courts of law might hold to be *ultra vires.* The central authorities were able to prevent this by framing model by-laws which greatly facilitated matters. He had voted for the re-committal of the Bill in order to provide that statutes should not be overridden by local by-laws simply because the Motion had been accepted by the promoters, but the matter was not one of substance, as the Acts of Parliament would stand in any case. A provision as to that could, however, be inserted in the other House, to prevent any possible doubt. As to the twelve foot limit and the five years contracts, the Government supported the promoters on those points because they had made a bargain with the bill-posting trade who withdrew their opposition to the Bill on those conditions. The Government would not oppose any Amendments in another place if the promoters decided to accept them in order to restore the Bill to its original shape in these particulars. He thought the Bill was of a significant character, because this was the first time that Parliament had passed a Bill for the purpose of protecting cities and towns from disfigurement and the beauties of scenery from injury. The Bill would not add sixpence to anyone's wealth but was simply one for suppressing ugliness, and they trusted that it would be the precursor of more legislation which would help to improve the surroundings of people in the towns and the aspect of the country.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford) said that in view of the satisfactory assurances of the hon Gentleman as to the twelve foot limit and the five years contracts he would not move the Amendments he had on the Paper. If his Amendments were not inserted in another place the injury to the trade would be very grave indeed.

MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor) congratulated the hon. Gentleman on the existence of the House of Lords, because otherwise he did not see how these Amendments could be made. With reference to the Amendments as to the twelve foot limit and the five years contracts he thought that in view of the agreement between the promoters and the bill-posting and printing trades upon which the Second Reading was passed, there would be something very like a breach of a Parliamentary understanding if the House passed the Bill in its present form. Therefore it was essential to make these alterations in another place. He thought he was right in saying that the question of the length and height of advertisements had been time after time before the Police and Sanitary Committee, which was a very strong Committee, and on every occasion it was suggested that the words limiting the advertisements to twelve feet in height should be inserted. That was decided on the ground that Sub-section (1) was really only justified in respect to hoardings which endangered public safety. It was quite clear that if the hoardings exceeded twelve feet in height they might very easily endanger public safety, and it was desirable to limit their size on that ground. He did not see why any lesser advertisement should be interfered with because of its size. If they allowed local authorities to interfere with smaller advertisements, they would in his opinion be putting into their hands a rather dangerous power, because it was claimed that if they were allowed to make regulations for advertisements of quite a small size they might be competing with other bodies or institutions who were putting up small advertisements. It was very easy for local authorities to make regulations which would suit their own advertisements of less than twelve feet in height, but seriously prejudice their competitors and rivals. On these grounds he thought the words ought to be retained. There was another point to which he desired to call attention. The words of Clause 2, sub-section (2) so far as he could see, did not cover the small indecent advertisements which no doubt all Members of the House at some time or another had seen on such places as the posts of gates in country lanes and roads.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL said that power was given under another statute. In the Local Government Act there was a general power to make by-laws in regard to that, and many such by-laws were in force at the present time.

MR. EVELYN CECIL said he was very doubtful whether that Act could deal with such advertisements as those to which he alluded, but if it was admitted that it did deal with them to some extent it was nevertheless desirable to put in words here to make it quite clear that the local authorities could make by-laws to deal with those advertisements, because the words of the clause obviously could not apply to a country gate. The Bill was wanted, and wanted quickly, and that was why he urged that it should be passed through its Third Reading and these details dealt with in another place. The longer they waited the more likely were vested interests to be created. People would say that these advertisements had been allowed in the past and ought to be allowed in the future, and that the more beautiful the place might be the more desirable it was that advertisements should be put there. If the beauty of the country was to be retained the sooner they dealt with the matter the better. He shuddered to think what would happen in the Lake district, for instance, if the example of what was done at the Niagara Falls was followed. He trusted, therefore, that the Advertisements Regulation Bill would be passed quickly in order that the beauty of our health resorts and the beautiful scenery of our country places might be safeguarded.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said that the Bill did not claim in any way to deal with the Advertisements Act of 1889, nor did he think it was necessary to extend the Bill in that direction, but he desired to point out that this was a very serious question, and that the Act of 1889 which the hon. Member had said was incorporated in this Bill was an absolute dead letter. Although he supported the Bill as it stood he was most anxious that the promoters should see if it was not possible to extend to the local authorities powers which they either did not or could not exercise at the present moment with regard to indecent advertisements. Everybody must be aware of the particular kind of advertisement to which he referred; it was infinitely worse than any sky sign. He differed from the Under-Secretary for the Home Office in his view that the Bill was of no utilitarian value. Was the saving of art of no utilitarian value? Art was just as utilitarian as science or law. In passing a Bill of this character and preserving art they were conferring a great utilitarian boon on the country. He altogether dissented from the view that in removing from the beautiful country side these hideous advertisements, they were doing a purely sentimental thing. The beauty of the land was a great asset to that country. Having regard to the time he would not go into that, but would content himself by saying that the law with regard to indecent advertisements was in a most unsatisfactory condition, and that the law passed ten or twelve years ago was a dead letter. He therefore hoped the promoters would extend the Bill in that direction.

SIR PHILIP MAGNUS (London University) called attention to the fact that forty Members were not present.

House counted, and forty Members being found present,

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) said the Under-Secretary for the Home Department had said that if in another place the promoters of the Bill wished to reinsert the 12ft. limit and that five years should be substituted for two years the Government would give those proposals their support. He strongly protested against the decision of the Committee being overridden in that way. The Bill was discussed at length in the Committee and those provisions were inserted by a large majority, and that the Government should desire the Upper House, which they abused so much to insert provisions which the Standing Committee had struck out was a thing he strongly protested against. If these matters had been brought up on Report the House of Commons would have had an opportunity of expressing an opinion as to whether the Standing Committee was right or wrong. The Government were not treating the Standing Committee with the consideration to which they were entitled. He asked whether there were any other Amendments which the Under-Secretary proposed to have inserted in another place, because he himself had proposed and carried an Amendment in Standing Committee that councils of urban districts of 10,000 inhabitants should be authorities under the Act, and he went away happy in the belief that that would be embodied in the Bill. Unless he had some explanation he would not know which way to vote.

MR. CARLILE (Hertfordshire, St. Albans) said that this was a Bill which everyone agreed should be passed, but at the same time many of them thought the authorities who were to carry it out should be the district councils. They felt that the county council had so large an area under its care that it would be impossible for it to realise what the local sentiment was with regard to these matters, whereas the local district council would be familiar with local antiquities and curiosities which to them would be of the greatest importance, but of the existence of which the county council might be unaware. Travellers by railway, or motorists, and others were very much harassed by the number of advertisements along the lines of route. They did not wish to be reminded at every two hundred yards that they had a liver.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER (Mr. CALDWELL) said that these matters had already been referred to by previous speakers.

MR. CARLILE said that he had endeavoured not to repeat the speeches of hon. Members. He had not repeated his own speech.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER (Mr. CALDWELL) said that by the Standing Order a Member might repeat neither his own speech nor the speeches of other people.

MR. CARLILE said he had endeavoured to deal with matters quite outside those which other speakers had dealt with. The object of the Bill was for the suppression of ugliness, and it was realised that the beautiful scenery——

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER (Mr. CALDWELL) said the beauty of the scenery had been referred to by almost every previous speaker in the debate.

MR. CARLILE asked with respect whether there was any subject within the four corners of the Bill to which he might refer.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER (Mr. CALDWELL): It is not for me to advise the hon. Member.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 207; Noes, 12. (Division List No. 233.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Ashley, W. W.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Astbury, John Meir
Balcarres, Lord
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brigg, John
Brodie, H. C.
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt. Hn Sir J. T (Cheshire
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Carlile, E. Hildred
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Corbett. C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Craig, Capt. James (Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Crooks, William
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Esslemont, George Birnie
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Fletcher, J. S.
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gordon, J.
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r.)
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N. E.
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Heaton, John Henniker
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.

Mr. Ashley.

Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Liddell, Henry
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Macdonald, J.M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Laren. H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison Frederick
Magnus, Sir Philip
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Meagher, Michael
Menzies, Walter
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Moore, William
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Donc'st'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey Thomas Willans
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley, W.E.B. (Bradford, E.
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Renton, Major Leslie
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Sir C.E. (Manchester)
Scott, A.H. (Aston-under-Lyne)
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Wardle, George J.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Williams, Llewelyn (C'rmarth'n
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Hn. C.H.W. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Younger, George
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Hart-Davies and Mr. Beale.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Donelan, Captain A.
Ffrench, Peter
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Lockwood, Rt Hn. Lt.-Col. A.R.
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Charles (Donegal, E.
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Lord Robert Cecil.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

EDUCATION ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

SIR F. BANBURY moved the omission of Clause 1 (provision as to vacation schools and health of school children). He said he had every desire that precautions should be taken to ensure that children should not attend elementary schools in such a condition that they would spread infection among other children. But this clause went far beyond that. Like many other clauses which were incorporated for sentimental reasons, it did a great deal more than was intended. The hearts of the hon. Gentlemen in charge of the Bill had, in fact, rather run away with their heads, and if the clause were passed in its present form great incovenience would result not only to the ratepayers but the children of the country. If the powers of the clause were confined to subsection (b), he would not have so much to say to it, except on the grounds of expediency, because he thought in a matter of this kind it should be obligatory on the parents to bear the expense, and not the Board of Education, on whom he presumed it would fall, if not upon the rates. The first section apparently gave power to the local education authority to invest the doctor with powers to examine in any place where he thought that certain children required medical attendance and examination. Could hon. Gentlemen give any definition of the words "playing centres during the holidays?" In many towns the playing centre was the middle of the road, and if this clause was carried in its present form it would be open to the local education authority to direct the doctor to wander about the centre of the road and medically examine the children he found there, because it was a "playing centre." If it could be shown that he was wrong he would withdraw his Amendment. Would the hon. Gentleman kindly inform him what "means of recreation" meant? It might as far as he knew mean football or something of that sort. He took it that means of recreation referred to a place, because the clause gave power to provide children attending elementary schools with the means of recreation, but if they left out certain parenthetical and descriptive words, the clause read that the child should attend the "means of recreation." He was not at all sure that the clause was in order, because during the time he had been in the House, now some fifteen years, he had always understood that if a proposal did not make sense it was out of order; and he thought he had proved that this clause was not sense. The Board of Education had authority in all these matters, and he would like to know how the department was to direct a local authority to provide for "children attending a public elementary school . . . . or means of recreation?" He passed from that to the next lines in the section. The State not only took care of the children, it not only educated them and clothed them, but it was now to provide something in the nature of a public sanatorium. Was that the intention of the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill? If that was his intention then the opposition to the Bill would be much greater than he supposed. If that was not his intention, the clause ought not to have been introduced in this particular form. The Bill was not discussed on the Second Reading at all. His recollection was that it came on at the end of business, and hon. Members opposite appealed to him to let it pass and he did so; he was wrong; he ought to have taken the trouble to read and study it before acquiescing in the Second Reading. The fact was that when these Bills went upstairs, and the House knew nothing whatever about them, they were liable to misconstruction. He had endeavoured very shortly to put before the House the reasons which actuated him in moving the omission of the clause.

*Mr. BYLES (Salford, N.) said he wished to ask Mr. Deputy-Speaker whether he had not powers under the Standing Orders to arrest a frivolous speech which was obviously intended, probably for an ulterior motive—he was sure that the hon. baronet would not disagree with that—to waste the time of the House.

Sir F. BANBURY: May I ask whether it is right to impute motives of that kind to any hon. Member?

Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER said that in regard to the question which the hon. Member asked him he had to say that he had rights under the Standing Orders the exercise of which was in his discretion. In regard to the other matter, he did not think that the imputation of motive in any way reflected on the hon. Baronet.

Sir F. BANBURY said if the hon. Member had waited he would have found that he had nearly finished his remarks, and he begged to conclude by moving the omission of the clause.

Captain CRAIG, in seconding the Amendment, said he would like to consider sub-section (b) of the clause, which provided that it was the duty of the local education authority to provide for the medical inspection of children before their admission to a public elementary school. It appeared to him that those words covered far more than really appeared from the clause. Was it intended to provide medical attendance for children from their birth? As the clause stood it would appear that children were to have medical attendance from the day they were born, because there was no saving clause providing that the inspection should be to ensure the fitness of the children to attend the school in order to receive the benefit of the education there given. He did not so much object to inspection of the children to see that they were fit to attend school, but it would involve an enormous expense if children were to be medically attended from the day they were born. In the clause were the words "such other occasions as the Board of Education direct," which would appear to afford a very elastic loophole to the education authority. Where was the expenditure of the local rates to stop? Those who had charge of the duty of striking the rate might have definitely made up their minds not to add another penny to the rates for the coming year; but after the rate had been made, the Board of Education might direct the local authority to execute some work under this Bill, and those who had determined not to add to the rates would find themselves compelled to put them up after all. That might occur in a place already so heavily rated that the ratepayers could not bear any further burden. What would happen would be that some parents would benefit by having their children medically attended from their birth and would also, at the cost of the rates, have recreation provided for them. Some parents provided for the education of their children at their own cost, and also furnished them with amusements in their own homes; yet those parents would have also to contribute to the cost of providing medical attendance and means of recreation for the children of others. Was the parent of a child captured at the age of between three and five, possibly subject to a disease of a lingering character, to be relieved of all the expense which in ordinary circumstances was borne by parents, and was that expense to be paid by the local education authority; if not, who was to pay it?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER said the hon. Member was simply asking a series of conundrums as to what the meaning of the clause was. He thought that the hon. Member ought to explain to the House why he objected to the clause; that was not the proper occasion to ask a number of questions as to what the meaning of the clause was.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said by sub-section (a) they were going to empower the local education authority to tax the parents of children who would be unable to avail themselves of the privileges provided in order that the children of another section of parents might during their vacations enjoy the advantages of playing in the grounds provided for them. The words of the section were very wide indeed, and gave the local authority very large scope in interpreting the meaning of the words "means of recreation." He objected to the ratepayers being mulcted in this way, for they did not know what the clause meant, or how a local authority would construe the words "means of recreation." They were not only asking the people to bear an unfair burden, but they were interfering with parental authority. They were empowering the local authority to provide playgrounds and amusements which would attract the children away from their homes, possibly against the wishes of the parents. Unless the hon. Member gave some indication to the House as to the real purport and scope of the clause he should vote with the hon. Baronet, and he should do so with more decision if he was assured that these means were to be left to the discretion of the local authority, which perhaps would be dominated more by sentiment than by business capacity and business considerations. The fact of its being left to the county councils might lead to the powers used at elections for currying favour, by suggesting the provision of some elaborate playground or place of amusement and recreation.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out Clause 1."—(*Sir F. Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'provide,' in page 1, line 7, stand part of the Bill."

MR. W. R. REA (Scarborough) said he had not much to say in reply to the two speeches which had been made by the mover and seconder of the Amendment. He, of course, deferred entirely to the hon. Baronet as an older Member of the House, but what had happened had unfortunately slipped the memory of the Member for the City of London. The hon. Baronet had forgotten that during the discussion of the Education Bill last year there was absolute peace and concord over these two identical clauses, which were taken from that Bill. He claimed the support of not only hon. Members on that side of the House, but of the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford University, and, he thought, of the Leader of the Opposition himself, who both associated themselves with the present Chief Secretary for Ireland in regard to these two clauses. He thought he was right in saying that the Leader of the Opposition said that these two clauses were worth the whole of the rest of the Bill together.

Captain CRAIG: That is not saying much.

Mr. W. R. REA said that, at any rate, whatever its worth, the clause they were now discussing had the unanimous support of the whole of the House. When it went to another place a slight modification was made in it, but without affecting its principle. It was a modification which he had accepted, so that the Bill now stood in precisely the form in which those two clauses passed in another place, and they were among the clauses which were agreed upon when the Bill came back to the House of Commons. The hon. Baronet charged him with having brought in an ill-drafted Bill, but he thought that he was not called upon to defend himself against such a charge; he would merely shelter himself behind not only the two Houses of Parliament, but also the official draftsmen. One question had been raised by the hon. Member who had seconded the Amendment, which perhaps might be more appropriately considered on a later Amendment, in regard to medical inspection before or at the time of admission into public elementary schools. There, again, he would point out that the word "before" obviously meant that it was impossible for the inspector to inspect a number of children at the moment of their admission into the school. It was necessary to provide that some of the inspection should be carried out before the admission of the children. There was no intention, of course, of inspecting them from the time of birth, nor of providing medical attendance for children of all ages. The clause must be read as a whole, and it imposed the duty of providing inspection before admission, a course which seemed right, in connection with admission into public elementary schools. He thought the House might take it that the official drafting was correct on that particular point; therefore, there was no need for the Amendments which followed later on the Paper, or for the objection of the hon. Baronet who moved this Amendment. He did not think it necessary to say anything more, except in regard to the definitions. There, again, he sheltered himself behind the phrasing of the clause, and he would point out that it was very much easier to live under a certain provision than to define it. He remembered the observation of the present Secretary for India, who, asked to define an elephant, said he could not define it, but he knew an elephant when he saw it. Similarly he could not define a playground or place of recreation, but if the hon. Baronet would go with him he would be very glad to take him to see one, and show him what a play-centre was.

Lord R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) said he had no intention of opposing the Bill, which he thought excellent and one that ought to be adopted. The House would recognise that the question was of some importance, and they really had not had any opportunity of discussing the principle of the Bill. Generally speaking he agreed as to the desirability of the measure, but he had some doubt as to sub-section (a). He felt that there should be some place of recreation for these children during holiday times, when they might otherwise have no resource except to play in the streets. But he was not quite sure that it was a matter which it was desirable for the State to undertake. He thought it was an exceedingly difficult thing, one of the great difficulties of modern legislation, to define exactly what the State should or should not undertake. He had some little doubt as to the effect of sub-section (a), but he gave way on that point to greater authorities who knew more about the subject than he did. The attitude taken by the Leader of the Opposition had been referred to, and in view of that declaration and other circumstances he would not be able to vote for the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London. As for subsection (b) it was clear that provision ought to be made for the medical inspection of children, although he was inclined to think that in some cases the parents ought to pay for it. There were strong reasons for providing for the medical inspection of children quite apart from their health. It was important that Parliament should know what was happening to the population. They ought to know whether it was a fact that town-bred children were very much weaker than country-bred children. He was in favour of the medical inspection of children, and he could not agree that it would cast any hardship upon the ratepayers who had no children of their own. The only caveat he desired to enter was that he thought the promoters might consider whether some provision should not be made with reference to recovering the expense of medical attention from those parents who could afford to pay. They ought to have some regard to the parents' duties as well as their rights. In such a matter as this it should not be overlooked that anything which weakened the responsibility of the parents to provide for the health and education of their own children would be a retrograde step.

*Mr. REES said it had been assumed by some hon. Members that the children bred in the towns were weaker than those bred in the country, but that was by no means proved yet. The noble Lord opposite had also stated that he thought the expense of medical inspection should be recoverable from the parents who could afford to pay. He entirely agreed in that view. Parents should pay for their children whenever they could.

Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order. There is an Amendment down upon that point later on.

Colonel LOCKWOOD appealed to the House, in the interest of the amusement, recreation, and health of the children of England, to pass the Bill. The objection of the hon. Baronet was based upon the score of expense, and although he recognised him as an economical man, he was afraid that his desire for economy sometimes led him a little too far. His noble friend had said that it was difficult to draw the line as to how far the State should pay instead of the parent. Not long ago he had the honour of introducing to the President of the Board of Education an influential deputation on this very subject, and they were told that the Department had prepared a Bill under which the question of hygiene and temperance would be laid before the House. The Government had not yet given any notice of their intention to bring forward that Bill.

The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY to the BOARD of EDUCATION (Mr. Lough, Islington, W.): Yes, it has been introduced.

Colonel LOCKWOOD thought the subject was one which ought to have been dealt with in a Government measure, and not in a Bill brought forward by a private Member. The Bill was almost unanimously agreed to when it was brought forward in March last, when a discussion took place in which the Leader of the Opposition, in expressing his approval of the proposal, said he hoped the Government Bill would provide that the enormous burden thrown by primary education upon the ratepayers would not be augmented by a measure the general provisions of which they all desired to see carried out. He had not seen the Government Bill, but he presumed that the Member for Scarborough would hardly claim that this Bill would not increase the rates. As a large ratepayer he would object to a substantial increase of the rates; but the small increase of the rates which the Bill might cause would be as nothing compared with the advantages to the nation in the improvement of the health and physical condition of the children attending the elementary schools. He would like to see the establishment of a medical bureau in connection with the Board of Education. He would also like to see a course of instruction in hygiene forming part of the training of the teachers, so that they might be able to teach the children how to attend to their physical condition. The Bill was a step in that direction, and as such it had his support. The deputation to which he had alluded emphasised strongly the necessity of having a thorough supervision of the health of the children of the country, and that all the information it was possible to get on the question should be carefully collected, and kept by the Education Department. Through the kindness of a gentleman in the medical profession he had had the advantage of having the children attending the village school of which he was the chairman of the managers thoroughly examined, and he had been able to make a most interesting and instructive comparison with a school near London. He hoped that such a medical inspection would be carried out in every school in the country. The provision for the training of the teachers in the matter of hygiene and temperance opened up a very large question which he was afraid would entail a considerable amount of expense. He would not begrudge the expense if he could be assured that the scheme provided would produce a body of teachers capable of thoroughly instructing the children in all the subjects connected with hygiene and temperance. It was because he foresaw in this Bill considerable possibilities in that direction that he was induced to recommend its adoption so strongly to the House.

Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I wish to remind the right hon. Gentleman that we are not now discussing the whole Bill. It is true that Clause 1 is practically the whole Bill, but it was discussed at length on the Second Reading. The right hon. Gentleman must confine his remarks to Clause 1 and not discuss the Bill as a whole.

Colonel LOCKWOOD said that if the hon. Baronet's Motion were adopted the whole Bill would be defeated and he was anxious to prevent such a catastrophe.

*Sir WILLIAM ANSON (Oxford University) said he deeply regretted that he was unable to support the Amendment of his hon. friend. In supporting the clause he did not feel that he was departing from the principles which were accepted on that side of the House when the matter was discussed last year. He was fortified in taking that course by the opinion which was then expressed by the Leader of the Opposition. They were all agreed that vacation schools were very desirable things for the reason that in the large towns in holiday time the children lost the comfort and society of the school and its playground and were driven to play on the streets. Vacation schools in which organised play could be provided, and in which lighter educational work could be done, mainly of a manual character, would be of very great value to the children attending the elementary schools. In the country districts he thought the children were very well able to look after themselves. But he would like to be sure that proper use had been made, and would be made, of the voluntary agencies which had hitherto worked the vacation schools. It was eminently a question in which voluntary effort should be associated with that of the local authority, because there was work in the vacation schools which could be better and more usefully done by voluntary agencies than by the local authority. On the other hand, the direction of the local authority was of very great importance to give permanence and stability to, and to ensure the proper conducting of, the work.

Mr. W. R. REA said the promoters of the Bill accepted in Committee a proviso in the following terms—

> "Provided that in any exercise of powers under this section the local education authority may encourage and assist the establishment or continuance of voluntary agencies, and associate with itself representatives of voluntary associations for the purpose."

*Sir WILLIAM ANSON said he would have liked the proviso to say that the local education authority "wherever possible shall encourage and assist" the voluntary agencies.

Mr. W. R. REA said the words suggested by the hon. Baronet would more properly form the subject of another Amendment.

*Sir WILLIAM ANSON said he was entitled to discuss the general principle of the clause. As to medical inspection, the clause dealing with it was worth all the rest of last year's Education Bill; and he was convinced that such inspection would be of infinite value to the health of the country. He wished to know from the hon. Member in charge of the Bill, or the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, whether he was right in supposing that the fear expressed by his hon. friend behind him was somewhat groundless with respect to the words in the clause "before or at the time of their admission." He did not think the words would give the right to inspect children from the time they were born, because, after all, the powers were given not to the local authority, but to the local education authority, and they could only concern themselves with children who had entered, or were about to enter, public elementary schools. There was some ground he thought for the question which had been raised as to what was meant by the words "the power to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Board of Education for attending to the health and physical condition of the children educated in public elementary schools." A committee had made careful inquiry into the subject of medical inspection of school children, and, so far as he could follow their report, the inspection would not be a very expensive matter. The charge upon the rates for this purpose need not in urban places come to more than one-tenth of a penny. If they were to add medical attendance for children, then the matter became more serious, and the question arose whether the parents might not be called upon to contribute towards the cost incurred. The question of additional medical staff for the Board of Education and the question of an anthropometrical survey, which were referred to by his hon. friend, were not raised by this measure. He hoped the Bill would be allowed to pass through the House that afternoon.

*Sir FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan) said that in the course of the week he had on the Paper a Question to the Prime Minister in regard to this subject, and he had on two occasions been requested to postpone it. He wished to direct the attention of the House to the fact that there was on the Table of the House a Bill dealing with the very matter which they were now discussing. The subject of vacation schools, therefore, came before them practically as a ministerial proposition. He thought that those who like himself were friends of education had every reason to complain of the course taken by the Government. He also complained that the Prime Minister had not answered his question. Last year this clause passed both Houses of Parliament. In this matter their only desire was to promote the health and well-being of the children. It was a case in which the argument of economy was wholly misplaced, for he did not believe it was economy to allow the physical condition of the children to deteriorate. As to the opposition to sub-section (a) he cared little for the opinion of those who desired to see the children driven into the streets during the holidays. As to sub-section (b), he was glad that an advance had been made in recent years in regard to medical inspection. Those who visited the schools could not help seeing what need there was for such inspection. Some children were suffering from diseases which might have been stopped if timely inspection had taken place. He was most anxious that the Bill should pass.

Sir F. BANBURY asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*Sir FRANCIS POWELL moved an Amendment to give the local education authority power to "take such steps as they may think fit in order to" provide vacation schools, classes, and play centres. He said the Amendment was proposed in the most friendly spirit. It should be borne in mind that in this matter they were not dealing with the local education authority alone; the co-operation of voluntary agencies was expected. He thought, therefore, if the words of the Amendment were inserted, the intention of the clause would be made clearer. A condition similar to what he proposed was contained in the Provision of Meals Act of last year.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 7, after the word 'to,' to insert the words 'take such steps as they think fit in order to.'"—(*Sir Francis Powell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. W. R. REA said he was sure the hon. Baronet's desire was to strengthen the Bill, but it appeared to him that the

Amendment would not tend in that direction. The clause was drafted by the official draftsman of last year's Bill. The proviso at the end of the clause was arrived at as the result of a large amount of discussion between the contending parties.

SIR HENRY CRAIK (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities) said the Amendment was not necessary. The Provision of Meals Act was not a parallel case. They were not all agreed last year as to the steps they should take. Some thought that the local education authority should provide the machinery and equipment, and that voluntary agencies should supply the food.

SIR FRANCIS POWELL asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 9, after the word 'or' to insert the word 'other.'"—(*Mr. Bridgeman.*)

Question, "That the word 'other' be there inserted in the Bill,"—put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 10, after the word 'local' to insert the word 'education.'"—(*Mr. Bridgeman.*)

Question, "That the word 'education' be there inserted in the Bill,"—put, and agreed to.

*SIR PHILIP MAGNUS moved to leave out the words requiring medical inspection to take place "before or at the time of" admission to the school, in order to insert words permitting the inspection to take place "at any time within twelve months after" the child's admission to school. He saw that there would be very great difficulty in the inspection of the children at the time of their admission into the elementary schools. Children were drafted into the public elementary schools from the infant schools in September. It was quite true that the medical inspection might be made before, but that raised a very great difficulty which had been suggested by an hon. Member that the medical inspection might go on over the entire infancy of the child. It would be seen at once from the clause as it stood that a very large number of inspectors would be required if the inspection of all the children were made at the commencement of the session. He did not wish to suggest anything which would interfere with the excellent intention of the clause. He was sorry that he did not get an opportunity in Committee of expressing his entire approval of the general scope of the Bill, which, he hoped, would be carried this session; but he thought the Amendment would considerably facilitate the inspection of the children, and prevent the employment of a large number of inspectors. He beg to move.

CAPTAIN CRAIG seconded the Amendment. He could not impress too strongly on the House the absolute necessity of limiting in some way the time at which the children were to be medically inspected. The case for the Amendment amounted to this, that where children were compelled to attend a school, and where it was necessary to have medical inspection to see that they were not carrying with them any infectious disease, the inspection should not take place all on the same day. He hoped the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would accept the limitation proposed in the Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 17, to leave out the words 'before, or at the time of' and insert the words 'at any time within twelve months after.'"—(*Sir Philip Magnus.*)

Question proposed, "That the words to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. W. R. REA said that he was willing to accept the Amendment if it was so altered that the inspection might take place within twelve months before or after admission to the public elementary schools. He thought that would put an end to the whole difficulty.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL thought that there should be inspection continuing during the whole time the child was at school.

MR. W. R. REA said that the hon. Baronet had lost sight of the second portion of sub-section (b) which covered the object which he had in view.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON said that he hoped the words in the Bill would be retained. What was really very important was that the children should be inspected as near as possible to the time they entered the public elementary schools. If the inspection were made, as the hon. Member in charge of the Bill now proposed, at any time within twelve months before or after the child was admitted to the public elementary school the inspection would not do the work expected of it. The child's eyesight or its hearing might be defective, and if this were not ascertained he might get into scrapes for not seeing what was written on a blackboard, or not noticing the orders of his teacher, or the child's physical condition might make it undesirable for it to play certain games or to take part in the physical exercises required of it. All those things should be known when the child went to school, and to postpone the inspection until twelve months after its arrival in school would be to lose a great deal of the value of inspection. On the other hand, to make the inspection twelve months before admission was unwise, because all manner of things might have happened in the meantime. He wished that the hon Member in charge of the Bill and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education would turn their attention to the necessity of the child being inspected at the time or as near as possible before it entered a public elementary school.

*MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham) said he trusted that the hon. Member for London University would withdraw his Amendment. As showing the necessity of examining the child immediately after admission to the school, he pointed to the fact that in some German schools as many as 34 per cent. were sent back as not physically fit to receive education. If they were unfit and they continued in school the public money would be wasted.

SIR HENRY CRAIK hoped that the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would adhere to the words of the clause as it stood. The words "before or at the time of" were perfectly well understood. Sometimes, for convenience sake, it might be necessary to submit the child to examination a few hours or it might be a few weeks before entering the school; but the local education authority had nothing whatever to do with the child twelve months before it entered the school. Anyone acquainted with educational matters knew that the words "before, or at the time of" were words of technical usage, which were perfectly understood.

*MR. TALBOT (Oxford University) appealed to the Parliamentary Secretary to help the House to find the words which would carry out the object they all had in view, viz.: to ensure that there should be a medical inspection of all children admitted to Elementary Schools. Before they came to School, the Board of Education had nothing to do with them.

MR. LOUGH said he was not responsible for the wording of the Bill, which had been considered by the draftsman. He admitted that there would be a practical difficulty if all the children were inspected at the time of admission to school. He thought it might be easy to adopt words which would cover that difficulty. He suggested that the most convenient form of words would be "immediately before, at the time of, or as soon as possible after" the child entered the school.

*SIR PHILIP MAGNUS said he would be quite willing if the House desired it to accept the words suggested by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, but he could not help thinking that the words of his original Amendment "that it is the duty of the local education authority to provide for medical inspection of children before, or as soon as possible after, their admission to public elementary schools" were better. He would further like to say that there was some medical and educational advantage in the proposal, as the teacher would have an opportunity of ascertaining for himself or herself what was the health of the children. The medical inspection would be more useful if it took place some time after the children attended the school.

He therefore placed before the House his original Amendment, and that was after the word "or" to insert "as soon as possible after."

SIR F. BANBURY said he did not know where they were. He understood that the Amendment of his hon. friend was going to be accepted except in regard to the words "before or." It would probably be convenient, therefore, if he gave his objection to the words "before or."

MR. H. J. TENNANT (Berwickshire), on a point of order, asked whether, as they were discussing the words "before or at the time of," it was in order to go back and discuss the words "before or."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER said the words could be discussed, because the words "before or" were part of the words "before or at the time of."

SIR F. BANBURY said he objected to the words "before or" because they would give a roving commission to the medical inspector to inspect a child at any time before it entered the school. His object was to limit the inspection of the children to the time when they went into the school. They all recognised that the children should be medically inspected as soon as possible afterwards, because medical officers could not always examine children at the time when they went into the school. He had an Amendment on the Paper to leave out the words "before or," but if his hon. friend moved the new Amendment which he had suggested his Amendment fell to the ground. An hon. friend behind him suggested that his objection would be met by the insertion of the word "immediately" before the word "before." He saw no objection to that, and if the hon. Gentleman whose Amendment they were discussing would accept that he would say no more.

*SIR W. J. COLLINS (St. Pancras, W.) said he understood that the proposal was that the medical inspection of the children, if it was to be useful, should be carried out before their admission or at the time or shortly afterwards. He thought administrative difficulties would probably occur in large urban populations if they were to insist on the inspection being made available at or about the time of the children's admission to school. It was not the business of the local authority to inspect prior to admission. The best time was shortly afterwards, because teachers, when they had become familiar with the children, were able to indicate to the medical officer certain diseases or defects which they thought the children were suffering from. Therefore he thought the co-operation of the teacher with the medical officer would be secured if the words "as soon as possible after" could be incorporated in the clause.

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton) suggested that the clause should be made to run: "The duty to provide for the medical inspection of children at the time of, or as soon as possible after, the admission of a child to a public elementary school." That would carry out the idea of the hon. Member with which he agreed.

MR. CARLILE asked what was the position of the children in the infant schools. He understood the hon. Member in charge of the Bill to say that it only applied to elementary schools, and did not apply to infant schools. He wanted an assurance that the children in the infant schools would be included and would be subject to the same inspection as the children in the elementary schools.

MR. LOUGH suggested that the most convenient form of words would be "immediately before, or at the time of, or as soon as possible after" the admission of the child. He thought the House might accept that.

Amendments—

"In page 1, line 17, at beginning to insert the word 'immediately;'"

"In page 1, line 17, after the word 'of' to insert the words 'or as soon as possible after,'"—

Agreed to.

Captain CRAIG said he wished to move the omission of the words which provided that medical inspection of children should take place "on such other occasions" as the Board of Education directed. He thought that after the compromise which had just been arrived at with the assent of both sides of the House, under which the inspection was to take place "immediately before, or at the time of, or as soon as possible after," the question was left in such a precise manner that if the words to which he objected were permitted to stand in sub-section (b) it would simply mean that the Board of Education might by a stroke of the pen go back to the objectionable position which they were in under the Bill as it came before the House. The clause as it stood would protect the children as a whole, and why afterwards the Board of Education should have this power, he could not see. He could conceive cases in which the local education authority made complete arrangements for inspection, and after a thorough inspection had been carried out the Board of Education might insist upon another.

Sir F. BANBURY seconded the Amendment, because the Bill as it at present stood would give the Board of Education power to override and upset the decisions of the local education authority. It seemed to him that if the words were retained, they would give the Board of Education a great deal more power than was necessary.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, lines 18 and 19, to leave out the words 'and on such other occasions as the Board of Education direct.'"—(*Captain Craig.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. W. R. REA was sorry he could not accept the Amendment. They had made a compromise on the earlier portion of the clause, and that rendered it all the more necessary that they should stand firm in regard to the latter portion.

Sir WILLIAM ANSON said he could not help thinking that his hon. friend did not quite realise the effect of this clause, and how much his proposal, if carried, would undo the whole value of the scheme. The Board of Education would, no doubt, lay down regulations which would prevent the local education authority from running into extreme action in regard to inspection. It was important that the local inspector should be able to say that such and such a child in one of his schools wanted attention, and ask that that child should be brought to him again so that he might examine it. It was necessary, therefore, that there should be periodical inspection, and they ought to leave to the local authority the power of making suggestions to the Board of Education and to leave to that Board the power of guiding the local authority in regard to that inspection.

Colonel LOCKWOOD said he knew there would be many cases in which the local education authority would come into conflict with the Board of Education, but he thought the latter were by far the best judges of what was necessary in the way of inspection. There were many sources of information which were possessed by the Board of Education alone and were not available to the local education authority. The information was of a most valuable character, and, therefore, he trusted that the words in question would not be omitted.

Captain CRAIG said that after what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman on the front bench he felt reassured, and, therefore, he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. ASHLEY moved to insert a proviso to the effect that any expenses incurred under the Act for attending to the health and physical condition of children should be recoverable from the parents of the children in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. He said he had not the slightest objection to the community paying the cost of the schools of education, or of medical inspection. Those were matters which ought to be attended to by the nation, but he thought that where arrangements had been made for attending to the health and physical condition of a child attending a public elementary school, in cases where the parent was in a position to pay, if possible, he should be made to pay. He thought the local authority should be given this power, because medical inspection might disclose the fact that the children wanted clothes in order to attend to their health and physical condition. They might want spectacles, and so on. Moreover, they might want merely to be properly washed and cleaned, and if the local education authority took steps to have them washed and cleaned they might go back to their parents' home and become dirty again. They would go to the root of the evil if they made a parent, when he was able to, pay the cost of keeping his children healthy, and he would send his children to school in a clean condition and also see that in other respects they were properly clothed and attended to if it were so enacted.

Sir F. BANBURY seconded the Amendment, which he said was practically a proposal for making the parent pay the cost of keeping his children. It was a little difficult to follow because it was not on the Paper, but in certain cases it provided that the local authority should recover from the parent the expense which they had been put to. He did not think that hon. Members below the gangway could contend that where medical attendance had been given in consequence of the neglect of a parent, that parent, if he was well off enough to pay, should not be made to pay. It seemed to him impossible for anyone to object to the Amendment, because if the Bill were carried without it the ratepayers would be called upon to pay for medical attendance for the children of people who were perfectly well able to pay for it themselves.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 23, at the end to insert the words 'provided that any expense incurred under this Act for attending to the health and physical condition of the children shall be recoverable from the parents of the children in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction.'"—(*Mr. Ashley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. W. R. REA said he could not possibly accept such an Amendment as this. He had not seen the actual wording of the Amendment, and therefore it was difficult to deal with, but it seemed quite impossible to say for whose benefit a great part of the medical attention, if there was medical attention, was given, and in most cases it was so minute that it was impossible to charge for it. The Amendment raised a much larger point than anything they had been discussing, namely, the question of how much parents were to be called upon to contribute. He really thought, if his hon. friend wished to do anything with that question, he ought to bring in a separate Bill and not try to graft totally extraneous matter on the measure before the House.

Mr. EVELYN CECIL said that if the parent could pay for medical inspection or attendance which was for the improvement of the physical condition of his children, there was no question but that he should do so. This was a very important Amendment. He thought that now-a-days the tendency was to go too much in the direction of State socialism. He felt very strongly that parents ought to be made to feel the responsibility of their position, and everything that tended in the other direction was deleterious to the welfare of the nation. In view of the very positive attitude taken up by the hon. Member in charge of the Bill he thought it was their duty to divide the House.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON said he was anxious not to delay the House, but he thought hon. Members were entitled to some explanation of what was meant by the words of the clause under consideration. He felt very strongly that the cost of medical inspection such as the local education authority was to provide, would be so small that it would not be worth while to charge the parents, but on the other hand arrangements for the health and physical condition of the children might mean a great deal, and he thought they were entitled to know from the Secretary to the Board of Education what was meant by those words.

MR. A. WILLIAMSON (Elgin and Nairn) said the Amendment would have a much more far-reaching effect than the hon. Member contemplated. A scheme for attending to the health of the children was at work in a school with which he was connected at Liverpool, a large number of the children of which were nursed by trained nurses who attended to those infantile diseases and complaints which good mothers attended to themselves. The Board of Education had been for years willing to assist in that work, but owing to red tape they had been unable to give any grant. One of the great objects of the Bill was that they should be able to give grants to such charitable institutions to assist them in carrying on their good work. It was now suggested that if a grant of £100 was given to a charitable institution that that £100 was to be recovered from the parents. That was what would happen if the Amendment were carried. As to the meaning of "a scheme," what he thought the Government had in their mind was to assist those voluntary institutions. He hoped the hon. Member would not insist on his Amendment, having regard to how very seriously it would affect that object if it were carried.

MR. LOUGH said the Bill simply gave power to the local authorities to make such arrangements as the Board of Education might approve. The effect of that was that, first of all, a scheme must be approved by the local authority, and after that by the Board of Education. He thought the House might be perfectly satisfied that there would not be undue extravagance. He had been to the school alluded to by his hon. friend and he saw there no less than forty children on one particular morning being attended by one of these nurses. The ailments were very slight, but it was of the utmost importance in the interests of the health of all the children in the schools that they should be attended to. The Amendment provided that that work should not be done unless the parents paid for it, or at all events it gave the local authority power to follow the parents for the trifling cost entailed. He reminded the House the clause in this Bill was carried unanimously by the House last year, and under those circumstances he asked the hon. Member to withdraw his Amendment.

LORD R. CECIL believed the Amendment would make entirely for the larger working of the measure. It merely provided that in particular cases the local authority should be empowered to recover certain expenses. If the Amendment were rejected, only the smallest and most insignificant services would be rendered to the children, because the local authority would be reluctant to incur expense.

MR. ASHLEY said that if the Amendment were not accepted he would be compelled to go to a division.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said in order that the House might clearly understand what they were voting for he would point out that Sir Charles Bine Renshaw computed that the cost of the Bill so far as Scotland was concerned would be between £300,000 and £400,000. Hon. Members would be able to calculate for themselves what the cost for England and Wales would be unless some such Amendment as that now proposed were agreed to.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD pointed out that no answer had been given to the question of his hon. friend as to the meaning of the words "arrangements for the health and physical condition of the children." Did they mean hygiene and sanitation as well as these other things, because if they did that opened up a very large question.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 39; Noes, 229; (Division List, No. 234.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn SirAlex.F.
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring,Capt.Hn.G.(Winchester
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Carlile, E. Hildred
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Clark,George Smith(Belfast,N.)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim, S.
Craig,Capt. James (Down, E.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fletcher, J. S.
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Helmsley, Viscount
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Hervey,F.W.F.(Bury S.Edm'd
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Liddell, Henry
Lockwood,Rt.Hn.Lt.-Col. A.R.
Lousdale, John Brownlee
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Moore, William
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Rees, J. D.
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson, W.Mitchell-(Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount
Verney, F. W.
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart-

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Ashley and Lord Robert Cecil.

NOES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen,A.Acland (Christchurch)
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Astbury, John Meir
Baker,Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring,Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Benn,W.(T'w'r Hamlets,S.Geo.
Bethell,Sir J.H.(Essex,R'mf'rd
Billson, Alfred
Bowerman, C. W.
Branch, James
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Bright, J. A.
Brunner,J.F.L.(Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner,Rt HnSirJT(Cheshire)
Bryce, J. Annan
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Corbett, A.Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett,C H(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Craik, Sir Henry
Crean, Eugene
Crosfield, A. H.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Donelan, Captain A.
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Duncan,Robert (Lanark,G'van
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harrington, Timothy
Harvey,W.E. (Derbyshire,N.E.
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)

Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hogan, Michael
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Jones, SirD.Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lamont, Norman
Lever,A.Levy (Essex,Harwich)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down,S.)
MacVeigh,Charles (Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Marks,G. Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Menzies, Walter
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan,J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, Philip
Murray, James
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholls, George
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Connor,James (Wicklow,W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps,J.Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price,RobertJohn (Norfolk, E.)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley,W.E.B. ((Bradford,E)
Radford, G. H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Renton, Major Leslie
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,SirG.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robson, Sir William Snowden
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,SirC.E. (Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton-under Lyne
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheffield,SirBerkeleyGeorge D.
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smith,F.E. (Liverpool,Walton)
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley, Hn.A. Lyulph(Chesh,)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sutherland, J. E.
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Aberl(Carmarthen,E.)
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Walter Rea and Mr. Trevelyan.

SIR F. BANBURY moved to omit the word "may" and insert "shall," the object being to compel the local education authority to assist the establishment of voluntary agencies. The Amendment was moved in Committee, but rejected. Nevertheless, he thought it was a very good Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 25, to leave out the word 'may' and insert the word 'shall.'"—(*Sir F. Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'may' stand part of the Bill."

*MR. REES said he was the author of this proviso, and he submitted it upstairs to the Committee with the word "shall," and still thought it should run in those words. However, the proviso as now found in the Bill was the result of a compromise in the House of Lords, and as the Committee had inserted that proviso, he though the must keep faith by supporting the Bill as it stood. He thought in the interests of economy, and for the due protection of the ratepayers, the word should have been "shall," but as he wished the Bill to pass he would not detain the House further in arguing that question. In his opinion ratepayers were sufficiently mulcted in all directions already, and he thought that the local authority should be bound to avail itself of all the voluntary aid it could get. If the hon. Baronet proceeded to a division, he should, of course, support him, but he presumed the Amendment would be withdrawn.

MR. W. R. REA said he could not accept the Amendment. The matter was discussed at length in Grand Committee and another place, and the clause was the result of the compromise arrived at.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS [EXPENSES].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment out of money provided by Parliament of salaries and expenses incurred in pursuance of any Act of the present session to amend the Law with respect to Small Holdings and Allotments (King's Recommendation signified), Monday next.—(*Mr. Harcourt.*)

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir **WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON** reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Injured Animals Act (1894) Amendment Bill): Sir Philip Muntz; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Injured Animals Act (1894) Amendment Bill): Colonel M'Calmont.

Sir **WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON** further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee B (added in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Lloyd Morgan; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Abel Thomas.

Sir **WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON** further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Vaccination Bill): Mr. Ainsworth; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Vaccination Bill): Mr. Watt.

Sir **WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON** further reported from the Committee that they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills (added in respect of the Small Land-holders (Scotland) Bill): Mr. Hugh Law; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill): Mr. Flynn.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

Whereupon Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No. 3.

Adjourned at five minutes after Five o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 17th June, 1907.

The Viscount Hood sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) [H.L.].

Also the Certificate that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—London County Council (Money).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Standing Orders Committee—Report from, that the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Great Central Railway Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed.

Read, and agreed to.

Killery's Divorce Bill [H.L.]. A witness ordered to attend on the Second Reading of the Bill.

Pasley Children Legitimisation Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Grays and Tilbury Gas Bill. Reported, without Amendment.

Brighouse Corporation Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments, and committed to Committee of the Whole House on Wednesday next.

Broadstairs and St. Peter's Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Select Committee, that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The orders made on the 25th of February last and the 4th instant discharged, and Bill committed.

Rawtenstall Corporation Bill. Read 2ª, and committed.

Merthyr Tydfil Stipendiary Justice Bill [H.L.]; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Port Talbot Railway and Docks Bill. Read 3ª, and passed.

Advertisements Regulation Bill; Clyde Navigation Order Confirmation Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Manchester Ship Canal (Various Powers) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Shanklin Gas Bill; South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills—Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 72 and 82 be suspended for the remainder of the session.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª (according to order) and passed, and sent to the Commons.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

JAMAICA.

Correspondence relating to the earthquake at Kingston, Jamaica, on 14th January, 1907.

TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

Further correspondence relating to affairs in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in continuation [Cd. 3025] and [Cd. 3028].

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

COLONIES (MISCELLANEOUS).

No. 41. East Africa Protectorate (Report on the Forests of Kenia).

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3822. Argentine Republic (Rosario).

No. 3823. Denmark (Iceland).

No. 3824. China (Ningpo).

No. 3825. China (Kiukiang).

No. 3826. Japan (Hakodate).

No. 3827. Egypt (Port Said and Suez).

COLONIAL MERCHANT SHIPPING CONFERENCE, 1907.

Report of a conference between representatives of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth of Australia, and New Zealand on the subject of merchant shipping legislation.

INSURANCE UNDER THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS.

Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to consider whether the Post Office should provide facilities for insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Acts.

Minutes of evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed to consider whether the Post Office should provide facilities for insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Acts.

MINES AND QUARRIES.

General Report and Statistics for 1905—Part IV. Colonial and Foreign Statistics: Statistics relating to persons employed, out-put, and accidents at mines and quarries in the British Colonies and in foreign countries.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

Annual report on the state of the finances of the University of St. Andrews under the provision of Section 30 of the Act, for the year 1905–1906.

Annual statistical report by the University Court of the University of St. Andrews to the Secretary for Scotland under the provisions of Section 30 of the Act, for the year 1905–1906,

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904 (COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN).

Order made by the council of the county of Glamorgan, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain shops within the Blaengarw, Pontycymmer, Bettws, and Pontyrhil Wards of the Ogmore and Garw Urban District.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853–1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Licence granted by His Majesty to Elizabeth Maria Goodall, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution, London, S.W.

COUNTY OFFICERS AND COURTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877.

Account of receipts and payments under the Act during the year ended 31st March, 1907.

SAVINGS BANKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

(Post Office Savings Banks Fund). Account for the year ended 31st December, 1906.

(Savings Banks Fund). (Friendly Societies Fund). Accounts for the year ended 20th November, 1906.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN (COUNTY AND BOROUGH COUNCILS) BILL [H.L.].

Order of the Day for the House being put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Earl of Crewe.*)

LORD BELPER, who had given notice, on the Motion that the House do now resolve itself into Committee, to move—

> "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee; and that it be an instruction to the said Committee to consider and report whether the co-operation of women in certain matters of local government entrusted to county and borough councils might not be more effectively secured by methods other than that of election

by the council as aldermen or by the ratepayers as councillors,"

said, My Lords, in rising to move the Amendment which stands in my name, I should like to make clear what my object is. I wish, in the first place, to give an opportunity for the Bill to be further considered as to some of its details, and especially as to what is likely to be the result if the Bill passes into law. In addition to that, my object is to allow any alternative proposals for securing the co-operation of women in county and borough council work to be considered at the same time as the Bill is considered—in fact to secure that the Select Committee, if it is appointed, should have full powers to deal with the whole question, and arrive at a conclusion as to the most effective way of securing our object—namely, that those women who would be useful in county and borough council work should be able to give those authorities their assistance.

Now, my Lords, let me say that I intend moving this Instruction to the Committee because I believe it is the correct mode of securing my object. Although the matters which I wish referred to the Committee are not exactly on the lines which the Bill proposes, they are entirely cognate matters and quite in accord with the purpose for which the Bill has been brought in. It might be argued by those who had only seen the figures of the Division on the Second Reading that when a Bill is carried by a majority of more than three to one there is not much necessity for a Select Committee or for further inquiry; but any one who had read the debate which took place upon the Bill and had observed the drift of the speeches that were delivered on that occasion would, I think, agree that there were a considerable number of Members on this side of the House, who, although they were very unwilling to vote against any measure of which the principle was to obtain the assistance of women on county and borough councils, yet felt very strongly that there might be alternative modes in which that might be better secured. I need only refer to one speech—that of the noble Marquess the Leader of this side of the House. The speech of the noble Marquess was entirely in sympathy with the object of the Bill, though he did suggest considerations as to whether that object might not be brought about in a somewhat different manner.

The two points which I ask the House to consider are, in the first place, what is really the business which county and borough councils have to transact in connection with which the opinion of women would be really valuable; and, in the second place, what is the best way of securing the co-operation of those women whose services would be really useful on those councils. I allude to the first point because the noble Marquess the Leader of the House, in summing up the debate the other night, remarked that he did not think any speaker had enumerated those matters which county councils had cognisance of but in connection with which the services of women would not be useful.

Taking the principal matters with which county councils have to deal and the committees which are appointed for a special purpose, I naturally turn, first, to the Standing Joint Committee, which has the administration of the police and also has to deal with the arrangements for the administration of justice. Notwithstanding the remarks which were made by the noble Marquess on the other side of the House, I venture to think that those two questions are eminently questions on which a woman, if she had a seat on the committee, would not bring any very new point of view to bear. As a matter of fact, the Government have themselves recognised this by providing in the Bill that, although a woman may be competent to preside over a county council, she should not be competent to be a justice of the peace. Then there are the committees dealing with the management of roads, highways, bridges, and county buildings. I do not think that it can be said that the presence of women would add anything to the value of the deliberation of such committees. Next I take the committee which deals with diseases of animals and matters of that kind, on which I think it is obvious a woman would have no place.

Then I come to two important committees—the Parliamentary Committee, which deals with many different subjects which are constantly arising; I think in my own county there has never been a year in which the Parliamentary Committee has not had serious work to do defending the interests of the ratepayers in connection with measures brought into Parliament—and the Boundaries Committee, which deals with the representation of the parishes on the smaller local authorities, with the boundaries of the county, with election areas and matters of that kind, of which at all events women can have had no special experience. Then there is the Food and Drugs and Weights and Measures Committees, which deal with very important matters in the administration of the Acts in connection with those matters. I do not for a moment wish to assert that a competent woman having a seat on a county council might not sit on those two committees with advantage, but still the work done by those committees is not of such a character as to cause anyone to say that a woman ought to be elected for the purpose of taking part in it. Lastly—and lastly only because I do not wish to weary the House with further enumeration—I take the Finance Committee. Although the noble Marquess who sits opposite (the Marquess of Northampton) alluded to the thrift of many women and to the fact that in the household probably the greatest economy is practised by the wife, I am bound to to say I hardly see the bearing of that argument on the duties of a County Finance Committee. The members of a Finance Committee have a great variety of questions to deal with, and questions of particular importance owing to the large sums of money passing through the hands of the council, especially for educational purposes. The best means of borrowing money, the question of the organisation of the staff, the arrangement as to scale of salaries, questions of county rating—these and various other duties have to be undertaken by the Finance Committee, the members of which require experience in finance and special training. Again I do not suggest that a woman might not have a seat on that committee, but I do not think that a Finance Committee would come under the heading of those committees on which it could be said that the services of women would be exceptionally useful.

Then I come to the two committees I mentioned the other night on which the services of competent women would, as regards some of the duties, be extremely useful—the Asylums Committee, especially where there are female lunatics, and the Health and Sanitary Committee. As far as sanitary matters are concerned the duties of county councils are only those of supervision; they have no initiatory powers. Those powers are in the hands of district councils, and it is to those councils that women should look if they desire to take part in sanitary duties and in questions concerned with the housing of the working classes. As to the supervision of midwives, I consider it would be of great advantage in this work to have the assistance of women, and I venture to think that the first thing they would find out, if elected to such a committee, would be how limited and imperfect are the powers given to county councils for that purpose.

The question of infant life protection was referred to the other day by the most rev. Primate. I ventured to make a slight interjection of non-agreement when the most rev. Primate referred to county councils having jurisdiction over that matter. The London County Council, it is true, have jurisdiction over the whole of the county of London with regard to this matter. In boroughs the authority is the borough council, and in all the counties throughout the country the authority is the board of guardians. Women can already sit on boards of guardians. Therefore, if a woman seeks a seat on a public authority for the purpose of dealing with this matter the board of guardians is the authority to which she should look. Probably the most rev. Primate was thinking of the London County Council when he alluded to county councils having jurisdiction in the matter, and I had in my mind when I interrupted him county councils generally throughout the country.

I freely admit that there are a very large number of other matters which come within the purview of borough councils in the administration of which women might usefully be asked to take part. There are the questions of sanitation, housing, and infant life protection; and other Acts have been passed in the carrying out of which the assistance of women would be very often extremely useful. I am bound to say I very much regret that county and borough councils are treated in this Bill on the same terms, and that no distinction has been made between the duties of the two bodies.

I now come to a point of considerable importance—namely, what would be the effect of this Bill if passed. Theoretically, it is admirable to enable women to sit, not only on committees, but also on the councils themselves, and take part in the debates. The question arises whether the women you want to get on county councils to take part in these duties would be able to secure seats. At the present time there is great competition, and no man has a chance of a seat on a county council unless there happens to be a vacancy in his own division or someone retires in his favour; and I doubt, looking to the fact that they would have to face a contested election in a large number of cases and address a considerable number of meetings, whether those women who are doing the best work in connection, for example, with education would be willing to stand the contest, or, if they did, whether they would be successful in securing election.

The alternative mode suggested in the course of the Second Reading debate — namely, that of co-opting women on to particular committees for which they had special qualifications—would at all events result in securing the best women for the work with which they were specially competent to deal. The experience we have had on education committees has shown that that process has been most successful. Ladies are giving up a great deal of their time to this work, and have been found of great assistance in the consideration of the vast number of details which come under the head of education.

There is one other point I should like this Select Committee, if appointed, to consider. I think it would be very interesting if we could know how far the privilege which has been given to women of sitting on district councils and boards of guardians, more especially on district councils, has been availed of; and I think if the Committee could get a return of that sort it would be some guide to us as to what would be likely to be the result in regard to county councils. A district council is comparatively easy to get on to, compared with a county council; the appointment is only by a parish, and in many cases women would secure election without any contest whatever; and those bodies have to deal with many other duties in which the co-operation of women would be useful. I took the trouble to ascertain what was the case in my own county—the county of Nottingham—with regard to urban and rural district councils. That county has a typical population, part of it being rural and a considerable part urban. There are twelve urban district councils in Nottingham and ten rural district councils. They represent a population of over a quarter of a million. Yet I find that there is not a single woman sitting on an urban or rural district council throughout the whole of that county. I do not know what is the case with regard to other counties, but I think that is rather a suggestive statement; and it would be worth while at all events to see if in other counties women have taken advantage of the powers now possessed by them of sitting on these smaller councils, which are nearer their own homes and would take up much less time than the county council.

There is another matter which I am obliged to bring before the House, and which I think ought to have considerable weight with your Lordships in deciding whether or not to send this Bill to a Select Committee. On Saturday last I received what purports to be a copy of a letter addressed to the Prime Minister by a number of ladies on the education committees of county and borough councils. That letter contains such serious statements with regard to this matter, some of them totally contrary to what my own experience has been, that I feel bound to bring it before the House. It appears that this letter has been lying dormant in the possession of the Government or the Prime Minister for fifteen months. It was dated March 1st, 1906, and appears to have been made no use of on the Second Reading of this Bill or to have seen the light at all until it was sent to your Lordships under the patronage of a society which calls itself the Women's Local Government Society. I will not trouble your Lordships by reading the letter, but will give the gist of it. The women addressed the Prime Minister because, they said—

> "We feel that the disabilities under which we labour seriously impair our power of usefulness."

And then they went on to say—

> "The borough or county council is often in fact, as well as in name, the education authority, and actively directs and modifies the policy of its committee; questions with which we are specially interested are consequently settled in assemblies from which we are excluded."

This letter is signed by no less than 310 ladies who have seats on education committees. I am bound to say that I read that statement with extreme surprise. It is absolutely contrary to my experience in my own county, and to the information I had gained with regard to what goes on in a great many other counties. Finding among the signatories the name of a lady with whom I am well acquainted, I ventured to write to her and to quote that paragraph. I asked her whether in her experience the decisions of education committees were constantly overruled by the county council, the supervising education authority, and whether she could give me any points with regard to that which had come within her own knowledge. I do not wish to give the name of the lady, as I have no authority to do so, but she writes to me as follows—

> "I cannot imagine how my signature can have become attached to such a statement. I can only absolutely refute it and deny it. I have never heard the statement you quote made, nor have I seen it in print or written. It is entirely contrary to my experience. . . . I have scarcely realised that the committee is not the ultimate authority."

That is all I know about this letter. It seems to me that at all events some inquiry is necessary. I do not know whether there may be other ladies who have signed this paper, like the lady to whom I refer, without knowning all its contents. But, even supposing this letter is, generally speaking, correct, I think it is of great importance that we should know how many councils there are who, as the letter says, often over-ride the decisions of their education committee. Such information would throw considerable light on the question we have to consider.

I do not wish to pass from this letter without referring to a paragraph at the end, because, as usual, the sting is in the tail. The letter goes on to say—

> "We venture to ask that His Majesty's Government will consider whether steps can be taken to enable women to be elected and serve as members of county and borough councils. We make this request in the interests of education, but we may add that the presence of women would be useful in carrying on other branches of work, such as supervision of female lunatic asylums and inebriate homes, supervision of baby farms and midwives, regulations with regard to street trading by women and girls, and the inspection of workshops where women are employed."

When I read that paragraph I had a very shrewd idea that this letter must have been drafted by someone who knew nothing whatever about the work of county councils. It is true that the supervision of lunatic asylums and midwives comes within the duties of county councils, but with the other matters, to deal with which these ladies are so anxious to get on county councils, county councils have hardly anything at all to do; in fact, they have no power in regard to two or three of these matters. The supervision of baby farms comes under infant life protection, and any lady who wished to take part in that work would have to seek a seat on a board of guardians. As to the rules regulating the employment of children, the borough council is the authority in all boroughs over 10,000, and the urban district council in all urban districts over 20,000. Your Lordships will recognise, with regard to the employment of children in streets and otherwise, that the necessity for regulation arises almost invariably in populous places, and therefore although a borough council has jurisdiction in smaller areas it is not a matter which has very often to be taken up by them. Then there is the inspection of factories. This comes under county borough authorities and district councils, but county councils have nothing to do with it; and, with regard to inebriate asylums, very few of them are under the direction of county councils, and therefore that is not a matter in connection with which women would find very much to do on county councils. I should like to ask whether these ladies who are burning to get on county councils in order to take part in the work of supervising baby farms, of inspecting factories and workshops, etc., were aware, when they signed this letter, that the greater part of these matters were not within the jurisdiction of county councils at all, and that by securing seats on district councils and boards of guardians they could take part in the administration of the greater portion of the duties mentioned. This letter has now seen the light for the first time, as far as I know. It has been sent round, with a letter from the secretary of the association named, in view of the Motion which is being made to-day, and in order, I suppose, to endeavour to influence your Lordships not to support it. The secretary's letter contains this most extraordinary statement—

> "No doubt the most capable of women will be the least likely to be co-opted in the future, and certainly not for a second period of service."

In these circumstances it seems to me that we should know how far the statements in this letter have been personally vouched for by the people who have signed it. I have said enough, I think, to show that this is a matter which should be inquired into, and I hope that if the Committee is appointed it will sift the statements that are made, and, if they are borne out, they will, of course, have very considerable weight in the direction of the Government's Bill.

I think I have shown good reasons for appointing a Select Committee. At all events I have indicated that there are means by which the co-operation of women could be secured on these councils other than those proposed by the Bill. I should like to add that I have not brought this proposal forward at the wish of the County Councils Association. They have not considered the Bill, and on the whole, I think, it is very likely that, if they had had an opportunity of doing so, they would have decided that it was not necessary for them to express an opinion upon it. In bringing the Amendment forward I am anxious to do all I can to make the local government of the country—county and borough councils, and especially county councils, in which I take so much interest—efficient, and I trust that the Committee will succeed in arriving at some solution which will afford an effective means of securing the assistance of the most capable ladies on these bodies.

Amendment moved—

> "To leave out all the words after 'That' for the purpose of inserting 'the Bill be referred to a Select Committee'; and that it be an instruction to the said Committee to consider and report whether the co-operation of women in certain matters of local government entrusted to county and borough councils might not be more effectively secured by methods other than that of election by the council as aldermen or by the ratepayers as councillors."—(*Lord Belper.*)

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, the Motion and speech of the noble Lord have made it quite evident, what I think was pretty clear before, that, assuming as I do that he is not acting alone but in concert with other Members of your Lordships' House, a large number of those who voted for the Second Reading of the Bill only did so with considerable reservations and qualifications. In fact, supposing we were of the same suspicious turn of mind as the noble Viscount, Lord St. Aldwyn, who accused us of some *arrière pensée* in bringing in a Bill at all, we might be tempted to imagine that a considerable number of those who voted for the Bill only did so in the hope that a Motion of this sort might be introduced and that the matter might be thereby indefinitely shelved. I do not accuse the noble Lord who made the Motion of taking that view.

LORD BELPER: I did not vote on the Bill.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Whether the noble Lord voted or not, I do not accuse him of holding that view, because I believe he would be glad to find some way by which women could be associated with county councils. Still less do I accuse the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition of holding that view. I do not ask him either to confirm or deny the statement, but the impression that was left on my mind by his speech was that the noble Marquess was so anxious that some means should be found of associating women with county and municipal work that sooner than let the matter drop altogether, if no other way could be found, he might be induced to consent even to this Bill.

The noble Lord who has just sat down has made a most interesting speech, but it was a speech, so far as I am able to form an opinion, directed against the Second Reading of the Bill; and the noble Lord gave no reason whatever why the very singular and unusual course should be taken of referring a measure of this kind to a Select Committee. After all, the question before us at this moment is not the importance of this or that particular proposal so much as whether reference to a Select Committee is the proper way to treat this Bill instead of forwarding it through its stages in the ordinary manner.

Now, my Lords, I want to know what it is proposed that this Committee should do. The noble Lord has not told us whether he proposes that the Committee should call evidence or not. The object of a Select Committee, so far as I know, is not to collect the opinions of a great number of people, nor indeed to supply arguments to those who wish to debate a question, but to ascertain hitherto unknown facts. Those facts are coordinated and collected, and upon them a Report is founded which the Committee makes to the House, and upon that Report the House is able to form its judgment. If witnesses were called in a case of this kind they would simply be witnesses of opinion, not witnesses of fact. No doubt you could call a number of witnesses of various views. There would be no difficulty in finding a number of ladies who would say that they would very much rather have nothing to do at all with the work of county councils, either as co-opted or elected members; you could gather others, of the type of those who wrote the letter to the Prime Minister, to which the noble Lord has alluded, who would say that they were not satisfied with co-option and desired to stand as candidates; and very possibly some ladies of a more retiring disposition would be found who would profess themselves content with matters as they are. But, my Lords, such opinions would get you no further in forming a judgment upon the merits of the case.

These are all questions of policy. The facts are perfectly well known. It is perfectly clear what women would do if they were elected on county councils, because, for instance, they have already been elected on the London County Council; and as to whether the particular kind of women who might stand and be elected is the right kind to give the particular service required, that is a matter on which evidence is obviously of no use, because it must be simply and solely a matter of opinion. As regards the letter to which the noble Lord has alluded, I quite agree that in such a matter as this signatures have to be weighed as well as counted; but I think the noble Lord was scarcely fair in the manner in which he dealt with the fact that this measure applies to borough councils as well as to county councils. I think one must assume that the ladies who signed the document, connected as they are some with county councils and some with borough councils, quite appreciated the difference in the jurisdiction of the different local bodies, and therefore signed it *qua* their own position and *qua* the powers they would obtain if elected on any of these different bodies.

A Committee, in considering this question of policy, might decide to take the Bill as it stands, and on that I need only say that the Bill does provide for a certain degree of co-optation; for if noble Lords think women ought not to be subjected to the turmoil of election, they could, under the Bill, be elected as aldermen, either to borough or county councils. Then, again, you might take the course of co-opting a further number of women on to the council in addition to those who would be elected as aldermen for all purposes; or again, you might extend the principle of co-optation from those committees on which women can now sit to other committees, or to all committees. I cannot help saying that the arguments of the noble Lord when he pointed out that there were certain committees, such as the Joint Committee, for instance, of county councils on which it was not desirable, or indeed, proper, that women should sit, rather seemed to imply the possibility of a county council composed entirely of women. Nobody supposes that women need necessarily be elected on all committees. As a matter of fact we have known among those of our friends who are members of county councils some who are extremely well fitted to serve on one committee and who would be equally ill placed if added to another committee. Those things settle themselves. No one imagines that a very large number of women would be elected to any council, and those that were elected would shake down to the work of the committees for which they are suited, just as men do in similar circumstances. It is sometimes assumed that you have a complete analogy in the manner in which women now sit on education committees in counties. But there is no complete analogy at all, for this reason—that women do not sit on those committees as women but as experts. If anyone will take the trouble to look at Sec. 17 of the Act of 1902 he will see that it is absolutely necessary that a certain number of outsiders—experts—must be elected on these committees, and a further subsection goes on to provide that some of those outsiders must be women.

All the questions that could be raised before a Committee are questions of policy, and are not matters in which evidence would be of any value; and if, on the other hand, it is not intended to call evidence, what is the use of a Select Committee? In what way will it be better than the Committee of the Whole House or the Standing Committee? To put the matter very shortly, I cannot understand why your Lordships should not take the simple and by no means unfamiliar course of altering a Government Bill as seems best to you. The Bill is in the hands of the majority of your Lordships. You can do what you like with it in Committee of the Whole House or in the Standing Committee, and all that we can do is to state our own opinion on the different propositions presented.

I think the noble Lord in moving this Instruction has come very close indeed to, if he has not overpassed, the line of order. It is to me a somewhat novel idea to send a Bill to a Select Committee with an Instruction tacked on to find out if there are means of doing something entirely different from what the Bill proposes to do. I should have thought that the proper plan would have been either to reject the Bill and refer the whole matter to a Committee, or for the noble Lord to have brought in an alternative Bill, and to refer the two Bills together to a Committee. Holding as we do that the Bill can perfectly well be considered by the ordinary process, we shall be obliged to vote against the noble Lord's Amendment.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I regret the decision which the noble Earl announced, in the conclusion of his speech, that the Government will oppose this very moderate proposal to refer the Bill to a Select Committee; but I rather gathered, from the tone of the noble Earl, that although he and his friends are prepared to resist this Motion they do not altogether condemn the policy which has dictated it.

The noble Earl, in his speech the other night, frankly told us that he was introducing a Bill on what was not a Party question. That is perfectly true. There are great differences on both sides of the House, in respect to this Bill, but one thing emerged, I think, from the debate on the Second Reading—namely, that most of your Lordships are anxious that women should take a larger part in matters of local government in the future. That was the general view of your Lordships reflected in the Division Lobby. Certainly we did not vote for the Second Reading of the Bill, as the noble Earl rather hinted, in order to postpone the discussion of the question. At least, that was not the view with which I supported it. On the contrary, I have held for some time that women might, with advantage to the country, be much more freely employed in matters of local government than they are at present.

The noble Earl asked why a Committee was necessary, and added that there was nothing for a Committee to take evidence upon. I confess that I was very much surprised at that observation. In the first place he discarded altogether evidence as to opinion. Why? Are all opinions fully represented in your Lordships' House? I should be the last man to say anything in derogation of this House, but it is clear that all opinions are not represented here, and in this particular subject there is one class of opinion which is very much unrepresented—namely, the opinion of the women who are authorities on this subject and who take part in local government. They are only indirectly represented in your Lordships' House; and yet the noble Earl says there is no evidence as to opinion which it is worth your Lordships' while to consider. Then there is evidence of fact. If the noble Earl will carry himself back to the otherwise convincing speech which he addressed to your Lordships on the Second Reading, he will find that he gave us very few facts. There is the question, What women are at present elected to serve on local bodies? That is very material in considering whether we shall proceed by election or co-optation. The noble Lord who has moved the reference of this matter to a Select Committee gave us the facts with regard to his own county, the only county from which he had had an opportunity of collecting information, and in which there is not a single woman elected upon either of the local bodies on which women can sit under the ordinary law.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I do not think the noble Lord went so far as that. He said nothing about boards of guardians.

LORD BELPER: I referred to urban and rural district councils only.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: At any rate on the urban and rural district councils in Nottingham not one woman has been elected. Are your Lordships satisfied with that? Do you think it is a good result of our present legislation? I think that a very important consideration, and being in favour of promoting the cause of woman representation on these bodies I would like to know what are the facts in other counties.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: That could be perfectly well ascertained during the course of ordinary discussion.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: But there would have to be great delay. We should have to postpone the consideration of the Bill while the Government were informing themselves of the facts. I think, considering how long this Bill has been on the stocks, that the Government might have employed their leisure moments—that is, if they ever have any—in preparing these facts beforehand. But they have not done so, and that makes the case for a Select Committee all the stronger. Then there is the question of what petitions have been presented by various bodies in favour of the representation of women on these councils. The noble Earl said nothing on that point in his speech on the Second Reading. One of his colleagues, however, said something upon it late in the debate, but I do not know how far that was a complete statement. Then, again, there was the letter from the 300 ladies to the Prime Minister, which has been referred to by my noble friend Lord Belper. Are all these signatures to be absolutely relied upon? I should not have dared to ask such a question but for the evidence which my noble friend who moved the Amendment has brought forward. In the only case which he has been able to investigate it has turned out that the signature is not to be relied upon. That is an important fact. I pass from the signatures to the arguments. Is it the fact, as stated in this letter, that the decisions of women on the education committees are often reversed by the final authority; and how often is it the fact?

*THE EARL OF CREWE: If the noble Marquess will look at the letter he will see that those are not the words.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: No, they are not the exact words, but I have stated the substance.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: What the noble Marquess said was that the ladies complained that their decisions were often reversed. What the letter says is this—

> "The council is often, in fact as well as in name, the education authority, and actively directs and modifies the action of its committee."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I do not understand the difference between what the noble Earl has read out and what I stated. "Modify" is perhaps a more polite word, but it means the same thing. The contention of these ladies is that their decision on the committee is not accepted as final but is subsequently modified. How often is that the fact? In how many counties is it the habitual practice of the council to reverse the decisions of the committee? Such questions are not only material but eminently suited to be the subject of inquiry. They are facts which ought to be in the knowledge of somebody, but which are not in the knowledge of the Government, and these facts the Select Committee could arrive at. Issues concerning facts are so material that without the evidence it is impossible for your Lordships to come to a rational or defensible decision as to whether the object desired should be secured by election or by co-optation.

It may be true that, after we have heard the evidence, we may decide that the final authority is so important that it is better to risk the possibility that fewer women will take part in local government under the system of election than under the system of co-optation in order that they should have this final authority. If that appears to be true, then I for one would be in favour of carrying the Bill in its present form; but if it turns out that it is much more important to get the best women on by way of co-optation, then it appears to me that a case would be made out for altering the Bill. These are not the only questions the Committee would have to investigate. The noble Lord who moved the Amendment drew a distinction between the duties of county and borough councils, and I think that distinction offers another matter for the consideration of the Committee. I am not quite in agreement with my noble friend Lord Belper as to the committees on which he thinks women could not be usefully employed. My noble friend expressed the opinion that women would be out of place on the Joint Committee and on the Highways Committee. I am not prepared to agree with him.

Lord BELPER: I do not think I stated that they would be out of place. I said that they would not be specially useful or bring new light to bear on the matters which come before those committees.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: The Joint Committee has to do with women as well as with men, and the Highways Committee is concerned very prominently with the comfort of the people. The main question with which the Highways Committee has to deal at the present moment is how to prevent the dust nuisance. That is a matter upon which the opinion of women would be very valuable and would be very much in place. Therefore I go further than my noble friend and say that women might be especially useful on both of those committees. But on these and other questions the inquiry of the Select Committee now proposed would be desirable. The inquiry suggested ought not to take very long. The evidence ought to be accessible from a small number of witnesses, and as soon as the Committee had examined the witnesses and reported the Bill could be proceeded with. Matters are not so advanced in another place that they are clamouring for Bills to be sent down from your Lordships' House. I do not suppose that if the Committee stage were passed to-day the Bill would be considered in the other House for many weeks and perhaps months. I would urge the Government not to regard the proposal as hostile to the Bill, or as proceeding from any desire to shelve it, but rather to regard it as made in a friendly spirit, in order to ascertain the facts on which the best possible Bill might be based.

*The Earl of JERSEY: My Lords, if the suggestion of the noble Marquess is carried out, this inquiry will take a long time. He said that the evidence of women who take an interest in this matter should be considered, but I would remind him that the evidence of women is frequently rather diffusive. I am a member of a board of guardians and of a district council to both of which ladies are elected, and I can assure your Lordships that their assistance is of the greatest value. My noble friend Lord Belper, in the beginning of his speech, said he was willing that women should serve upon some committees, but not upon all; in fact, he was rather inclined to ask some to come to tea, but he would hesitate a long time before he extended the invitation to dinner. The noble Marquess who has just sat down goes further than Lord Belper, and says there are other committees on which women might with advantage serve. What does that show? It shows that we must look at this matter from a broad point of view, and consider, not the limitation of the power of co-optation to one or two committees, but whether the presence of women on the county councils themselves would not strengthen those bodies. Your Lordships can easily imagine a woman who has been co-opted on to a committee exercising great influence over that committee; but when the committee's report goes to the county council there may not be present at the council the one who probably was responsible for the report, and it may be thrown out by the council. Surely if a woman is to have the responsibility of advising in committee, she ought also to be entitled to express her views in the full council. Therefore I hope that this Instruction will not be carried. It may be a vain hope, but I should like to see us have the courage of our opinions of the other night. Some people may think, as I do myself, that women ought not to join in Parliamentary contests, but that is no reason why we may not also feel that women can exercise a beneficial and kindly influence on our local self-government. I am sure that the results of our local self-government would be all the better if it could be shown to the public that we have the support and sympathy and energy of every class in the community.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord TWEEDMOUTH): My Lords, I should like to add my voice to those in favour of giving not a grudging but a generous and sympathetic assent to this measure. What has been the opposition offered to the Bill? The noble and learned Lords who took a prominent part in the discussions last week founded their opposition, not upon anything in the Bill itself, but on something neither in the Bill nor germane to it—on the proposal that women should have votes for Members of Parliament. That is not in this Bill, nor does the Bill lead up to it. We are all agreed on the general principle that we ought as far as possible to have the help of women on these local bodies. These women are in a totally different position from the women who are asking for the Parliamentary franchise. The women on whose behalf this Bill is advocated already have the franchise for all our local authorities, and are able to sit on some of them. It is said that there are very few women sitting on the rural and district councils. That is not the case with boards of guardians. Of 24,172 guardians in this country 1,036, or about one twenty-fourth, are women; and of 812 guardians in London, 114, or, roughly, one-eighth, are women. With regard to boards of guardians I think we may fairly argue that the women who have had seats upon them have proved their usefulness and done their work thoroughly well and in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. The proposal that is made from the other side is that you should allow the men elected on county and borough councils to select what women they choose to sit on particular committees. These ladies have the right to vote for county councils, and they ought to be able to share in their business fully. The case we have put before your Lordships is one that is worthy of your support. I believe it is in harmony with the general wish of most of your Lordships, and we on this side of the House cannot accept Lord Belper's proposal, but shall be compelled to oppose it.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I speak as one of those who desire to give a whole-hearted support to the aim and purpose of the Bill, which is to get women appointed on these local bodies. But I am not at all sure, especially after the speech of my noble friend Lord Belper, and the statistics, limited as they were, which he was able to give us, whether the Bill, as it stands, or as it is capable of becoming by the normal modes of amendment, will produce that result at all. I want to see ladies on these local governing bodies, both in boroughs and in counties, as members of the body as a whole; I want to see them capable of defending before the bodies as a whole the arguments they may have adduced before committees. It seems to me, as the Bill stands, that it is exceedingly improbable that under its provisions ladies would in any large numbers be elected, and mainly for the reason that throughout England the elections to the councils of counties and boroughs are for the most part conducted in single-member constituencies, and to vote for a woman candidate would be to make the representation of the constituency wholly feminine. That is not the case at the elections for guardians, nor was it the case at elections for the old school board, for in neither case is the constituency a single-member one. May it not be that, if we adhere strictly to what is here laid down, we shall be in the position that, with all our desire to get women elected on county and borough councils, we shall, owing to one-member constituencies, which, except in London, are prevalent, find that ladies will not secure election on these bodies? I should like to have more statistics bearing on the matter. We want to know how far the district councils have had women placed upon them, and there is other information of a similar sort lacking. The noble Earl in charge of the Bill says that the information will be available during the discussions. Will the Government promise to give us this information? If not, I feel that we go forward in extreme difficulty. I am in favour of the object of the Bill, but I want the mode adopted which is most likely to secure the desired result; and I confess I have grave doubts whether, as the Bill stands, it will produce that result. It may be said that ladies could under the Bill secure a place upon these councils by co-optation or by nomination as aldermen, but the number of aldermen is very limited, and there is great competition to secure that position. I feel that more information is needed, not in order that the Bill may be delayed, but in order that what is done by Parliament may be efficiently done.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: My Lords, by the indulgence of the House I would like to say a word or two in reply to the most rev. Primate. I assume that there will be no difficulty in obtaining, during the course of the ordinary stages of the Bill, the figures as to the number of women who, for instance, now serve on district councils, which was one of the points upon which the noble Marquess wanted information; but I confess I do not quite understand how any figures of that kind, referring to a different body, will throw light on the question whether women are likely to be elected in totally different circumstances. That must be a matter of opinion.

LORD BURGHCLERE: My Lords, the most rev. Primate appears to have forgotten the Instruction to the Committee which in my humble opinion is the governing matter on which we are going to vote. If the most rev. Primate had merely proposed that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee in order to obtain information on those points which he now says he wishes to have considered, that would be a different matter. I think the most rev. Primate will see that the principle for which he wishes to vote —namely, that women should be capable of taking a share in the business of these councils fully and not in part—will be absolutely killed by this Instruction. Therefore, I cannot understand how, if the most rev. Primate is in favour of women being elected to these councils, he can possibly consent to a Committee with such an Instruction as that proposed. But I did not rise to carry on the discussion as to the principle of the Bill, nor to indulge in a Second Reading speech. I rose to suggest to your Lordships that the instruction which my noble friend has moved is entirely and radically out of order. It is quite true, as my noble friend who is now leading the House pointed out, that the question of order is entirely in the hands of your Lordships, but I venture to say that it is contrary to all elementary rules of order that an Instruction should be moved the effect of which is entirely to negative the principle contained in the Bill. The principle in the Bill is that women should be qualified for election to county and borough councils. The Instruction, on the contrary, is that women should be co-opted; in other words, you are going to ask the Committee absolutely to upset the main principle of the Bill, the principle upon which your Lordships voted the other day and which was carried by a large majority. The Second Reading of the Bill was carried not in any way by a Party vote, but in accordance with what might be called the general consent of the House. A vote on the Second Reading is a vote for the principle of the

Bill, and when you have once carried the principle it is quite out of order to move an Instruction to a Committee absolutely to upset that principle. If it is the principle of the Bill that women should be elected, surely it is to negative the principle of the Bill to say they are to be co-opted.

LORD BELPER: There is nothing whatever about co-optation in my Amendment.

LORD BURGHCLERE: No, but the question of co-optation is implied, and it was further implied by the speech of the noble Marquess opposite. The words in the proposal are that it should be an instruction to the Committee—

> "To consider and report whether the co-operation of women in certain matters of local government entrusted to county and borough councils might not be more effectively secured by methods other than that of election by the council as aldermen or by the ratepayers as councillors."

The whole principle of the Bill is that this should be secured by the method of election, and if you have other methods you negative the principle of the Bill. I hold, with all submission, that it is contrary to the dignity of this House and to the general principles of constitutional procedure that you should at the present moment bring forward an Instruction such as this.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM: My Lords, I cannot help thinking that it is quite apparent that those who really desire that women should be able to be elected on an equality with men for this particular form of service must vote against the proposal to appoint a Select Committee. I feel the force of the argument of the most rev. Primate; but even if it be true that this Bill, if passed, would also require a revision of the system of representation in order to introduce a larger number of areas returning two members to the councils, yet it would be well to have affirmed the principle, even if experience showed that it had a limited application. Other noble Lords who have spoken this afternoon have referred to co-optation as an alternative to direct election. But this Bill would not affect the present power of co-optation, nor would it prevent the extension of that power. But whatever system of co-optation may be brought into existence, I desire that there should also be a power to elect women directly. I am not among those who possess the gift of prophecy, and I feel that the question whether many women would be elected is one involving great uncertainty. As to Birmingham, I do not feel at all sure that there are not circumstances in which women might obtain election. It would be a great advantage that some should be elected, and I desire to do all I can to bring that about and to secure that they should have this power in perfect equality with men. For that reason I shall feel bound to vote against the proposal to appoint a Select Committee.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I was very glad that the noble Earl the Lord President at the outset of his remarks made it clear that he did not impute to me any hostility to what I would venture to describe as the main object of this Bill. That object I take to be that we should as far as possible give ampler opportunities to women to take part in municipal affairs, and I for one am anxious that those opportunities should be made as ample as possible, with due regard to the efficiency of the bodies on which these women may be called to serve.

I have probably had less experience of municipal administration than the majority of your Lordships, and I therefore freely confess that there are many points connected with this question in regard to which I should be glad to receive further evidence, with regard both to matters of fact and to matters of opinion. I was very pleased to hear the most rev. Primate enforce a point which I endeavoured to make when I addressed your Lordships the other evening. He reminded your Lordships that the Bill as it now stands gives no security whatever that any woman will find a place on these county or borough councils. To my mind that would not be at all a satisfactory solution; nor, again, is it clear that under this Bill the best qualified women are by any means sure to be selected for employment of this kind. I say unhesitatingly that if I vote for the appointment of this Select Committee I do not do so with any idea of thereby shelving the Bill. I cannot believe that it should not be possible within a comparatively brief space of time to obtain the kind of evidence we desire; and I must be allowed to repeat that if we are obliged to run matters a little fine, the fault is not ours but lies with His Majesty's Government for having brought the Bill forward at so late a period of the session. The noble Marquess the Leader of the House told us the other evening that the delay was due to the autumn session, and that the Departments had, in consequence of that autumn session, not had sufficient leisure for the preparation of their measures. That may be a very good excuse when you are dealing with a long and intricate Bill, such as some of the measures now before Parliament; but this Bill contains two short clauses of about twenty lines altogether, which could have been drafted in twenty-four hours by any competent draftsman if he had been instructed as to the principles on which he had to proceed.

A good deal has been said, particularly by Lord Burghclere, on the point of order. The Lord President told us that we were very near the line, but Lord Burghclere stated we were well on the wrong side of it. I venture, with great submission, to doubt that. I cannot find in our Standing Orders anything that bears very distinctly on this question of order; but I find in the manual of the proceedings of the House of Commons, on page 79, that it is laid down, with reference to Instructions to Select Committees, that—

> "The scope of an inquiry by a Select Committee is defined by the terms of the Order under which it is appointed, but may be enlarged or restricted by an Instruction from the House."

It was therefore felt that, if the Select Committee was to examine fully into the question, it was necessary to enlarge the Instruction, and we do so in the terms of the Amendment which my noble friend has moved. If the Committee was under any disability that disability will be removed by the Instruction which your Lordships will be asked to give to it. Therefore I cannot admit that the Instruction in any way upsets, as we have been told, the principle of the Bill, or that it is in any way *ultra vires*. I take it that, fortified by this Instruction, the Committee might perfectly well report either in favour of the proposal contained in the Bill or of a proposal such as that indicated by my noble friend Lord Belper, or possibly in favour of a resort to both of these procedures in combination. I hope that the Committee will be appointed, and when it has reported and its Report is before your Lordships it seems to me that His Majesty's Government will be perfectly free to consider whether the Bill is still deserving of their support, while your Lordships will be seised of the whole subject, and will be in a position to consider whether it is a Bill which you desire should find a place on the Statute Book.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: My Lords, I feel constrained to say a few words on this occasion because my position is a somewhat unfortunate one. I am naturally anxious always to support and vote in the same Lobby with my noble friend the Leader of the Opposition, but having ten years ago supported the late Lord Salisbury when he opposed the Amendment introduced by Lord Dunraven to the Bill of 1899, in which action I supported the principle of this measure, I feel that I should be stultifying myself if I were now to oppose the Bill before your Lordships. I see nothing in respect of the details of the Bill that could not be discussed in Committee, whereas if the Bill went for examination before a Select Committee it would be some time before your Lordships received the Report. The question of women obtaining these advantages is a very urgent one, and I see no reason why the Bill should not be proceeded with now. Sorry as I am to separate myself from the noble Lords with whom I usually act, I shall feel compelled on this occasion to support the Government.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK: My Lords, I ask leave to add one or two words in this discussion. The desire which really appears to animate your Lordships is to secure, in one way or another, the object aimed at in this Bill, and I shall certainly support His Majesty's Government against the Amendment which has been moved by the noble Lord opposite. I do so because I am not disposed to place any hindrance in the path of the Government. Whatever the intention of the noble Lord's Amendment, I cannot doubt what the result of it would be at this stage of the Bill, and that result is one which goes counter to the real wish, as I understand it, of the House at large. It seems to me, therefore, to be rather a deplorable position. If it be found that this Bill only allows a very few women to obtain seats on these councils, then it would be proved that in order to attain the object the House has before it we must go a little further, but that does not seem to me a reason for not passing the Bill. With regard to the letter from a number of ladies to the Prime Minister, if it be true that the total number of ladies already employed in such service is not a large one, then the fact that over 300 of them come forward and say that they have found their position weakened owing to being co-opted members only, is a very important and material fact. Though I do not think that the Government have quite presented their case with all the efficacy the House would like to see, I ask whether it is not possible, even now, that the appointment of the Committee should be so far delayed as to give an opportunity to satisfy the House of the needed particulars before coming to a decision. If that course is deemed inadvisable, is it not possible to have some honourable understanding between the two sides of the House that the Select Committee should get its work done within a few weeks, in order that the fate of the Bill might not be affected by the appointment of the Committee? It would be a grievous thing, when there is so much opinion in favour of the gist of the proposal, that your Lordships should be unable to make progress with it, and that we should vote upon an issue which would be misunderstood by the people of the country. I do not think that this position would be altogether favourable to our own fair fame.

*VISCOUNT MILNER: My Lords, I hope I may be pardoned if I address your Lordships for a moment upon this question; but I should like to make a suggestion, though, perhaps, a suggestion on a point of order, comes ill from me being but a recent Member of this House. It is difficult for me to understand why it should not be possible, instead of appointing this Select Committee, to proceed by the ordinary method, but to allow say a fortnight to elapse, during which His Majesty's Government, if they have the good will, would certainly have the power of placing before us those statistics which noble Lords seem so much to desire. It is with great regret that I find myself compelled to vote on this occasion contrary to what appears to be the course supported by the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition. I am not one of his regular followers, but I yield to no one in my respect for the wisdom and moderation of the counsel which he usually tenders to the House, and I should always feel much happier in following his lead. But on this occasion I really cannot do so with anything like a good conscience, because I am firmly convinced that, circumstances being what they are, and without considering for a moment who is to blame for those circumstances, the effect of the reference to a Select Committee will be to kill the Bill, and that, I feel, would be a national misfortune. I approach this subject without any very special knowledge of the work of local government, but I am deeply impressed by the fact that a great body of authoritative opinion on both sides of the House seems to favour the view that it would be a great public advantage if a greater number of women took part in the administrative work of those councils to which the Bill refers. That being the case, it seems to me that the question of method becomes a minor question, and it would be a disastrous thing, in my opinion, and would produce the worst effect upon public opinion and give the worst impression of the capacity of this House as a legislative body if, on account of differences on a question of method, the whole proposal were allowed to fall to the ground. I do not conceal from the House that personally I have not the slightest fear of the effect of women becoming full members of these councils. And, whatever may be the value of the arguments contained in the letter which has been so much discussed, it seems to me to stand to reason that the influence and authority of women, and therefore their usefulness, on these councils will be seriously diminished if they are not able to defend in full council the policy which they may have helped to shape in committee. That being my feeling, believing that their presence on the councils will be of great public advantage, that their position will not be as effective as it ought to be unless they are full members, and that they cannot possess full authority except by direct election, I feel bound to vote against a course which seems to me calculated to destroy the Bill.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord LOREBURN): My Lords, my noble friend who leads the House has asked me to say that of course the Government will be perfectly prepared to give any information they possess to the House if the House thinks fit to postpone the Committee stage as suggested. I am not quite clear as to what the information desired is, but I trust that could be ascertained by private communication, and, at any rate, we shall do our best. I would add that, whatever the intention may be—and, of course, I give the credit of good intention to every Member of the House—the result of the Amendment, if carried, would inevitably be to destroy the Bill for this year.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I can only speak again by the permission of the House. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack has made a statement too important to be lightly passed by. I understand him to suggest, speaking in the place of the noble Marquess who usually leads the House, that His Majesty's Government are prepared to lay before us any information of which they are at present in possession or which may be accessible to them, and which might have the effect of giving us that knowledge as to certain aspects of this case which many of us think we ought to have. I understood the noble and learned Lord to add that His Majesty's Government were prepared for an adjournment of this discussion in order to give us time to consider the new position which thus arises. All I can say, speaking, as I have always done in this matter, for myself alone, is that that seems to me a suggestion which your Lordships would do well to entertain, and I therefore should be ready to support a proposal for the adjournment of the debate rather than precipitate a division in which some of us might give a vote which we might afterwards have some cause for desiring to reconsider.

LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: My Lords, I would press the point that a number of noble Lords voted for the Second Reading relying on the understanding derived from the speeches of the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition, Lord St. Aldwyn, and Lord Belper, that the Bill would be dealt with afterwards by a Select Committee. If the adjournment of the debate takes place I hope my noble friends will not forget the circumstances under which the Bill was read a second time.

*VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN: My Lords, as my noble friend has referred to words which fell from me, I would like to say that while I desired that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee with an Instruction authorising that Committee to consider whether it could not be so altered as to provide for the co-optation of women on county and borough councils for certain duties only, yet I did add the additional statement that I should support the Second Reading of the Bill in order that all hope might not disappear of something being done this Session by your Lordships to enlist the greater services of women on these bodies. It seems to me that if we were to proceed with this matter to-night it is conceivable that that hope might be disappointed. Therefore I cordially support the action of my noble friend the Leader of this side of the House in accepting the olive branch held out by the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, and I move that this debate be now adjourned.

Moved, "That the further debate be adjourned *sine die.*"—(*Viscount St. Aldwyn.*)

*THE EARL OF CREWE: My Lords, the proposition which the noble Viscount has just submitted entitles me to say another word. I confess I do not see the precise object of moving the adjournment. It appears to me that either the House is going into Committee on the strength of the assurance we have given that we will supply such information as we have, or it is not. At least I can hardly suppose that the noble Marquess meant that the matter should be left in this way, that after seeing the papers which we are prepared to provide to the best of our ability noble Lords on that side of the House could then say, "Oh! these are not sufficient for our purpose. We will have our Select Committee all the same." I did not take that to be the noble Marquess's proposition. What I understood the noble Marquess to say was that he was prepared to proceed with the Bill in the ordinary manner in the House, on the understanding that in the interval we should give all the information we could. Of course it is open to noble Lords to reject the Bill at any future stage. In these circumstances I would appeal to the noble Marquess whether we might not now go into Committee on the understanding that the Committee should be adjourned for a fortnight.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I understood the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack to suggest that the present stage of the Bill should be postponed, and it is that proposal that we are prepared to accept.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I do not think I had that distinction in my mind. What I meant to say was that we were prepared that the Committee stage of the Bill should be postponed. If I did not make that clear I am afraid the fault was my own.

LORD BELPER: I would point out that if we go into Committee and the Committee stage is adjourned, it means that my Amendment will have to be withdrawn. That is not, I conceive, the proposal made by the noble Marquess on the Front Opposition Bench. I should be quite willing to fall in with the feeling of the House and agree to the adjournment of the debate, which would leave the matter as it stands at the present moment. If the Papers are then produced we can decide upon future action; but, as far as I am personally concerned, I should not be prepared to withdraw the Amendment today, and I certainly should not pledge myself with regard to any future stage of the Bill.

THE EARL OF CREWE: Very well; we will agree to the proposal that the debate be now adjourned.

On Question, Motion for the adjournment of the debate agreed to.

THE IRISH LAND ACT, 1903.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, in accordance with the notice standing in my name on the Paper I beg to ask His Majesty's Government for the following information relative to the Irish Land Purchase Fund created by Section 27 of the Irish Land Act, 1903—

1. What was the total amount on 31st May, 1907, of applications for advances in direct sales of estates to tenants, and offers accepted to sell estates, under Sections 6, 7, 8, and 79 of the Act, representing definite claims on the Fund from the commencement of the Act, and including paid cases.

2. What was the total amount on 31st May, 1907, of the sums lodged in bank or otherwise advanced in respect of the claims mentioned in Paragraph 1 above.

3. What was the total amount on 31st May, 1907, of the sums allocated or distributed (including moneys transferred by the Land Commission to the Land Judge's Court) in respect of the sums mentioned in Paragraph 2 above.

4. What was the total amount in cash placed to the credit of the capital account of the Irish Land Purchase Fund up to 31st May, 1907.

5. What was the total amount thereof assigned to the capital account of the Irish Land Purchase Aid Fund under Section 47 of the Act, for the percentage ("the bonus") payable under Section 48.

6. What was the amount of the Irish Land Purchase Fund available for further advances on 31st May, 1907 (not including any balance then to credit of the Irish Land Purchase Aid Fund).

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, the Answers I have to give to the Questions of the noble Earl are as follows:—(1) The total amount of applications for advances up to the 31st May last, in direct sales and under other sections of the Act, including paid cases, was £50,750,549; (2) the total amount lodged in the bank, or otherwise advanced, up to the date immediately preceding the 31st May, was £17,707,022; (3) the total amount allocated or distributed at the same date was £16,107,675, including £1,312,869 transferred to the Land Judge; (4) the total amount in cash placed to the credit of the capital account of the Irish Land Purchase Fund up to the 31st May, 1907, was £19,366,539; (5) the total amount of such cash assigned to the Land Purchase Aid Fund under Section 47 of the Irish Land Act, 1903, was £1,686,612; (6) the amount of the Irish Land Purchase Fund available for further advances on the 31st May, 1907, not including the balance to the credit of the Land Purchase Aid Fund, was £100,944.

LORD ASHBOURNE: My Lords, the matter given in the information supplied by the noble Lord will want consideration and examination. I have no doubt whatever that the figures are given in perfect good faith and with every desire to afford the fullest information, but it is obvious that off-hand their bearing cannot be entirely appreciated. The noble Lord will therefore not be surprised if later on the matter is looked into and possibly brought again to the attention of your Lordships. There is great anxiety to know how the priorities in which applications are dealt with are ascertained, and how the apportionment is given to the claims that may be put forward on behalf of direct sales as contrasted with others. I only refer to this matter in order to show that the figures supplied require examination by those who are deeply concerned in everything relating to this great purchase question. It is just as much a question of tenants as of landlords. It is admitted that the landlords suffer losses in the case of direct sales by reason of the great delays in the distribution of money after the contracts have been made. They get only 3½ per cent. interest, but they are liable to pay a much higher rate of interest on their encumbrances, and to many of them that is a matter of immense concern. It is also a serious matter for the tenants, for the longer the transaction remains uncompleted the greater is their loss.

LORD BARRYMORE: My Lords, I beg to ask His Majesty's Government whether they propose to lay before Parliament a Return containing particulars of the cases in which persons have applied to the Irish Land Commission to be reinstated under the Irish Land Act, 1903, as evicted tenants, or as representatives of tenants who had been evicted; whether any such Return will be presented to both Houses of Parliament; and whether they can state the headings under which it may be proposed to furnish particulars of the cases. Since I placed this Question on the Paper, I have, through the courtesy of the Chief Secretary, ascertained that the Return is in process of production, and that we may shortly see it; but I hope the noble Lord who represents the Irish Office may now be able to inform me when we shall have an opportunity of seeing it and what the heads will be under which it is proposed to furnish the information.

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, as stated by the noble Lord a Return is being prepared by the Estates Commissioners and will shortly be laid before Parliament. I cannot give the noble Lord the actual date, but I am informed that on a very early day we shall be in a position to lay the Return on the Table. The classification will be as follows—(1) the number of applications according to county in which reinstatement is taking place or has taken place; (2) the number in which the Commission do not propose to take any action; (3) those in which they propose to reinstate evicted tenants in the event of suitable untenanted land being acquired. As the Return will shortly be laid on the Table, I hope the noble Lord will not press for further information on this matter at present.

LORD ASHBOURNE: My Lords, I quite agree that if there is to be a good and sufficient Return made soon it would be better to defer discussion until we see its contents; but, if the Return is to be confined to the very meagre subjects given under the three heads stated, I hope the matter will be reconsidered with a view to giving something like real information. The matter has attracted immense attention, and a good deal more detailed information is required than that adumbrated by the noble Lord. It is not a statement of what counties they propose to deal with, or how many cases have been refused, or what kind of cases they intend to grant. But the Commissioners have granted a great many, and it is desired to know the dates on which they assented to a large number of applications, also the dates when the parties were evicted, whether all the parties reinstated are now in possession and whether the dates of those evicted come down to a later period than 1903, when the Act was passed. As there are other topics which suggest themselves for consideration, I hope the Return to be presented will be of a comprehensive nature.

STATUTE LAW REVISION BILL [H.L.].

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read, and discharged.

ADVERTISEMENTS REGULATION BILL.

Read 1^{a}, to be printed; and to be read 2^{a} on Tuesday, the 9th of July next. (No. 74.)

CLYDE NAVIGATION ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL.

Read 1^{a}; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899), deemed to have been read 2^{a}. (*The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell*), and reported from the Committee. (No. 75.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 2) BILL.

Read 1^{a}; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners; and to be read 2^{a} To-morrow (*The Lord Denman*). (No. 76.)

DUNDEE CORPORATION ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Dundee Corporation—Was presented by the Lord Hamilton of Dalzell (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Sections 8 and 9); read 1^{a}; and to be printed. (No 77.)

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 17*th June*, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz:—National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty Bill [Lords]; Glasgow Corporation Bill [Lords]; Birkenhead Corporation Water Bill [Lords]; Sheffield Corporation Bill [Lords]; Oxford and District Tramways Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz:—Ladybank Sewerage Drainage and Water Provisional Order Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Canal Tolls and Charges (New Junction Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Metropolitan Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [Lords]; Simon-Carves Bye-Product Coke Oven Construction and Working Company, Limited, Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Sunderland Corporation Bill. Read tha third time, and passed.

Renfrewshire Upper District (Eastwood and Mearns) Water Bill [Lords]; Wisbech Water Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G.)

Sir HENRY KIMBER reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That, at the meeting of the Committee this day, a telegram was received from Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, one of the Members of the said Committee, stating that he was unable, on account of illness, to attend the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).

Sir HENRY KIMBER reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That the parties opposing the Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill had stated that the evidence of Mr. P. C. Cowan, Chief Engineering Inspector, Local Government Board, Dublin, was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he had been instructed to move that the said Mr. P. C. Cowan do attend the said Committee during the proceedings on the said Bill.

Ordered, That Mr. P. C. Cowan do attend the Committee on Group G of Private Bills during the proceedings on the Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, with respect to laundries, and to extend that Act to certain institutions and to provide for the inspection of certain premises." [Factory and Workshop Bill [Lords].

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to the rural district of Cork." [Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, The Electric Lighting (Scotland) Act, 1890, and The Electric Lighting (Scotland) Act, 1902, relating to the burgh of Arbroath." [Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [Lords].

Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords]. That they communicate Minutes of Evidence and Proceedings taken upon the Second Reading of Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords], as desired by this House, with a request that the same may be returned.

Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 242.]

Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 243.]

PETITIONS.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (TONNAGE DEDUCTION FOR PROPELLING POWER) BILL.

Petition from the Newlyn Pier and Harbour Commissioners, against; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

Petitions against, praying to be heard by counsel; From the Red Funnel Line, Limited; and, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Bridgwater; referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (POWERS IN IRELAND).

Return [presented 10th June] to be printed. [No. 191.]

INSURANCE UNDER THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS.

Copy presented, of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to consider whether the Post Office should provide Facilities for Insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

JAMAICA.

Copy presented, of Correspondence relating to the Earthquake at Kingston, Jamaica, on 14th January, 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL MERCHANT SHIPPING CONFERENCE, 1907.

Copy presented, of Report of a Conference between Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth of Australia, and New Zealand, on the subject of Merchant Shipping Legislation [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS.

Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of St. Andrews for 1905–6 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 192.]

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS.

Copy presented, of Report on the State of the Finances of the University for the year 1905–6 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 193.]

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Elizabeth Maria Goodall, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution, Milton House, Chelsea, S.W. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3828 to 3833 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COUNTY OFFICERS AND COURTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877.

Account presented, of the Receipts and Payments under the Act during the year ended 31st March, 1907 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No 194.]

SAVINGS BANKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Accounts presented, showing the Interest accrued in respect of the Securities standing in the names of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to the credit of the Post Office Savings Banks Fund for the year ended 31st December, 1906, and of the Fund for the Banks for Savings and the Fund for Friendly Societies for the year ended 20th November, 1906 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 195.]

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts). Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901; *Mr. Griffith-Boscawen*] to be printed. [No. 196.]

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

Address for "Return of all sentences of Corporal Punishment inflicted under 26 and 27 Vic., c. 44, upon persons convicted of offences under Section 43 of The Larceny Act, 1861, and Section 21 of The Offences Against the Person Act, 1861, in England and Wales, from the 31st day of December, 1905, to the 31st day of December, 1906 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 257, of Session 1906)."—(*Mr. Lloyd Morgan.*)

DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS AND PESTS BILL.

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum explanatory of the Bill."—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 199.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Irish National School Teachers.

MR. MOONEY (Newry): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the number of trained teachers that entered the service of the National Board from the 1st April, 1900, till the 31st December of the same year; the number of such teachers at present in charge of schools with an average under sixty that are paid a higher salary than £70 per annum (exclusive of residual capitation and fees for Irish and mathematics); the number of such teachers at present in charge of schools with an average of sixty or over and receiving good reports that are paid the ordinary salary of the National Board; whether the teachers coming under the last head will get the same salary as those coming under the second heading; and, if not, what reasons are assigned by the Commissioners of National Education for this difference of treatment.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Commissioners of National Education inform me that the Answer to the first inquiry is 222, to the second twelve, and to the third ten. The Answer to the fourth inquiry is in the negative, and in this connection I beg to refer to my Answer to the hon. Member for South Down on 3rd May.

Motor Omnibus Traffic.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether a period of reasonable experiment having now passed he will state what measures have been and are now being taken to diminish the suffering to individuals and the damage to property caused by the noise, dust, and stench of motor omnibuses and other engine-propelled conveyances.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I am afraid that I cannot add anything to the reply on this subject which I gave to the hon. Member for North Paddington on the 10th instant, which was as follows:—The regulations under which motor omnibuses are controlled were considered and approved by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and are being strictly enforced. Unduly noisy omnibuses are warned off the streets. Every effort is being made to improve matters, and in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police a marked improvement has been effected. In some places the state of the roadway is responsible for most of the vibration and some of the noise

Transfer of Huddersfield Male Telegraphists.

MR. SHERWELL (Huddersfield): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that competent male telegraphists at Huddersfield of many years service, some of whom hold technical certificates, have been compulsorily transferred to the postal department, owing to alleged decrease of telegraph work; that at the same time the Department is advertising for female telegraphists at Huddersfield; whether he can explain the reason for these actions; and, in view of official statements that no telegraphist is transferred in any office to positions on the postal side without first being offered transfer elsewhere, he will state why this rule has not been complied with.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I am making inquiries and will let the hon. Member know the result.

Supply of Defective Brass Cartridge Cases by Messrs. Kynoch.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty the name of the firm referred to in the Auditor-General's report, dated 31st January 1907, page 199, paragraph 25, as supplying considerable quantities of defective brass quick-firing cartridge cases so that they had to be sold as old brass, and guns from various ships had to be returned for repairs in consequence of damage caused by the defective cartridges; whether any action was taken by the Admiralty in respect of this firm; and what reply was made to the Auditor-General as to the value of the cartridges in question.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The firm referred to is Messrs. Kynoch, but cartridge cases by other makers have also been withdrawn in some instances. For some years the Admiralty have bought no brass cartridge cases from Messrs. Kynoch, and the damage to guns is not in all instances caused by Messrs. Kynoch's cases. The reply to the Comptroller and Auditor-General is still under consideration.

Strength of Breech Mechanism of British Service Rifles.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the investigation into rifle ammunition and high velocities includes the consideration of the strength of breech action; and whether the breech action of our military rifle is weaker than that of its foreign rivals, and our ammunition consequently restricted to a lesser pressure.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The strength of the breech action is taken into consideration in fixing the limits for ballistics of the experimental ammunition. Some foreign rifles no doubt have a stronger breech action than the British, but the strength of the British breech mechanism is in excess of any strain to which it could be exposed under service conditions.

Handwriting Experts and the Edalji Correspondence.

MR. HARMOOD-BANNER (Liverpool, Everton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether any other expert, besides Mr. Gurrin, has at any time given an opinion, at the request of the Home Office, upon the authorship of the disputed letters in the Edalji case, or has been consulted as to their authorship; and whether, if not, he will order the same to be submitted to a selected committee of experts for decision.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. The second part, therefore, does not arise.

Naval Distribution.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any organisation exists for amalgamating or otherwise uniting the Home and Channel Fleets for joint immediate action upon a sudden emergency; and whether the battleships, cruisers, and torpedo-boat destroyers of the respective Fleets are trained on a similar system.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The reply to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative and extends to all Fleets. In reply to the second part of the Question, a uniform system of training in all branches obtains in His Majesty's Navy, in accordance with Admiralty orders and regulations.

Channel Fleet.

MR. NIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the nominal strength of the Channel Fleet comprises fourteen battleships; and whether, since its reorganisation in February, it has ever had that number fit for service; and, if not, by how many battleships it has been short.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) Fourteen battleships are attached to the Channel Fleet. As in the case of other Fleets, ships of the Channel Fleet are periodically sent to the dockyard for refit. As a rule, not more than two battleships at the most are absent, but since February, 1907, three have, on occasion, been absent.

Torpedo Construction Order.

MR. BELLAIRS: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what was the proportion of orders for torpedoes allotted to Woolwich and Messrs. Whitehead, of Weymouth, respectively, for 1902–3 and 1903–4; and what is the proportion of orders this year.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) In 1902–3 the orders were allotted to Woolwich and Messrs. Whitehead approximately in the proportions of six to five. In the following year the orders were equally divided. In the present year, as has already been stated in reply to a Question on the 16th May, from the hon. Member for South Dorset, roughly three-quarters of the orders will be allotted to Woolwich and a quarter to Messrs. Whitehead.

Home Fleet.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD (Lincolnshire, Brigg): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many battleships and cruisers in the Home Fleet are fully manned; and if these ships are allowed the full allowance of ammunition for gun practice.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) In reply to the first part of the Question, six battleships, six armoured cruisers, and five other cruisers attached to the torpedo flotilla are fully manned. The reply to the second part of the Question is in the affirmative.

Channel Fleet.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if the Channel Fleet as at present constituted (fourteen battleships and three unarmoured cruisers), less the usual number of ships refitting, is able to meet any foreign fleet in Home waters without reinforcements from other Fleets.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The Board of Admiralty are satisfied that the battleship strength of the Channel Fleet is greater now than at any previous time, and that with its complementary first-cruiser squadron it is amply sufficient for the duties it is required to undertake.

Unarmoured Cruisers.

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether it is the present policy of the Admiralty to cease building unarmoured cruisers of moderate tonnage.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The reply is in the negative.

Channel Fleet Armoured Cruisers.

MR. F. E. SMITH: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what is the present position of the four armoured cruisers belonging to the Channel Fleet.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The four armoured cruisers composing the First Cruiser Squadron are at Quebec, and are due at Portsmouth on 2nd July.

H.M.S. "Wear."

MR. F. E. SMITH: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty when and how the torpedo boat destroyer "Wear" was damaged; how many weeks delay there were before the repairs were made good; and what was the cause of such delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The "Wear" was seriously damaged by collision with the ss. "Etna," on 12th January. Her repairs were completed on 27th May, in nineteen weeks. A delay was experienced in obtaining some special material not then kept in stock.

Coastguard Committee Report.

MAJOR SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can lay the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on His Majesty's Coastguard upon the Table of this House.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) This Report is now being considered by the Admiralty.

House-Letting in Scotland.

MR. CLELAND (Glasgow, Bridgeton): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he is in a position to state when the Departmental Committee to inquire into the missive system of house-letting in Scotland will present its Report, having regard to the fact that the taking of the evidence was completed several months ago.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) I can only refer my hon. friend to the reply given to the hon. Member for Camlachie Division on 9th May.[†]

Seizure of English Trawler in German Waters.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland, seeing that the English steam trawler "Franconia" was recently seized by a German torpedo boat for illegal trawling in German waters, will he consider the expediency of applying to the Admiralty for similar assistance, especially in view of the fact that the Fishery Board and the Admiralty cruisers at the disposal of the Fishery Board for Scotland cannot adequately cope with the illegal trawling round the coasts of Scotland.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) No, Sir. There is no intention at present of applying for such assistance.

Scottish Sporting Estates.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state whether, under the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill now before Parliament, lands now used as deer forests or grouse moors will be available for the purposes set forth in the Bill, such as the extension of existing holdings or the creation of new holdings.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) Such lands are not *per se* excluded from the operation of the Bill.

School Hygiene Congress.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Scottish Education Department will be represented at the International Congress upon School Hygiene which meets in London in August; and will he consider the expediency of arranging for the compulsory teaching of hygiene and temperance in the elementary public schools in Scotland.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The Department proposes to be represented at this Congress. They are not at present prepared to make the teaching of the subjects mentioned compulsory, but will carefully consider the reports of any discussions on the subject at the Congress.

Dublin Exhibition.

MR. MOORE (Armagh, N.): To ask the Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture (Ireland) what amount the Department subscribed or guaranteed, or both, to the Exhibition now being held in Dublin; what part they took, if any, in providing for exhibits; and at how many meetings of the management have the Department been represented since the inauguration of the scheme.

(*Answered by Mr. T. W. Russell.*) The Department have not guaranteed any amount to the Irish International Exhibition. With the concurrence of the Agricultural Board a sum of £2,000 was allocated from the Department's funds for the specific purpose of enabling small rural industries, especially those working in connection with the Department, to exhibit their products. The Department was represented on the committee appointed by Her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen to further the exhibition of these rural industries. The answer to the last part of the Question is that at none of the meetings of the management of the Exhibition have the Department been represented.

Irish Cattle Industry.

MR. MOORE: To ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) what steps the Department will take to prevent the ruin of the Irish cattle industry now being brought about in the South and West of the country.

(*Answered by Mr. T. W. Russell.*) The Department are not aware of any ruin impending over the cattle industry in the south and west of Ireland.

London Railway Fares—Proposed Increase.

MR. S. COLLINS (Lambeth, Kennington): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware of the proposals of the various tube and other railway companies of London to increase the fares on their lines; and, if so, will he use his influence with the said companies to prevent, or in some measure mitigate, this increase.

[†] See (4) *Debates*, clxxiv., 369.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) The Board of Trade are informed that the District, Metropolitan, and Central London Railway Companies have agreed upon a working arrangement, which will come into operation as soon as details can be settled, and will affect fares between Hammersmith, the West End, and the City. The main features of this arrangement will, I understand, be an increase to 3d. of the fares charged for the longer distances on the Central London Railway, and a revision of those now in force on the Metropolitan and District Lines. The Central London Company state that what they propose is to adhere to a fare of 2d. for all distances not exceeding that between the Bank and the Marble Arch, that is, three and a half miles, and to charge 3d. for all greater distances. No alteration, however, will be made as regards workmen's tickets. Details of the other companies' proposals have not yet been received.

Crew Engagements at Hull.

Mr. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that on 1st June the steamer "Maggie" engaged a crew at the port of Hull; whether he is aware that the deck hands engaged by the master of this vessel were eight in number, and only four were able to prove three years sea service; and whether he can state if the Board of Trade surveyor took any steps to ascertain whether the vessel was manned by a competent crew of seamen.

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that a vessel named the "Ethyl" engaged a crew at the port of Hull on 7th June, and six of the crew were engaged as deck hands, only four out of the six being able to prove that they were qualified A.B.'s; and whether he has had from the Board of Trade surveyor any Report as to whether the ship was seaworthy with the crew that she engaged.

Mr. JENKINS (Chatham): To ask the President of the Board of Trade, whether he is aware that the steamer "Imperial Prince" engaged a crew at the port of Hull on 6th June, 1907; whether he is aware that this vessel carried six deck hands and only three of that number were qualified A.B.'s in accordance with Section 58 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1906, sub-section 2; and whether any Report has been sent to his Department with regard to the undermanning of this vessel.

Mr. O'GRADY (Leeds, E.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the steamer "Southella" engaged a crew at the port of Hull on 6th June; whether he can state if this vessel was engaged in the Foreign trade; whether he is aware that the deck hands were four in number, and only two out of the four were qualified A.B.'s; and whether he has had a Report from the surveyor to the Board of Trade as to the manning of this ship.

Mr. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade, whether he is aware that a steamer named the "Anna Moore" engaged a crew at the port of Hull on 4th June, and out of the five deck hands engaged only two of that number were qualified A.B.'s; and whether he could state if the Board of Trade made any inquiries as to whether the vessel was seaworthy, in accordance with the Merchant Shipping Act.

Mr. KILBRIDE: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the steamer "Otterspool" engaged a crew at the port of Hull on 4th June; whether he is aware that the deck hands numbered five, and only two of this number were qualified A.B.'s; and whether, in consequence, he has had any Report from the Board of Trade surveyor as to the seaworthiness of this vessel.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) I will reply to the six Questions together as they deal with the same subject. Inquiry has been made into each of the cases mentioned in the Questions. The details furnished from the ports do not differ very materially from those stated by hon. Members. The Board of Trade requirements with regard to manning are as follows: "Foreign-going steamships of over 200 feet in length, or not less than 700 tons gross, when proceeding to sea should have, independently of the master and two mates, a sufficient number of deck hands available for division into two watches, so as to provide a minimum effective watch, viz. a competent man at the wheel, a look-out man, and an additional hand on deck available for any purpose." Those requirements were complied with. Had it been otherwise it would have been the duty of the local superintendents before whom the crews were engaged to call in the Board of Trade detaining officers to detain the ship.

L.B. & S.C. Railway—Lighting of Trains between Pulborough and Victoria.

MR. WEIR: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company have yet made arrangements for the lighting of the carriages of trains running between Pulborough and Victoria, when passing through tunnels.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) The Board of Trade have been in communication with the railway company in this matter, and are informed that carriages fitted with electric light are kept lighted when passing through tunnels. All new stock is so fitted, and existing stock is being fitted gradually as the carriages can be brought to the works. Where gas lamps are for the time still in use, the company state that there is a difficulty in finding a means of turning the gas on and off in the course of the journey, and that to keep the gas continually burning would involve an additional expenditure of £8,000 to £10,000 a year. The company add that they are endeavouring to find means of overcoming this difficulty, but have not yet succeeded in doing so.

Kirkstall Abbey.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask Mr. Attorney-General if he is aware that the Leeds Town Council have granted permission to Roman Catholics to hold a service in Kirkstall Abbey, which is public property held for the use of the nation by the Leeds Town Council; and whether, seeing that it is illegal for any Roman Catholic ecclesiastic or any member of any of the religious orders, communities, or societies of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, to exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion, or wear the habits of his order, save within the usual places of worship of the Roman Catholic religion or in private houses, and that the Roman Catholic bishop of Leeds has granted an indulgence of fifty days to all who take part in, or are present at, this service, he proposes to take steps to stop this illegal practice.

(*Answered by Sir John Walton.*) The property in the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey is vested in the Leeds Corporation. They are a body fully competent to decide for what purposes it should be used. They have also in their service an officer whose duty it is to advise them with reference to the legality of their action. I have no power to stop the proceeding to which the Question refers.

Cattle Pleuro-Pneumonia Account.

SIR GEORGE FARDELL (Paddington, S.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what has been the total amount contributed by the Administrative County of London to the Cattle Pleuro-pneumonia Account of the Board of Agriculture by way of deduction from London's share of the Local Taxation (England and Wales) Account; and what has been the total expenditure out of the Cattle Pleuro-pneumonia Account in the Administrative County of London during the same period.

SIR GEORGE FARDELL: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the cost of administering the Diseases of Animals Acts by the Board of Agriculture in excess of a fixed sum of £140,000 per annum is paid out of the Local Taxation Accounts, and that the result of this system is that local authorities are required, in effect, to pay for the excess cost of services performed by a Government Department over which they have no control; whether he can state the total amount so charged upon the Local Taxation Account and the amount lost by London thereby;

whether he is aware that the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, as long ago as 1901, unanimously recommended the abolition of the system; whether already, since that date, £42,240 more has been charged upon the Local Taxation Account, of which £9,275 has, in effect, been paid out of the London county rate; and whether he will make provision in his next Budget for the transfer of this charge from local to Imperial taxation.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) Perhaps I may answer these two Questions together. I am aware of the facts relating to the matter. The first payment from the Local Taxation Account to the Cattle Pleuro-pneumonia Account was made in 1894. The total amount paid out of the former account to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries during the period from 1894 to 1906 was £546,480, and it is estimated that during the same period an additional sum of £119,996 would have become payable to London out of the Local Taxation Account if no money had been diverted to the Cattle Pleuro-pneumonia Account. I learn from the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries that the expenditure out of the latter account in the administrative county of London is not shown separately. The facts as to the recommendations of the Local Taxation Commission and the payments made since the date of their Report are substantially as stated by the hon. Member.

London Indoor Pauper Contribution.

MR. FLETCHER (Hampstead): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that, under The Local Government Act, 1888, the London County Council are required to pay to the guardians of every Poor Law union in the county an amount equivalent to 4d. a day per head for every indoor pauper maintained in that union according to the average number of indoor paupers during the five years ended 25th March, 1888, and can he state how much this payment amounts to for the year ended March, 1906; whether he is aware that this indoor pauper grant in London was intended to be equivalent to the union officers' grant made to guardians by all other county councils, and that, taking this grant into account, the system of Exchequer contributions involves an absolute annual loss to the London County Council; whether he can state the amount of such loss for the year ended March, 1906; if in any other county in England and Wales an actual loss is incurred by reason of the system of grants prescribed by the Local Government Act, 1888; and whether he is aware that the actual number of indoor paupers in each London union at the present time differs widely from the prescribed average for the five years ended 25th March, 1888, and that the distribution among the London unions is no longer proportionate to their respective needs.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I am aware of the provisions of The Local Government Act, 1888, with regard to the several grants referred to in the Question. The payments made by the London County Council for each year in respect of the grant for indoor paupers amount to about £327,000. It is the case that the number of in-door poor in the several London unions differs considerably now from the average number during the five years ended at March, 1888. The matter of "loss" referred to by the hon. Member involves considerations which cannot conveniently be dealt with in reply to a Question.

Abbeylara Holding Dispute.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any steps are being taken to provide an alternative holding of land for the family of the late Terence Reilly, of Abbeylara, county Longford; and whether the inspector has called upon Lynn, the present holder of the evicted farm, with a view to securing a surrender in the interest of the Reillys.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have carefully inquired into the application of Terence Reilly's representatives, and have decided to take no action upon it. The Answer to the latter part of the Question is in the negative.

Thomastown Petty Sessions Bench.

MR. MOORE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the attention of the Lord

Chancellor has been directed, or will be directed, to the conduct of Mr. Patrick Egan, chairman of the district council, who lives fifteen miles from Thomastown, in attending there as an *ex officio* magistrate on the 5th instant and, after certain prisoners had been returned for trial by the bench, addressing them in Court in approval of their action; and will he say how often previously has Mr. Egan attended these petty sessions before this case, and what action will be taken.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Mr. Egan is chairman of the Birr No. 1 Rural District Council, and, as such, is a magistrate for the Thomastown petty sessions district, which is situate within the rural district in question. The defendants in the case referred to were returned for trial at assizes. It is not intended to take any action in respect of the remarks made by Mr. Egan, in which he stated the grounds of his dissent from the decision of the majority of the Court.

Roscrea Police Reports on Outrages.

Mr. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many reports of outrages, and meetings held to advocate outrages, were received from the Roscrea police in Tipperary and the Shinrone police in King's County between the 1st January and 1st June this year.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) During the period mentioned there were in Roscrea district two cases of unlawful assembly and one boycotting notice, and there were nine other serious offences of an ordinary character, that is, not connected with agrarian agitation. In the Shinrone district no serious offence was reported. The police authorities are not aware of any meeting at which incitement to outrage took place.

King's County Grazing Disputes.

Mr. MOORE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that immediately after the Thomastown petty sessions on 5th June, a crowd of 200 men armed with sticks was addressed by the hon. Member for the Birr Division of King's County, who advised them to clear the cattle off all grazing farms in the district, and in particular off two which he named; and if it is the intention of the Government to make the hon. Member amenable for such incitement.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The only report of the speech referred to which I have seen is a newspaper report, which is obviously very imperfect. It is not intended to take any action in respect of the speech.

Education Fines in Ireland.

Mr. BARRIE (Londonderry, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware of the dissatisfaction that exists in Ireland with reference to the recent order *re* fines inflicted under the Education (Ireland) Act, 1892; and whether he will consider the advisability of withdrawing this order, which is calculated to discourage the excellent work at present being done by school-attendance committees in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The question involved in this matter is one of law, and as doubts have been raised as to the construction of the statutes my right hon. friend the Attorney-General for Ireland is instituting proceedings in the King's Bench Division, with the object of obtaining an authoritative decision.

Ardfert Untenanted Lands.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether Mr. Lindsay Talbot Crosbie, of Ardfert, has offered about 300 acres of untenanted land to the Estates Commissioners for the enlargement of uneconomic holdings and the giving of allotments of land to the labourers of the Ardfert district; whether the untenanted land has been inspected; what prices has Mr. Crosbie asked for the 300 acres; and what price have the Estates Commissioners offered for the same.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The owner referred to has offered 320 acres of untenanted land for sale to the Estates Commissioners, who have had the land inspected and made an offer for it. The owner, however, has declined to accept the Commissioners' price. It would be contrary to practice to publish particulars of prices asked or offered in such cases.

Wandesforde Estate, Castlecomer.

MR. MEAGHER (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a number of the tenants of the Wandesforde, Castlecomer, estate, refrained from signing their purchase agreements on the date fixed by the landlord, on account of being afraid of not being able to meet their liabilities to the Government unless the annuities were reduced; whether the Estates Commissioners, on having their attention drawn to the willingness of the tenants to purchase their holdings, subject to inspection by the Estates Commissioners as to the value of the holdings and for adjustment of some points of difference, wrote, saying that as soon as the agreements were signed and lodged application might be made to them for an early inspection; and, as this letter from the Commissioners was taken as indication that the farms of these non-signing tenants would be inspected, and as in order to have inspection ensue the agreement forms were signed, whether he will see his way to have the holdings of such tenants inspected irrespective of the zone clause on account of their duress nature.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The agreements for purchase in the case of this estate were lodged in February last, and the case, therefore, will not reach its turn to be dealt with for a considerable time. The holdings of any tenants on the estate who may not have signed purchase agreements will be inspected before the lands are finally declared to be an estate. As regards the tenants who have signed purchase agreements, the Estates Commissioners will be prepared to consider any applications that the agreements should not be acted on upon the ground that they were entered into under duress, and if it should then appear necessary they will direct a special inspection.

Irish Police and Cattle-Driving Cases.

MR. MOORE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in how many cases since 1st May the police on protection duty have been overpowered by the mob and failed to frustrate their attempts connected with driving off the cattle of obnoxious persons; and if the Government will supplement the civil power by the military in these districts.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that in no case of cattle-driving since the date mentioned have the police been overpowered by a mob, but in several cases when the police were present in insufficient force to prevent cattle-driving their action was necessarily confined to warning the offenders and taking their names with a view to prosecution. The Answer to the concluding part of the Question is in the negative.

MR. MOORE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if owners and tenants of grazing lands in Ireland will be permitted to organise and offer armed resistance to lawless mobs endeavouring to drive off their cattle.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The hon. Gentleman, as one of His Majesty's Counsel, must be at least as learned in the law as I am. He must know that it is not possible to make any general statement as to the amount or nature of the resistance which any person is entitled to use in the defence of his property when he conceives that his rights are being invaded.

Land-Purchase Annuities.

MR. MEAGHER: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that no regulations have yet been made under Section 2 of the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, to enable a tenant purchaser to pay one fourth of any instalment of his annuity by the transfer of an equal amount of guaranteed Land Stock through the Post Office to the National Debt Commissioners; whether persons who have recently applied have been unable to get the benefit of the statutory provision; and, if so, will he say what action he proposes to take.

*(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am aware that regulations under the section quoted have not yet been made. From 1891 till two months ago only one application of the nature referred to was received.

Recently some twenty applications have been received. The question of making regulations is at present under the consideration of the Treasury and the Departments concerned.

Belfast Factory Inspection.

Mr. C. DUNCAN (Barrow-in-Furness): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that the medical officer of health for the city of Belfast recently refused to take action in a case of factory inspection, and that a special sanitary inspector was sent to Belfast by the Government, any Report has yet been issued by his Department on this case; and, if not, can any promise be given as to the date of its publication.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The inspection of factories is a matter which concerns my right hon. friend the Home Secretary, to whom any inquiry on the subject should be addressed. As regards the latter part of the Question, it is assumed that the hon. Member intends to refer to the Commission of Inquiry which is at present investigating the general sanitary administration of Belfast. The Commission have not yet finished taking evidence, and it cannot be said when their Report will be ready.

Fitzmaurice Estate, Kerry.

Mr. FLAVIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if the Fitzmaurice property situate near Duagh, North Kerry, which is in a congested district, has been offered for sale to the Congested Districts Board.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The reply is in the negative.

John Murphy's Army Pension.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Secretary of State for War to state the grounds upon which he has refused an increase of pension to John Murphy, No. 2,015, of 1st battalion 14th Foot, who served throughout the entire Crimean War in 1854, was for over twenty-one years in the Army, and was discharged with a pension of only 1s. 1d. per day, although he had five good conduct badges at the time; and will he reconsider his decision, seeing that other pensioners of the same period are getting 2s. 6d. per day pension.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The special increases of pensions to men who took part in campaigns before 1867 are only granted if they are in necessitous circumstances, and if they fulfil one of the following conditions—

(*a*) Have been wounded; or

(*b*) Have been discharged for disability; or

(*c*) Are suffering from disability clearly due to their military service.

The man in question fulfils none of these conditions, and is therefore ineligible for any increase of pension.

Government Contributions in Lieu of Rates.

Mr. BELLAIRS: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in respect of the sum of £17,000 per annum paid under Civil Service Estimates to local authorities in lieu of rates for the Government Ordnance Factories, it is to be understood that no proportionate charges are included in the quoted prices of war material manufactured by the Royal Ordnance Factories, whereas the private firms necessarily have to allow for their payments of the full rates levied by the local authorities.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The contribution to local rates for the Ordnance Factories amounts to £23,000, and these charges are included in the cost of articles manufactured in the factories.

Uganda Railway.

Mr. HAROLD COX (Preston): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the indebtedness of the Uganda Railway on account of the sums borrowed upon the credit of the United Kingdom; at what rate of interest those borrowings were made, whether any portion of that interest has ever been paid out of the earnings of the railway; if not, what would be the addition to the indebtedness of the railway up to 31st March, 1907, if compound interest had been charged upon all interest not paid out of the earnings of the railway; what would be the sum due this year from the railway by way of interest upon its total indebtedness; and how much of that sum he hopes to be able to pay to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The total sum borrowed for the construction of the Uganda Railway is £5,502,592, of which £2,466,000 was borrowed at 2¾ per cent. interest per annum and the balance at 3 per cent. As the hon. Member was informed on the 28th of February, the debt is being repaid by means of annuities of which the last payment will fall due on the 15th of November, 1925, but no portion of the payments of principal and interest in connection with these annuities has been drawn from the railway. If no part of the principal sums had been paid off, and the interest had been allowed to accumulate, the additional debt in respect of arrears of interest would have amounted to about £1,177,000 on the 31st of March, 1907, and the interest due this year on the whole debt would have been £192,683. The revenue of the railway is merged in the general revenue of the Protectorate, and as that revenue requires a considerable grant from the Exchequer in order to balance the expenditure, there is at present no prospect of meeting the charges on the debt out of such revenue.

British Consul General in Egypt.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the amount paid to the British Consul General in Egypt for salary and allowances.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The amount is £6,500 per annum, as stated in the Estimate for Diplomatic Services. There are no additional allowances.

National Telephone Royalties.

MR. HAROLD COX: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has noticed that, in the recently issued Return relating to Post Office Telegraphs and Telephones, a considerable part of the revenue attributed to the Post Office telegraph and telephone service is due to royalties paid by the National Telephone Company and other licencees; whether such royalties, being in effect a tax upon private persons, ought rather to be treated as part of the tax revenue of the Exchequer than as part of the earned income of the Post Office; whether he is aware that with this adjustment of accounts the deficiency on the working of the State telegraphs and telephones in 1905–6 amounted to £580,000; whether he has further noticed that in this figure no allowance is made for interest upon the items of capital expenditure shown in columns 9, 10, and 13, on page 5, or for interest on the annual deficiencies made up of the items shown in the last column on page 6, and of those shown in column 3 on page 4; whether he can state what would be the total deficiency on the year's working in 1905–6 if these items were all taken into account at 3 per cent. compound interest; and what would be the aggregate deficiency up to the end of that year for all the years since the telegraphs were taken over by the State.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The amount of royalties is clearly shown in the Return to which the hon. Member refers. They are part of the earnings of licencees on business that is within the Postmaster-General's monopoly, and which he otherwise would be carrying on himself. They are, therefore, properly brought to account as Post Office revenue. I would remind him that the present form of the Return was settled in consultation with him, and that it clearly shows the deficiency in the working of the service in two different forms. I do not see what useful purpose would be served by the further calculations which he suggests.

London Branch Post Offices.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is considering the advisability of extending the number of branch post offices in London; and whether, in that event, he has decided that the increase of staff shall retain the same proportion between the sexes as already exist in the London district offices.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The question of the advisability of extending the number of branch post offices in London comes under my notice from time to time as cases arise, but there is no general question under consideration. There is no definite proportion fixed for the employment of female as against male force, and the arrangements must depend largely on the circumstances and requirements of particular offices.

Central Telegraph Office Duties.

Mr. SEAVERNS (Lambeth, Brixton): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has sanctioned a scheme for the devolution of duties in the Central Telegraph Office, by which men are supervising others in the same class who possess greater service, and are in some instances receiving larger salaries; whether he is aware that, in 1906, the Secretary to the Post Office expressed the opinion that such a system would be difficult and unsatisfactory; and whether, in view of the fact that the question of men of one grade performing the duties of the next class without extra pay is under the consideration of the Select Committee, he will discontinue the scheme pending the issue of its report.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Devolution of duties is a means adopted for filling the places of those absent on leave or otherwise and at the same time testing fitness for promotion. It is desirable to apply this test not only to those who are at the very top of the next class, but to others also who are near the top of the class, and the result is that in some cases men supervise others who have longer service. I see no reason for making a change, pending the Report of the Select Committee. I do not know to what statement of the Secretary to the Post Office the hon. Member refers.

Belfast Postmen.

Mr. J. DEVLIN (Belfast, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he will state the number of ex-Army and ex-Navy men at present engaged as postmen at the Belfast post office; whether some time ago an arrangement was made that assistant postmen who had risen from the rank of telegraph messengers should receive appointments in equal ratio to these ex-Army and ex-Navy men; whether the proportion of the latter is now considerably in excess of the former, and whether he will take steps to secure that the original arrangement is adhered to, and that both classes should be equally represented in the Belfast postal service.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) At present fifty-one ex-Army and ex-Navy men are employed as established postmen at Belfast. The arrangement, one of many years standing, under which vacancies for postmen fall alternately to ex-telegraph messengers and to ex-soldiers or ex-sailors, has been and is being adhered to; and half the vacancies at Belfast have been assigned to ex-telegraph messengers.

Austrian Immigrants.

Mr. LEVERTON HARRIS (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of the statement made before the Alien Immigration Board, on 10th June, that an agent in Austria is booking immigrants to England, and, in order to prevent their rejection, is providing them with American passports, and that these immigrants have no intention of proceeding beyond this country, it is proposed to take any steps to compel immigrants arriving in the United Kingdom to show a passport and to proceed to the destination indicated thereon.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The case referred to was an attempt to pass into the United Kingdom, under pretence that they were going to America, two aliens who had no intention of going there, and no means or prospects of maintaining themselves here. Any suggestion as to passports would seem to be due to misunderstanding. The Aliens Act affords a means of dealing with such a case, and in this instance the attempted evasion was detected and the two aliens were refused leave to land. I have under consideration the question of taking further steps in regard to the persons concerned in the case.

Irish Land Stock.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state when it is proposed to calculate the losses likely to fall on local authorities next year in respect of the fall in Irish Land Stock; and will he take any steps to give notice to those authorities of the amounts proposed to be so deducted, so that they can verify the accuracy of these Treasury calculations.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) I can make no statement as to the future, but the subject is receiving careful consideration.

Longford Magistracy.

MR. J P. FARRELL: To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether he is aware that a feeling exists in favour of the appointment of Mr. James O'Neill, Chairman of the Longford Board of Guardians, to the commission of the peace for the county of Longford; and will he undertake to bring this case to the notice of the Lord Chancellor, with a view to Mr. O'Neill's appointment.

(*Answered by Mr. Cherry.*) I am informed by the Lord Chancellor's secretary that no application for the appointment of Mr. O'Neill to the commission of the peace has been received by the Lord Chancellor. If such an application should be made it would doubtless receive due consideration. It would not be usual for the Law Officers of the Crown to make representations to the Lord Chancellor in such matters.

Mineral Water Frauds.

MR. J. DEVLIN: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the fraudulent use of the word Belfast in connection with mineral waters manufactured in Canada and Cape Colony; and whether, seeing that the practice is calculated to inflict injury on the mineral water manufacturers of Belfast, he will say what action he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) This matter has not hitherto been brought to the notice of the Board of Trade, but, if the hon. Member will furnish them with details, my right hon. friend will consider whether the case is one in which action can properly be taken by the Board of Trade.

Licence Duties.

SIR WILLIAM BULL (Hammersmith): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, seeing that the present scale of duty charged in respect of premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating drinks is higher in proportion to annual value in the case of premises under £100 rental than in the case of premises above that rental, that the charge diminishes in percentage up to the rental of £700, and that the scale is not graduated beyond £700, with the result that premises of an annual value of £2,500 pay no larger duty than premises of £700 rental, he will state what proportions of such premises, both above and below £100 rental, are situated in London and the provinces respectively, and the extent to which London's share of the licence duties has been reduced in consequence of the operation of this scale of duties.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) The number of licensed premises (publicans') (exclusive of beerhouses, which are not rated for licence duty purposes on a valuation) in the county of London and provinces, respectively, are:— Rental not exceeding £100: London, 344; provinces, 45,693. Rental £100 and upwards: London, 4,974; provinces 14,626. A higher scale of duties upon the higher value premises would, of course, have increased the total yield of the duties in London to a greater extent than in the provinces. The amount of such increase would necessarily depend, in both cases, upon the precise scale adopted as an alternative.

Mymensingh Riots.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): To ask the Secretary of State for India what has been the result of the prosecution of some 200 Mahomedans for rioting at Mymensingh.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) I have ascertained that in the Mymensingh rioting cases, 168 persons have been convicted, 126 acquitted or discharged, and thirteen committed for trial at sessions, while the cases of seventy persons are pending. Of the persons convicted, five have been sentenced to four years imprisonment, four to three years, seventeen to two years, two to twenty-one months, thirty-three to eighteen months, forty to one year, six to nine months, and three to eight months' imprisonment.

Madras Hereditary Inam Lands.

MR. REES: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he has had under his notice the terms upon which the Madras Government is enfranchising the hereditary inam lands of the village officers in zemindari villages; whether he is aware that such terms are onerous compared with those upon which the inam lands in Government villages were enfranchised; and whether, in view of the immemorial service of the owners and their ancestors in respect of the former lands, he will inquire into the matter and take such action as may appear to him to be just and proper in the circumstances.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) I have seen correspondence on the subject between the Government of Madras and the Board of Revenue. The Government of Madras and the Board came to the conclusion that there was nothing harsh or inequitable in fixing the quit-rents of enfranchised village service inams in zemindari villages at full assessment rates, and that the rule limiting the quit-rent to five-eighths of the full assessment in ryotwari tracts was not applicable to zemindari tracts, and would, if extended to them, occasion a loss of revenue to the village service fund of the district, which it could not well afford. Madras Act II. of 1894 gives the Local Government full authority to make rules for the fixation of these quit-rents. As at present advised, I see no reason for interfering with the discretion of the Government of Madras in the matter.

Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller's Pension.

MR. REES: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller received as pension debitable to Indian revenues any sum in excess of £500 per annum; and whether any pension received by him above that amount is paid from the Indian Civil Service Pension Fund out of moneys furnished by the subscriptions of members.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) The whole of Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller's pension is debitable to Indian revenues. A portion of it was provided by the contributions which he paid while in the service, but it would not be possible without an elaborate actuarial calculation to ascertain the amount of this portion.

Irish Southern Catholics and Presbyterians.

MR. J. DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a speech made by the Rev. Dr. McKeon, ex-moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, at a meeting of that body held on the 7th June, when, dealing with the attitude of the Southern Catholics towards Presbyterians, he stated that, with one or two exceptions, ministers in the South were unanimous in speaking highly of the tolerance and goodwill shown to them by those who differed from them in faith; that the disturbance which had occurred in Athenry and the surrounding district was all in connection with the agitation against the grazing system; that, in dealing with the landlords, the people made no distinction of creed, and instanced a case where a Catholic landlord had to go on a public platform and was compelled to give up a farm; and whether in view of the attempts made in some quarters to represent the majority of the Irish people as bigoted and intolerant towards their Protestant countrymen, he will state if Dr. McKeon's views were in agreement with the official information available on this matter.

MR. J. DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a speech of the Rev. Dr. McKeon, ex-moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, at a meeting of that body held in Belfast on 7th June, in which he stated that in Central Ireland from 1,000 to 1,500 acres of land were in such bad condition during wet weather that a cow could not walk on them, and that he thought it a strange thing that a Government which was ready to invest money in Ireland would not invest it in draining the land; and whether, in view of the fact that Dr. McKeon voiced in this matter the practically unanimous opinion of Irishmen of all creeds and sections, the Government will consider the advisability of dealing with this question without delay.

MR. J. DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a statement made by the Rev. Dr. McKeon, ex-moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, at a meeting of that body held on 7th June, in which he stated that the grazing system was doing more injury, not only to the Presbyterian Church but to the whole Irish people, than any other condition of things that he had seen, and that what the Presbyterians had to do was to keep the manhood of the country in Ireland; and whether, in view of the unanimity of all sections of Irishmen in favour of the abolition of the grazing system, the Government will use its influence towards that end.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) My attention has been called to the Rev. Dr. McKeon's speech. I am glad to hear of his testimony to the spirit of toleration which prevails in the South of Ireland. As regards the question of arterial drainage I would refer to my Answer to the hon. Member for North Kilkenny on 12th instant.† The question is a large one, and it will be necessary to consider the recent Report of the Arterial Drainage Commission in all its bearings before undertaking legislation in the matter. As regards the grazing system, I would remind the hon. Member that the question forms part of the problem at present under the consideration of the Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland. I have already indicated that it is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill to amend the existing laws, after they have had the advantage of studying the Report of that Commission.

Belfast Corporation Appointment.

MR. J. DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the circumstances under which the appointment of Thomas Johnston, permit clerk, was recently made by the Works Committee of the Belfast Corporation; whether a young man named M'Ardle had been appointed to the position by the superintendent, and his appointment was cancelled because of his being a Catholic; whether he is aware that a member of the Works Committee stated at a meeting of the corporation that he had been canvassed to vote against any Papist getting the position; and whether the Local Government Board propose to interfere in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Local Government Board have no information on this subject beyond that derived from newspaper reports. The appointment in question is not subject to the control of the Board.

Maconchy Estate, Bogs Trustee.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Estates Commissioners having removed Mr. Michael Kirnan to Lettergonnell, Ballinamuck, from the position of a trustee of the bogs on the Maconchy estate, have taken no steps to appoint a successor who would represent the interests of the tenants on that end of the property; and will he direct that this omission be rectified by the appointment of Mr. Francis Farrell, of Aghadewry, Ballinamuck.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have received no application that the present number of trustees should be increased, but they are prepared to consider any representations which may be made to them in the matter.

O'Grady Estate, Edgeworthstown.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any inspection of the O'Grady estate at Cam, Edgeworthstown, has yet taken place; whether he is aware that, in consequence of turbary disputes and the high price paid for the land, the tenants are now anxious for an inspection of the whole property;

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 1417–20.

and will he, in the interests of the taxpayers, direct that such inspection will take place with a view to preventing a possible loss in the future on this transaction.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) No proceedings for the sale of this estate have been instituted before the Estates Commissioners, and therefore no occasion for making an inspection has arisen.

Morley's Bridge Evicted Tenant.

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if they have considered the application of Mr. Daniel Hegarty, Morley's Bridge, county Kerry, as an evicted tenant; and what they propose to do in connection therewith.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have considered Mr. Hegarty's application, and have decided that it is not practicable to reinstate him in his former holding, which is being sold to his nephew, the present tenant. The Commissioners have placed Mr. Hegarty's name on the list of persons suitable to receive allotments of land.

Cork Ratepayers and the Irish Land Stock.

Mr. A. ROCHE (Cork): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether a proportion of the loss to the Exchequer on the flotation of Irish Land Stock is chargeable against ratepayers of Cork city and other Irish cities; and, if so, what is the amount chargeable to each.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Answer is in the negative. The Land Purchase Acts do not apply to Cork and other municipal boroughs.

Ballyhaise Evicted Tenant.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have received an application for reinstatement from a Mrs. Anne Connaty, sister of Thomas M'Kiernan, who died in America in 1892, and who was evicted from his farm about the year 1885 on the Newburgh estate, near Ballyhaise, county Cavan; and will this evicted tenant's case have attention.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners cannot trace the receipt of the application referred to.

Sale of Bad Farm Seeds in Ireland.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Wicklow County Council have submitted to the Board of Agriculture in Ireland several samples of seeds sold to farmers in Wicklow; whether, when tested by the Department of Agriculture, the samples were found to be of slow or defective germinating power, and in some cases the seeds were proved to contain impurities; and whether he will advise the Board of Agriculture in Ireland to take steps, by legislation, if necessary, to put a stop to the sale of farm seeds of bad quality.

(*Answered by Mr. T. W. Russell.*) No samples of seeds have been sent to the Department's seed-testing station by the Wicklow County Council. Twenty-nine samples have, however, been received this season direct from farmers in that county, and the instructor in agriculture for the district, acting under the directions of the Department, has submitted eighteen samples. The samples received from farmers have all been tested, and the results forwarded to the senders. Those submitted by the agricultural instructor have not yet been tested. Of the farmers' samples a large number, while of fair average purity, are distinctly defective in germinating quality. The Department will consider whether steps could be taken by legislation to guard against the sale in Ireland of farm seeds of bad quality.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

H.M.S. "Brilliant."

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether H.M.S. "Brilliant" is to return home, and what ship replaces her.

The CIVIL LORD of the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Lambert, Devonshire, South Molton): The "Brilliant" has been in commission only a little over a year, and so the question of her relief does not arise.

Naval Manœuvres.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Board of Admiralty have decided to reverse the decision previously arrived at that no naval manœuvres shall be held this year.

MR. LAMBERT: I have nothing to add to the previous Answers of my right hon. friend the Secretary to the Admiralty on the same subject, on 13th and 30th May.†

Dover Harbour.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if, owing to the currents in the new Dover Harbour, it has been found impossible to moor the men-of-war there by the bow and stern as proposed, and that new moorings are to be laid to enable them to swing; and whether, in consequence, the harbour, which was constructed to shelter the Channel Fleet, will not now be able to contain more than half that Fleet at a time.

MR. LAMBERT: The Answer to both Questions is in the negative. The moorings at Dover are being re-arranged to meet the increased length of vessels built since the original scheme was settled.

MR. FELL: When the moorings have been re-arranged will there be sufficient moorings for the Channel Fleet?

MR. LAMBERT asked for notice of the Question.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if destroyers and torpedo boats frequently roll up to 15 degrees when at anchor in the new Dover harbour; and, if so, whether any extensions or alterations are proposed to make it a more secure anchorage for these vessels.

MR. LAMBERT: The harbour works at Dover are not yet completed, and when they are the anchorage will be secure.

Hat Ribbons for Sailors.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any delay has occurred in carrying out the arrangement described in Paragraph 22 of the instructions as to uniform, enclosed in the Admiralty Circular Letter, No. 23, of the 1st February, 1907, with reference to the free issue of hat ribbons to men joining a new ship; and, if so, what is the cause of this delay.

MR. LAMBERT: I am informed that no complaint has been received at the Admiralty of any delay having occurred. If the hon. and gallant Member will give me particulars of any case in which he knows of such delay, I will have immediate inquiry made.

The Home Fleet.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Home Fleet is officially regarded as a reserve fleet or as a fleet ready for immediate action.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD (Lincolnshire, Brigg): I beg also to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many battleships and cruisers in the Home Fleet are fully manned; and if these ships are granted the full allowance of ammunition for gun practice.

MR. LAMBERT: In the Home Fleet six first-class battleships, six armoured cruisers, five other cruisers, forty-eight destroyers, and four first-class torpedo boats, new type, are fully manned and ready for immediate service. The remainder of the Home Fleet can be, and has been, made ready for service within a few hours, except the special-service vessels shown at Page 270 of the Navy List. The Answer to the last part of the Question of the hon. Member for Brigg is in the affirmative.

MR. GEORGE FABER (York): May I ask whether the "Dreadnought" is one of the battleships alluded to?

MR. LAMBERT: Yes, Sir.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxiv., 575; clxxv., 61.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): Can the hon. Gentleman say whether these six battleships have a portion of their complement made up of untrained boys?

Mr. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): Is it not the fact that one-fifth of the complements of these ships is made up of boys who are sent on board for training purposes?

Mr. LAMBERT: I must have notice of that Question; but I am informed that they are ready for immediate action.

Salisbury Plain—Government Tenants.

Mr. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the tenants on the Government property on Salisbury Plain will be allowed to deduct from their rents the additional amount of rates which, under the recent notice, they are called upon to pay.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Haldane, Haddington): I regret that I am not yet in a position to give a decision on this matter; I hope to be able to do so very shortly.

Natal and the South African Garrison.

Mr. HAROLD COX (Preston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the statement made by Mr. Moor, Premier of Natal, to the effect that the promise of the Imperial Government had been obtained that Natal should always possess a portion of the regular South African garrison; whether such a promise was given; and, if so, whether any stipulation was made that the full cost of the Imperial troops stationed in Natal should be borne by the revenues of the Colony in the same way, and to the same extent, that the cost of troops stationed in India is borne by the revenues of India.

Mr. HALDANE: I have seen the Press telegram to which the hon. Member refers. It is, however, plainly an inaccurate report of Mr. Moor's speech. It is obvious that the considerations which determine the size and distribution of the South African garrison would not permit of a pledge of this kind being given. The troops are stationed where they are required to give effect to a general scheme of defence, and the Government must keep its hands free to move them to meet emergencies or changes in the strategical situation. While this remains so, the case of India affords no parallel for demanding that Natal shall bear the whole cost of the troops stationed within its borders. I therefore told Mr. Moor that while there was no intention at this moment of moving the Imperial troops from Natal the War Office would give no pledge that the troops should remain there.

Mr. HAROLD COX asked whether the Colony of Natal undertook to pay any portion of the cost.

Mr. HALDANE: I do not think it would be expedient to enter into a bargain with the Colony of Natal to tie troops to a particular spot.

Engineering Branch—Assistant Surveyors.

Mr. RIDSDALE (Brighton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, having regard to his Answer of the 19th December, 1906, he is yet in a position to state what steps have been taken to alleviate the alleged grievances of the assistant surveyors of the civil staff for engineer services.

Mr. HALDANE: I am not yet in a position to announce a decision on this subject.

Irish Militia and Yeomanry.

Captain CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now give detailed information as to the intentions of the Government respecting the amalgamation or disbandment of certain Irish Militia battalions of Infantry, the future of their men and officers, the disposal of Irish Militia battalions of Artillery, the *status* of the North of Ireland and South of Ireland Imperial Yeomanry, and the payment of the men and officers; and whether county associations are to be formed in Ireland as is proposed for England and Scotland; and, if so, can he outline their functions.

Mr. HALDANE: The Irish Militia and Yeomanry will come under Part III.

of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill; the officers will pass into the reserve of officers while the men will form part of the special reserve. County associations will not, for the present, be formed in Ireland. With regard to the detailed information asked for by the hon. and gallant Member regarding the future military organisation in Ireland, it is not practicable to deal with it adequately within the limits of an Answer to a Question.

Captain CRAIG: Cannot the right hon. Gentleman give any details as to the Irish battalions to be done away with and those to be retained? Is he aware that Commanding Officers of Militia battalions in Ireland at present find it exceedingly difficult to recruit young sabalterns owing to the uncertainty of the future of the force?

Mr. HALDANE said an opportunity would probably occur that evening to give the House the information.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Where are the South of Ireland Imperial Yeomanry? As a Southern man I never saw any.

[No Answer was returned.]

Soldiers and Crime.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been directed to the fact that the chairman, in charging the grand jury at Surrey Quarter Sessions, referred to no fewer than five charges of burglary committed by soldiers with the object of getting discharged from the Army, and said that it showed a serious state of things which ought to be ended; whether he has any explanation to offer of this incident; what means, if any, does he propose to take for the abolition of the state of things which produced it; and whether he can explain the contrast between the descriptions of the advantages of a soldier's career set forth in recruiting advertisements with the desire to be discharged from the Army under any circumstances, however ignominious.

Mr. HALDANE: It is not understood on what grounds the chairman mentioned based his assertion that these soldiers committed burglary with a view to being discharged, for, in pleading guilty to the charge, they made no remarks whatever as to their object in committing the offence. Although the utmost care is taken to prevent men of bad character enlisting, and personal references or written characters are required from all applicants, still the military authorities are, like ordinary employers of labour, liable to be misled by false information. Men of bad character when they find discipline irksome do sometimes commit themselves with a view to discharge. The recruiting advertisements are in no way misleading and fairly represent the advantages of the service to well-conducted men.

Yeomanry Squadron Leaders.

Sir SAMUEL SCOTT (Marylebone, W.): I beg to ask the Secretrry of State for War how he proposes to provide squadron leaders for the fourteen Yeomanry squadrons forming the divisional cavalry of the Regular Army.

Mr. HALDANE: The whole question of the provision of officers on mobilisation, including the Question put to me, is now being considered by a Committee, and I hope before very long to be in a position to make a statement.

Sir SAMUEL SCOTT: When is the right hon. Gentleman likely to be in a position to make a statement?

Mr. HALDANE: The questions before the Committee are of enormous detail, and it would be unwise to attempt to make a premature statement.

Cost of Defending Naval Arsenals and Coaling Stations Abroad.

Sir SAMUEL SCOTT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can give an approximate figure of the amount borne annually on Army Estimates attributable to the necessity for garrisoning and defending naval arsenals, bases, and coaling stations, at home and abroad, or for other naval purposes.

Mr. HALDANE: The information required will be contained in a Return moved for by my hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn, which is in course of preparation.

Yeomanry Establishment.

VISCOUNT VALENTIA (Oxford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he proposes, under the Territorial Army scheme, to increase the establishment of Yeomanry regiments by twenty, or by what number of men, with corresponding officers, to provide the divisional cavalry of the Regular Army.

MR. HALDANE: It is proposed to obtain the divisional cavalry for the Regular Army by inviting Imperial Yeomanry regiments to provide troops for service in the special contingent. These would be additional to the peace establishment, but would be affiliated to the Yeomanry regiment furnishing them.

MR. COCHRANE (Ayrshire, N.): Where will you get the officers for this divisional cavalry?

MR. HALDANE: Officers will be invited to go into the Reserve for the purpose.

The Territorial Forces Bill.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if it has been decided to drop the portion of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill referring to the Militia; and if, seeing that the Yeomanry is also to be left as at present, he will consider the advisability of abandoning the Bill altogether, and proceed, without further waste of time, to the formation of divisions and brigades in the Volunteer Force, under commanders who, in London as in the provinces, will lead them on mobilisation, in accordance with the recommendations of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission of some years back.

MR. MYER (Lambeth, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of discharging inefficient lieut.-colonels and appointing regular officers in their stead?

MR. HALDANE: The hon. and gallant Member can hardly regard this as a serious Question. If he does he cannot have paid attention to the words of the Leader of the Opposition at the close of the debate on Monday last, and to my reply.†

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, is there anything in the published statement that the Militia portion of the scheme is to be withdrawn?

MR. HALDANE: I have not seen the published statement, but if it purports to be what the hon. and gallant Gentleman says, there is not a word of truth in it.

Imperial Troops and the Rand Strike.

MR. MACKARNESS (Berkshire, Newbury): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the total number of Imperial troops which have been brought to the Rand district of the Transvaal in connection with the recent strike of white miners; how long it is proposed to keep the troops there; and upon whom the expense of their removal and maintenance there will fall.

MR. HALDANE: Troops to the number of 1,400 in all have been sent to the Rand district. I have no knowledge as to the length of time it will be necessary to keep them there. A claim for the extra cost, if any, involved in their despatch from their stations will be made upon the Colonial Government.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL asked whether the troops were sent at the request of the Executive Government or at the behest of Lord Selborne, acting merely as an Imperial officer.

MR. HALDANE: They were sent, under the control of the general officer, at the request of the Colonial Government.

MR. LEA (St. Pancras, E.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the advisability of debiting the cost of these troops, not to the Colonial Government, but to the Rand Chamber of Mines?

[No Answer was returned.]

MR. HAROLD COX: Will the right hon. Gentleman explain what he means by extra cost? Does he mean extra cost over and above keeping them in this country, or extra cost over and above keeping them in Pretoria?

MR. HALDANE: No. The troops are there, and they cost a certain amount there; and if they are called upon to discharge civilian duties in aid of the civilian power that is a matter for the civilian authorities.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 1176-80.

British Troops in the West Indies.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrew's Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of recent events, he will consider the advisability of stationing a British infantry regiment in the West Indies.

Mr. HALDANE: I am not aware of any recent events that would justify the re-transfer of a British infantry regiment to the West Indies.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Has the right hon. Gentleman's attention been called to the complaint from the West India Committee of the neglect from which they are suffering?

Mr. HALDANE: The whole matter was considered before any decision was come to.

Cavalry Regiments in Scotland.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War when he will announce his decision as to quartering two cavalry regiments in Scotland.

Mr. HALDANE: The allocation of cavalry to the Scottish command has not yet been decided. I cannot say when a decision is likely to be reached.

Colonial Defence.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now state the names of the Colonial stations upon which £10,000 is to be spent during 1907–8 for adapting the defences to modern requirements; what is the estimated outlay upon each of such stations; and what further expenditure will probably be required to complete the work.

I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for War what are the items composing the sum of £50,000 to be expended during the present financial year on adapting the defences of various home stations to modern requirements; and what are the particular stations involved.

Mr. HALDANE: It would not be expedient or in the interests of imperial defence to make public the information which the hon. Member requires.

Lord BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) asked if there was anything confidential in the amount of money spent, seeing that it was ascertainable from the Votes.

Mr. HALDANE: It is not a question of amount, but rather one of distribution and policy with regard to which the inexpediency comes in.

Lord BALCARRES: Are we not to be allowed to know the amount of money spent at Malta and Gibraltar?

Mr. HALDANE: I am rather surprised the noble Lord should press me after what I have said.

Woolwich Discharges.

Sir J. RANDLES (Cumberland, Cockermouth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will circulate with the Votes his statement showing the number of Woolwich men discharged on reduction from 1st June, 1906, to 1st June, 1907, specifying how many men have been discharged after ten years' service and the number of years served by the remainder.

Mr. HALDANE: The reply is in the affirmative.

Sir J. RANDLES: Can the right hon. Gentleman say if the men with long service were skilled or unskilled?

Mr. HALDANE: Some were skilled and some not.

Natal White Population.

Mr. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what was the white population of Natal at the time when British Indians were first introduced into that Colony; and what is now the white population of the Colony according to the latest information.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES, (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.): In 1860 when Indian immigration began the white population was 11,950. In 1905 it was 94,731.

Imperial Conference—The Newfoundland Fishery Question.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, with respect to a statement recently made in public by the Prime Minister of Newfoundland to the effect that all his remarks at the Conference on the Newfoundland fishery question were in support of a resolution concurred in by his colleagues the Colonial Prime Ministers before it was brought forward, whether he will state the terms of such resolution, and explain why it was not recorded in the minutes of the proceedings.

MR. CHURCHILL: The resolution was not recorded in the published proceedings because it was agreed before the discussion opened that the Conference should sit in private. Subsequently, out of consideration to Sir R. Bond, it was agreed that his statement should be published, the rest of the proceedings remaining confidential.

Royal Mint for South Africa.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any conclusion has yet been arrived at with regard to the establishment of a branch of the Royal Mint in South Africa.

MR. CHURCHILL: No, Sir.

Railway Construction in Canada—Recruitment of British Labour.

MR. CLELAND (Glasgow, Bridgeton): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been directed to the derelict condition in which 250 Scottish artisans are placed who arrived at Portage La Prairie on 20th May, having signed an undertaking for construction work on the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in Canada on the distinct and specific pledge that immediate employment would be provided on arrival at the railway camp; whether he proposes to make representations to the proper authorities to enforce fulfilment of this contract on the part of the railway company, and to take steps to prevent British workmen from being recruited under false pretences for labour in any part of the British Dominions; and whether he will consider the propriety of making representations to the Dominion Government to secure some compensation to these men either from the Government or the railway company.

MR. CHUCRHILL: I am informed that when the workmen in question arrived at Portage La Prairie the local contractor had no work ready for them at the moment. They immediately complained to the Canadian authorities, who communicated with the railway company, by whom instructions were telegraphed to the local contractor to supply the men with work even if they were not needed. The men were thereupon put to work at once. The men, I am informed, had been on arrival taken into the railway camps, provided with beds and given food. In the circumstances the Secretary of State sees no necessity for any action on the part of His Majesty's Government.

Orange Free State—Upper Chamber.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any instructions have been issued to the Governor of the Orange Free State relative to the nomination of the members of the Upper House under the new constitution, in view of the fact that this Chamber, being appointed for four years, should be representative of all shades of political opinion in the State.

MR. CHURCHILL: In accordance with the precedent of the Transvaal, the Governor will be instructed to consult the Secretary of State before making any appointment, and the Secretary of State is confident that the Governor will exercise the greatest care in submitting his recommendations.

MR. MACKARNESS asked whether it was intended to appoint a Second Chamber of the same political complexion as the majority in the Lower House, or the reverse.

MR. CHURCHILL: I can have no knowledge of what will be the political complexion of the Lower Chamber until after the election has taken place.

MR. MACKARNESS: But when that is ascertained——

MR. CHURCHILL: No, I think, following the precedent of the Transvaal, the nominations for the Second Chamber will be made public before the elections take place for the Lower House.

Chinese Labour Ordinance.

MR. ALDEN: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has any official information to the effect that General Botha has decided not to re-enact the Chinese Labour Ordinance; and, in the event of this being the case, could he state the date of expiration of the first contract and the number of Chinese to be repatriated on that date.

MR. CHURCHILL: No, Sir, we have no information on these matters at present except the Press reports of General Botha's speeech in the Transvaal Parliament.

Sugar Bounties.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any representations have reached the Colonial Office from various chambers of commerce in the Colonies and India as to the importance of preventing the reimposition of sugar bounties and the formation of cartels; and, if so from what chambers of commerce

MR. CHURCHILL: Representations on the subject of the Sugar Convention have been received from the following chambers of commerce and similar bodies in the Colonies as well as one from the Legislatures of Barbados and St. Kitts: Agricultural and Commercial Society, Antigua; Westmoreland Sugar Planters' Association, Jamaica; Northside Sugar Planters' Association, Jamaica; Montreal Board of Trade; British Guiana Planters' Association; Chamber of Commerce, Georgetown, British Guiana; Chamber of Commerce of the Orange River Colony; Chamber of Commerce, Pietermaritzburg; Chamber of Commerce, Singapore; Vancouver Board of Trade; British Guiana Board of Agriculture; Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce; Chamber of Commerce, Geelong, Victoria; Charters Towers Chamber of Commerce, Queensland; Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto; Chamber of Agriculture, Mauritius; Chamber of Commerce and Agricultural Society, Trinidad. As regards India I must refer the hon. Member to the India Office.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Have not all these localities a direct pecuniary interest in keeping up the price of sugar?

MR. CHURCHILL: It is very likely.

Transvaal Loan.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the cash value to the Transvaal of the Imperial guarantee of the loan of £5,000,000; and how much does this represent per head of the Chinese coolies which are to be repatriated.

MR. CHURCHILL: The saving to the Transvaal from the British guarantee which has been promised cannot be known until after the loan has been floated. When that event has taken place the hon. Member will be able himself to make the calculation which excites his curiosity or any other calculation of an equally serious and useful character.

Labour for the Transvaal Mines.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has any information whether the Committee appointed by the Transvaal Government to inquire into the question of the supply of labour for the mines has made its Report.

MR. CHURCHILL: No, Sir.

Colonial Conference Debate on Preferential Trade.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the interest displayed in the full Report of the proceedings of the recent Colonial Conference, and especially of that part of the proceedings that related to preferential trade, he will try to secure the consent of all persons concerned to the publication of a verbatim report of the discussion upon preferential trade that took place in the Conference of 1902.

MR. CHURCHILL: I have to refer the hon. Member to Cd. 1723, from which it appears that some of the Prime Ministers present at the 1902 Conference, when consulted on the subject in 1903, stated that they adhered to the decision unanimously carried at the Conference, that the discussion should not be published, but the Secretary of State will now consult those Prime Ministers who then objected as to whether they are now prepared to reconsider the matter.

Galapagos Islands.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the fact that a number of British West Indians have been held in a state of slavery on the Galapagos Islands; and whether any steps have been taken to procure their liberation.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury, for Sir EDWARD GREY): Rumours having reached His Majesty's Government that a certain number of British subjects were detained at Chatham Island in the Galapagos Group, His Majesty's Ship "Shearwater" was at once sent to inquire into the matter. Her commander has now reported that there are eleven West Indian negroes, British subjects, in the employment of a Colombian company in the island, which trades under the name of F. E. Ortiz & Company, the principal industry of which is a sugar plantation. These negroes are stated to have signed contracts with the company to work for one year and, should they at the end of that period owe money to the company, to continue working till their debt be paid. The men owe the company some $2,300 between them. This money has been borrowed from the company and is believed to have been lost in gambling. There is little, if any, prospect of the men being able to repay it, and they are therefore not in a position to leave the island. They have not been actually subjected to ill-treatment of a serious nature, and the commander of the British ship impressed upon the Governor his responsibility in the matter, and for their good treatment in future. His Majesty's Government will at once make representations to the Ecuadorian Government on the subject, and will communicate with the Governor of the West Indian Islands concerned. But as the report was only received this morning there has not yet been time to consider it fully.

MR. LONSDALE: Have no steps been taken to repatriate these men?

MR. RUNCIMAN: We only received the report this morning, and could not possibly make any announcement this afternoon.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Are we to understand that these men may be kept on the island an indefinite time?

MR. RUNCIMAN: I did not say anything of the kind.

Agricultural Rates Acts.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that the sum given to the landed interests of this country under the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, and which will not, under present arrangements, expire until 1910, will by that period have amounted to £21,000,000 sterling; whether he can give an assurance that the Government will, at the earliest possible moment, take steps to discontinue this contribution to the landowners at the expense of the community; can he say whether the sum so saved will amount to £1,500,000 a year; and, if so, whether he will undertake to devote that amount to the nucleus of the old age-pension scheme.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): My hon. friend appears to have taken, for the purposes of his calculation, the amounts assignable out of the estate duty local taxation revenue to the relief of agricultural rates in Great Britain. Upon this basis his figures are approximately correct. The whole question of the relation between the Exchequer and local taxation is engaging the attention of the Government, and I am not prepared to give any pledge to deal with these particular grants independently of a more comprehensive scheme of readjustment.

MR. LEA: In view of the number of pamphlets issued by the Liberal Publication Department during the last few years on behalf of the Party, complaining of these doles to owners of agricultural land, cannot the right hon. Gentleman give an assurance to the House that he will put an end to them as soon as possible?

[No Answer was returned.]

Land and the Death Duties.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he is aware that, in the case of the death duties, agricultural land is not taxed according to its value in the market at the time of death, but taxed on a special scale which consists in taking it at not more than twenty-five times the net rental and calling that the value; what the estimated loss to the national Exchequer in each year respectively since the Finance Act, 1894, has been through this exceptional treatment of the landowners of this country; and can he hold out any hope that before this Government vacates office it will bring in a Bill to reform this method of assessment and arrange that agricultural land shall be assessed to the death duties at its full market value, as is done in the case of any other form of property.

MR. ASQUITH: By a proviso to Sub-section (5) of Section 7 of the Finance Act, 1894, a maximum is fixed, with reference to the value as assessed under Schedule A, beyond which the principal value of agricultural property cannot be assessed for purposes of estate duty. I have no *data* on which to base an estimate of the loss to the Exchequer which has resulted from this proviso, nor, so far as I am able to judge, has it been established that the selling value of such property exceeds the maximum fixed by the sub-section in a sufficient number of cases to cause loss of revenue to an appreciable amount.

"The Mikado."

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Lord Chamberlain has yet taken any steps to withdraw his prohibition of the production of *The Mikado.*

MR. HADDOCK (Lancashire, North Lonsdale): At the same time may I ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what is the decision of the Lord Chamberlain in regard to *The Mikado* music.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): The Lord Chamberlain informs me that, having taken the matter into his careful consideration, he has felt justified in deciding, in the circumstances now obtaining, to withdraw the prohibition.

MR. GEORGE FABER: May I ask whether the prohibition is unconditionally withdrawn?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): May I ask whether the slowness of the operation of the Lord Chamberlain's mind does not seem to traverse the statement he once made in this House that he was not an agricultural labourer?

[No Answer was returned.]

MR. LEA inquired whether any compensation had been paid to any persons or companies for the loss incurred by them.

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): Is it not a fact that *The Mikado* music has been played regularly by Japanese bands lately on warships?

[No Answer was returned.]

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): Is it contemplated to pay any compensation to those persons and companies who have undoubtedly lost money owing to the prohibiton of this play?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have already answered in the negative.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: It is very wrong.

Licensing Returns.

MR. LEIF JONES (Westmoreland, Appleby): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will grant a Return for England and Wales of the civil parishes in rural districts and of the wards in urban districts and boroughs where there are no premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors by retail, showing also the population of each such parish or ward, and their total number and population.

MR. GLADSTONE: To obtain the information asked for would involve considerable time and trouble, and I doubt whether the value of it, at all events as regards the wards of urban districts and boroughs, would be at all commensurate. If, however, my hon. friend wishes, I will endeavour to obtain the information as regards rural parishes.

Brewery Shareholders as Licensing Justices.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of the fact that a shareholder in a brewery company over which he has no control is precluded by law from sitting as a justice at licensing sessions, the Government will, in its new Licensing Bill, include a provision applying this disqualification to the proprietors of beverages and other supplies to licensed premises.

MR. GLADSTONE: Though I have every sympathy with the desire that the proceedings of licensing benches should be free from any suspicion of personal interest, I cannot see my way at present to promise the legislation which my hon. friend suggests.

Privileged Cabs.

MR. STANGER (Kensington, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will propose legislation this session with a view to do away with the privileged cab system at railway stations; and, if so, whether he can state on what day he intends to bring in a Bill for the purpose.

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir. I have in course of preparation a Bill to amend the Metropolitan Public Carriage Act, and I propose to insert in it a clause for this purpose. I cannot yet say how soon the Bill will be ready for introduction.

Antwerp Stowaways.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the case of two stowaways, Henrick Garbe and Henrick Virmer, who were shipped at Antwerp on the Red Star Liner "Zealand," taken to New York, and, not being allowed by the authorities to land there, were brought back and put on shore at Dover, where they were sentenced to three weeks hard labour; and whether in view of his power under the Aliens Act, he will have them deported to Antwerp.

MR. GLADSTONE: The first part of this Question states the facts of the case correctly: but I have no such power under the Aliens Act as is suggested in the last part. My power of making an Expulsion Order in such a case depends upon the issue by the convicting Court of a certificate recommending expulsion. No such certificate was given in this case.

Edalji Case.

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will cause a Return to be printed containing all the anonymous letters received by the police in connection with the outrages attributed to Edalji, with the incidents connected therewith and the dates of receipt.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD: At the same time may I ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether all the information and documents which were before the Edalji Committee will be made available to Members of the House before the Home Office Vote is taken.

May I also ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will order the fullest available newspaper report of the Edalji case to be printed as a Parliamentary Paper, together with any other report in the possession of the Home Office, in order that such reports be in the hands of Members before the discussion on the Home Office Vote.

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not propose to lay on the Table any further Papers connected with this case.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to the fact that Edalji, who was the victim of an unsatisfactory conviction and has lost all his professional prospects in consequence, is at present unable to procure employment, and is dependent upon his family and friends; and whether the Government will order a public inquiry directed to the specific issue whether or not he was the author of the anonymous letters.

MR. GLADSTONE: My right hon. friend has asked me to answer this Question. Every point in this case, including the question of the authorship of the letters, has been very fully considered, and the Government are not prepared to take any further steps in the matter.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH: Will the Government do nothing to relieve Edalji of the suspicion of being the author of these letters?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid I can add nothing to my Answer.

London Rating Return.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state when the Return, Metropolitan Boroughs (Non-Payment of Rates), granted on the 20th March last, is likely to be published.

MR. GLADSTONE: It has not been possible to publish the Return earlier, as the figures for one of the boroughs were only received this morning, but it will now be laid before the House at once.

Eight Hours Bill Committee.

SIR J. RANDLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department when the remainder of the evidence taken before the Committee on the Eight Hours Bill will be circulated.

MR. GLADSTONE: The intention has been to publish the remainder of the evidence with the index, which would be the most convenient plan. The index, however, will not be ready for issue until about the middle of next month, whereas the remainder of the evidence, without the index, could be published early next week. If any general desire for the early publication of the rest of the evidence is brought to my notice I will arrange for it to be issued without waiting for the index.

Empty Houses in London and Leeds.

MR. GEORGE FABER: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, whether he can state the number of empty houses in London and Leeds, respectively.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I have not been able to obtain any later information on this subject than that contained in the Report of the Census of 1901. According to that Report, the number of houses which were uninhabited on the night of the Census, 1901, was in London 40,069, and in Leeds 6,300. Of these, however, 24,098 in London and 2,832 in Leeds were in occupation, *i.e.*, were in use for business or other purposes, but were without inmates on the Census night. This leaves 15,971 houses in London not in occupation, and 3,468 in Leeds.

MR. GEORGE FABER: How do these figures compare with earlier figures on the same subject?

MR. JOHN BURNS: I have perused many figures official and otherwise, and it would be safe to say there are now more empty houses both in London and Leeds, due to better education and the removal of people from slum districts, from small to better houses.

MR. GEORGE FABER: Is it not also due to unemployment and the shaking of the confidence of the people in the security of all kinds of property?

Emigration of Children to Canada.

MR. C. DUNCAN (Barrow-in-Furness): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been directed to the action of the Paddington board of guardians, on 5th June, 1907, in recommending that a child, named Daisy Hett, who is now eight years of age, is to be emigrated to Canada, the guardians using the plea that the child's consent has been obtained; and whether the Board intend to sanction such proposals in the future.

MR. JOHN BURNS: My attention has been drawn to this case. The child has been deserted by her parents, and has not any known relations. She has been certified as being in good health, and a suitable subject for emigration to Canada. The emigration is proposed to be effected through the Waifs and Strays Society, in one of whose Homes the child has been maintained for upwards of four years. The consent referred to in the Question is required by the statutory provision under which the guardians are empowered to expend money in the emigration of orphan and deserted children. I am not aware of any reason for withholding sanction to proposals of this kind.

MR. J. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): Does the right hon. Gentleman think eight years a suitable age to recommend the emigration of the children?

MR. JOHN BURNS: It depends on the home to which the child is taken. If it is a good one, and it is proposed to adopt the child, as frequently happens in Canada and elsewhere, and as the managers of the Homes for Waifs and Strays satisfy themselves on that point, I do think it is for the permanent benefit of the child, who has as a rule been deserted by both parents.

MR. J. WARD: Is it a case of adoption in this instance, or is it a case of hiring out?

MR. JOHN BURNS: When I was in Canada, eighteen months ago, I looked into the question of the reception of the poor children from this country, and I was more than pleased at the excellent homes provided in the overwhelming majority of cases.

MR. C. DUNCAN: What is the matter with the home in which the child now is?

MR. JOHN BURNS: It is not to be expected that children will be detained in poor law schools and workhouses for the whole of their lives, and, in the absence of homes for them in England, I do not object to their going to Canada.

Food Regulation Bill.

MR. ALDEN: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, in view of the non-introduction of the Food Regulation Bill, whether he can state the degree in which his Bill has the support of the leading sanitary authorities and medical officers of the country, and the extent to which it is opposed by such authorities.

MR. JOHN BURNS: My hon. friend is under a misapprehension in supposing that the Bill to which he refers has not been introduced this session. It was brought in some time since and is now awaiting Second Reading. I have received representations from several sanitary authorities in favour of the measure, and from none against it.

Colwyn Bay.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he is aware that last year the supply of water for flushing the drains of Colwyn Bay was quite inadequate for the purpose; and will he take the necessary steps to see that the local authorities provide a sufficient supply of water during the summer months to keep the drains properly flushed.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I was not aware that complaints had been made on this subject, but I have communicated with the clerk to the urban district council, and he informs me that the supply of water into the drains is quite sufficient for flushing purposes.

*MR. REES: Is it not the fact that Welsh local bodies need no stimulant, Scotch or other, to induce them to perform their duties?

MR. WEIR said that, in consequence of the very unsatisfactory Answer of the right hon. Gentleman, he would raise this question on the earliest possible opportunity.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I can only say that the nature of the drainage and water-supply of this district is proved by the fact that last year the death-rate was only 9 per 1,000.

Horsham Telegraphists and Telephone Duties.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to the fact that various telegraphists at the Horsham Post Office have been asked to perform telephone duties between 10 a.m. and 10 p.m. on Sundays at 6d. per hour; whether the scales of overtime payment for Sunday provide for the payment of Sunday duty at the rate of a rate and a half, and the payment of 6d. per hour would mean a considerable reduction of payment; and whether he will state the reason for the action of the authorities, and whether he authorised it.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): In the case to which the hon. Member refers inquiry was made whether any members of the Post-Office staff, outdoor or indoor, were willing to give attendance to the telephone exchange on Sundays for the remuneration which the light nature of the duties would justify. Assent was entirely optional on their part, and if they do not wish to undertake the duty other arrangements will be made. The rate of pay for ordinary Sunday duty is a rate and a half. The reason for the action taken at Horsham was the desire to afford a continuous telephone service.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcestershire, E.): Then are we to understand that Post-Office officials are allowed to volunteer to do work at lower rates?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I do not gather the point.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I understand that these people are paid below the usual rates, and that the right hon. Gentleman justifies that on the ground that they volunteered to do the work.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON. I do not think that is the position. If it were I should be adverse to it. I will inquire into the matter from that point of view.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR: Did the right hon. Gentleman authorise it?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The arrangement was made locally.

Government Offices and the Telephone.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General in view of the difficulty experienced in communicating by telephone with the India Office, will arrangements be made for the telephone numbers of the private secretaries of the various Government Offices to be inserted in the London Telephone Directory.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: It is the practice of the Post Office to ask the Government Departments concerned whether they wish the exchange numbers of their telephone lines to be published in the Telephone Directory. A good many numbers are so published, but I could not interfere with the discretion of the heads of the various Departments in the matter.

Sunday Telegraphing.

MR. WARDLE (Stockport): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General what railway telegraph offices are open for the transmission of postal telegrams on Sundays; whether the railway companies are paid by the Government for such work; and, if so, are the railway clerks who perform it paid extra for their Sunday duty.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Public telegraph business is transacted on Sundays at nearly 700 railway stations, the railway companies receiving payment for such business at special commission rates. I have no knowledge of the arrangements between the railway companies and their servants as regards pay.

Post Office and Workmen's Compensation Insurance.

MR. WEDGWOOD (Newcastle-under-Lyme): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if the Department's Committee appointed by him to inquire whether the Post Office should provide facilities for workmen's compensation insurance has reported; and, if so, whether he will lay the Report upon the Table of the House.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The Committee has reported, and I propose to lay the Report upon the Table forthwith.

Canadian Magazine Postal Rates.

MR. HOWELL DAVIES (Bristol, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in the postal arrangements recently made with Canada, the reduction in the postage rate applied only to magazines and not to English newspapers; whether he is aware that a large number of persons have been fined for insufficient postage on newspapers sent to Canada through mistaking the terms of the new arrangement; and whether he will at once notify the public that newspapers are not included in the agreement.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: All newspapers registered for transmission in the United Kingdom at the newspaper rate of postage can be sent to Canada at the Canadian magazine rate. A considerable number of newspapers not registered for transmission in the United Kingdom have been specially registered for transmission to Canada at the new rate of postage. I have reason to think that the principal causes of the charges for insufficient postage on packets prepaid at the reduced rates are the inclusion in them of unregistered periodicals and of articles altogether outside the arrangement. Further, some of these packets have been marked by the senders for transmission by way of New York, to which route the new rate of postage does not apply. The conditions under which magazines, newspapers, etc., enjoy the privilege of the reduced postage are clearly set forth in the official announcement.

London Telegraph Messengers.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General how many telegraph messengers are on duty after 7 p.m. in London; how often are the shifts changed; and what opportunity is given to these boys to attend a continuous course at any evening school, with a view of their obtaining skilled employment on discharge from the Post Office.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I will obtain the information desired and communicate with the hon. Member.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General how many telegraph messengers under the age of nineteen were discharged from post offices in the London district by reason of age in the year 1906; and how many of these boys bore certificates of satisfactory service.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I will obtain this information and communicate with the hon. Member.

South Kensington College of Science.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he can state the names of those appointed to represent the Board of Education on the governing body of the new College of Science at South Kensington.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. McKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): The names are Mr. Arthur Acland, Dr. Glazebrook, Mr. F. G. Ogilvie, the Principal Assistant Secretary of the Technological Branch of the Board; and Mr. J. C. Sykes, Assistant Secretary in the same branch.

Education of Vagrant Children.

MR. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he has any information or statistics showing how far the children of gipsies and vagrants escape elementary education; and, if not, whether he can see his way to appoint an inspector with the special duty of inquiring into this matter and superintending the enforcement of the Education Acts for the benefit of children of this class.

MR. McKENNA: I have no information or statistics bearing on this question. The enforcement of school attendance is a matter primarily for the local education authority. The inspector in each district will give the authority any assistance in his power. I do not think the special appointment for this purpose of an inspector, who must necessarily have a slight knowledge of the various districts which he would require to visit in the course of his duties, would materially assist the end in view.

Kentish Fruit Pickers' Children.

MR. WHITEHEAD: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to the fact that large numbers of children, who are brought by their parents into the county of Kent for the fruit and hop-picking seasons, evade the provisions of the Elementary Education Acts; and whether any special steps are now taken by the Board of Education to secure that such children shall obtain their education during the winter months.

MR. McKENNA: I think most of these children come from the Metropolitan area, and I have no doubt that the London County Council take all necessary steps to secure their attendance at school when they return from the country. I fear difficulties must inevitably arise when children migrate to a new district inasmuch as school holidays are taken at different dates in different areas.

Mall Improvement.

Viscount TURNOUR : I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works by what date the new road between the Mall and Trafalgar Square will be completed.

The FIRST COMMISSIONER of WORKS (Mr. Harcourt, Lancashire, Rossendale) : The date will depend upon the completion of the building. It is expected that it will be finished early in 1909.

Gooseberry Mildew in Worcestershire.

Mr. LAURENCE HARDY (Kent, Ashford) : I beg to ask the hon. Baronet representing the Board of Agriculture whether he is aware that a very serious outbreak of gooseberry mildew has occurred in Worcestershire, and whether, in view of the fact that there are not sufficient legal powers in the hands of any authority to deal effectively with the matter, he will pass through the House with the utmost speed the Destructive Insects and Pests Bill, which is awaiting the Second Reading.

The TREASURER of the HOUSEHOLD (Sir Edward Strachey, Somersetshire, E.): We are aware of the regrettable outbreak of this disease in Worcestershire, and we are most anxious to obtain the passage as soon as possible of the Bill which has been introduced with the object of giving further powers to the Board and to local authorities to deal with such diseases. A Memorandum explanatory of the provisions of the Bill has been laid upon the Table for the convenience of Members. If there is general agreement in favour of the Bill I hope it may be possible to pass it through the remaining stages without delay as an unopposed measure, as the matter is one of great urgency.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN : In view of the great damage being done, cannot the Government undertake to find a little time for this Bill ?

Sir EDWARD STRACHEY : If it is so urgent there ought to be no difficulty in reading it a second time and sending it upstairs at once.

Evicted Tenants Bill.

Mr. MOORE (Armagh, N.) : I beg to ask the Prime Minister if the Evicted Tenants Bill has yet been prepared ; when it will be introduced ; and what facilities he is prepared to allow for its discussion on introduction.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Birrell, Bristol, N.) : I propose to introduce the Evicted Tenants Bill under the Ten Minutes Rule in the course of next week.

Mr. MOORE : Will the Bill be submitted for the consideration of any private Member before its introduction ?

Mr. BIRRELL : If the hon. Member has any helpful advice to give, I shall be very glad to receive it.

Mr. MOORE : Will the right hon. Gentleman consider whether it would facilitate matters if the names of the parties within the scope of the Bill were furnished to the House ?

Mr. BIRRELL : No.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) : Will the measure be like the Bill of 1894, which was passed by this House and thrown out by the hon. Member's friends in the House of Lords ?

Mr. BIRRELL : *Eiusdem generis.*

Belfast Telegraph Messengers.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) : I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been called to the fact that two assistant inspectors of postmen at Belfast were recently reported for employing telegraph messengers under sixteen years of age, the official minimum, to deal with public correspondence ; and whether, in view of the fact that no older boys were available, he will explain why twenty-one boys, who had been detained from three to five years on the understanding that they would receive permanent employment as postmen as vacancies occurred, were a few months ago dismissed from the service, and in some cases warned of impending dismissal, as places could not be found for them.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Inquiry at Belfast has disclosed no recollection or record of the circumstances alluded to in the Question.

South Kensington College of Science.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he can state the names of those appointed by the Crown to the governing body of the new College of Science at South Kensington.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): The following have accepted nomination: Lord Crewe, Sir Julius Wernher, Sir William White, Sir Francis Mowatt, Dr. Donald MacAlister, (Principal of Glasgow University). Correspondence is still proceeding as to the sixth Crown nominee.

The Indian Budget Debate.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to the fact that on Thursday the 6th June the House did not go into Committee on the Indian Estimates; and on what day he proposes to ask the House to carry out the practice which has been followed without intermission for many years by both political Parties.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg also to ask the Prime Minister when the adjourned debate on the Indian Budget will be taken.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am aware that the House did not go into Committee on the Indian Estimates, but I cannot say as yet when an opportunity will be provided for carrying out the practice which my hon. friend reminds me has been followed for many years. An opportunity will be found for complying with this formality.

*MR. REES: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that only six private Members and only three Members of the Indian services were able to take part in the debate?

Appointments of Magistrates.

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that both political Parties in the borough of Colchester have always jointly recommended names for submission to the Lord Chancellor for appointment as magistrates; whether he is aware that the recommendations of the borough council have been recently rejected, and that consequently the political equality which has hitherto practically existed on the local bench has been destroyed; and whether he will bring the matter to the notice of the Lord Chancellor with the view of restoring the old practice.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed by the Lord Chancellor that it is not true that the recommendations of the borough council have been rejected. Five out of seven names they recommended were appointed. Political equality on the local bench did not practically exist until the recent appointments were made. It does exist now. The Lord Chancellor is not aware that any practice has prevailed in Colchester for both political parties to join in recommending names. There can be no objection to recommendations being so made, but that will not at all affect the duty of the Lord Chancellor to exercise his own discretion and to prevent the position of Justice being treated as a reward for political services.

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

MR. MYER: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether the Government will give its support to the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, in view of the popular feeling that exists throughout the country in favour of the passing of this Bill into law.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have received a memorial signed by a large number of hon. Members on this matter, but there has not yet been time to arrive at a decision. I am, however, quite aware of the strong feeling which exists in favour of passing the Bill.

Income Tax Commissioners.

MR. STRAUS (Tower Hamlets, Mile End): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he will consider the desirability of introducing legislation to abolish the property qualifications attached to the office of Income Tax Commissioner in the same way as the qualification of justice of peace has been abolished.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have nothing to add to the Answer given by my right hon. friend the President of the Board of Education on behalf of my hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury to a similar Question on 30th May.†

Blocking Motions.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether any steps have been taken by the Government to carry out the pledge, given by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer before Easter, that they would introduce a Standing Order dealing with the practice of setting down Motions and introducing Bills for the purpose of hindering Parliamentary discussion.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: A proposed Order will be submitted to the Opposition Whip this week. I think the noble Lord, if he looks at the Order Paper, will see that the question is not really so very urgent. There are six blocking Motions on the Paper all affecting India, and of these five are in the names of hon. Members on that side of the House.

Suspension of Members.

MR. MOORE: I beg to ask the Prime Minister if it is intended to complete Standing Order 18, subsection (2); and if such will be proposed during the present session.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: This torso of a Rule of Procedure as to which the hon. Gentleman questions me is the work of the late Government which was left in this condition in 1903, and several years have passed during which its authors appear to have been so satisfied with its beauty as a work of legislation as to be content to leave it alone. We have not as yet had time at our disposal, even if we possessed the courage, to attempt a suitable solution of the problem handed down to us.

Lord Rosebery and House of Lords Reform.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been directed to the fact that Lord Rosebery, speaking as Prime Minister at Bradford on 27th October, 1894, said that the House of Commons, in dealing with the House of Lords, could only proceed in the first place by Resolution; and will he say whether the Resolution thus referred to by Lord Rosebery is extant, and, if not, what has become of it; and, in the event of this Resolution or any draft of it being in existence, could a copy of it be laid upon the Table of the House.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR: Before the Prime Minister answers that Question, may I ask him if he will consider the advisability of laying on the Table a verbatim report of the speech recently made by Lord Rosebery on the subject of the Government's policy towards the House of Lords?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN The noble Lord has been a short time in this House, but he must know that such a request could not possibly be granted. Of course it is never done. The statement of my noble friend would appear to have been made at a very elementary stage of the controversy which had then arisen. I am sure that he had a fitting Resolution in his mind, but if it was drafted it must have evaporated, for there is no trace of it in the archives of the Treasury. The Question which my hon. friend asks me is "What has become of it if it is not extant?" It is quite beyond my powers to answer that Question. It might have been possible, although hardly useful, to endeavour to trace its history if it existed, but to follow the after life of a Resolution, thirteen years after it perished, is beyond even the powers of a Public Department.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that in that speech Lord Rosebery said he had put his hand to the plough and would not turn back, and that he also referred to the lessons of 1678.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I do not see that Lord Rosebery's speeches have anything to do with the question.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 88-9.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Nothing at all.

MR. LEA asked whether in view of the fact that the noble Lord described himself as a "croaking raven," they should not disregard his speech.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must protest against dragging in references to speeches made outside this House, whether by noble Lords or other persons.

Adult Suffrage.

MR. HUDSON (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if, by Letters Patent under Seal of the United Kingdom just issued, the Constitution granted to the Orange River Colony is based on an electorate of adult white population with a six months registered qualification; and, if so, whether His Majesty's Government, at an early date, contemplate taking steps to extend the franchise in this country to the adult population, with a complete system of registration on a three months qualification.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Gentleman asks me whether we are prepared to introduce certain far-reaching reforms in the franchise and registration laws at an early date. I am afraid there are not many early dates available, and that I cannot hold out any immediate hope of our being able to follow the excellent example of the Orange River Colony.

Education Bill.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan): I beg to ask the Prime Minister when he intends to move the Second Reading of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: This Bill is not in my hands, but in those of my right hon. friend at the Board of Education. No time can yet be named for its Second Reading.

Government Messengerships.

SIR SAMUEL SCOTT: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the appointment to permanent messengerships at Government offices of men who have had no previous occupation, he will take steps to secure a larger number of such appointments in the future for ex-soldiers and ex-sailors of good character, a large number of whom are unemployed.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Member, I presume, means no previous occupation in the public service.

SIR SAMUEL SCOTT: No.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Then I do not quite understand the Question. I do not think anyone would put into the Government services men who previously had had no occupation at all. At any rate I do not see that I can give him any pledge of the kind for which he asks. All I can say is that due regard will be paid to the qualifications of the men appointed to the posts in question.

SIR SAMUEL SCOTT: But the Patronage Secretary in answer to a Question as to appointments of messengers gave the occupations of some and stated that two of the men appointed had not had previous occupations.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: He must have meant in the public service.

SIR SAMUEL SCOTT: No; because——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

VISCOUNT TURNOUR asked if the right hon. Gentleman would bear in mind the recommendation of a Committee that ex-soldiers and sailors should be given the appointments?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: A good deal is being done in that direction. I do not think we can go any further at present.

Education Votes.

DR. RUTHERFORD (Middlesex, Brentford): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he can say on what day the Education Votes will be taken.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No Sir, I cannot as yet say on what date the Education Votes will be taken.

Sugar Duties.

MR. REMNANT (Finsbury, Holborn): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in the event of the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the Brussels Convention, it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to take any steps, by the imposition of countervailing duties or otherwise, to check the unfair competition of bounty-fed sugar with sugar which has not received such bounties.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The position of His Majesty's Government with respect to countervailing duties and other methods of restricting the sources from which we may draw our supplies of sugar was clearly explained in the statement made to the House on the 6th instant by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.† To that statement I have nothing to add.

Lanarkshire Feuars—Underground Workings.

*MR. FINDLAY (Lanarkshire, N.E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware of the damage that is being done to dwelling houses and public property in certain industrial centres in Lanarkshire by underground workings, causing much loss to feuars, who in many cases own their homes, and involving risk of life to others; and whether, in view of the situation thus created, he will undertake to give facilities so that the Feus and Building Leases (Scotland) Bill at present before Parliament, which seeks to give more equitable conditions to the individuals and communities who at present suffer from damages by mineral workings, may become law during this session.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I regret the unfortunate situation in which the feuars are placed, but at this period of the session it is impossible to ask the House to deal with it.

MR. FINDLAY: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would not think it desirable to appoint a Select Committee (as in 1893) to inquire into the working of the law in Scotland relating to feus and leases for buildings, including the casualities payable to the superior and the conditions frequently inserted in feu charters and leases for building, and the titles under which the superior claims these powers; and to consider whether any, and if any what, amendment of the law is required?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am well aware what a complicated question this is, and how many grievances and anomalies it presents. I will consider whether a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the subject.

The Brussels Sugar Convention.

MR. HAROLD COX: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the number of Members of this House who are pledged to vote for the withdrawal of this country from the Brussels Sugar Convention, he will give the House an opportunity of discussing the subject before the country is committed to any other course.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: At the present stage it would not be proper for me to add anything to the statement made by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the 6th inst.† From that statement my hon. friend will understand the nature of the communications which are now taking place with the Governments of the other contracting States on the subject of the Sugar Convention.

Grand Committees—Reporting.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) asked the Prime Minister whether he could provide a shorthand report of the proceedings of Grand Committees, or, at all events, the important Grand Committees which were now sitting, or about to sit upon first-class Government measures. He had given the Prime Minister no private notice, and very likely the right hon. Gentleman would like to have such notice. The matter was of importance.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said he would be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would repeat the Question on Wednesday or Thursday.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he would prefer Wednesday, because he understood the Committee on the English Land Bill was going to meet on Thursday.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 837–9.

† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 837–9.

PROBATION OF OFFENDERS (No. 2) BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee B.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 197.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 197.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 239.]

RELEASED PERSONS (POOR LAW RELIEF) BILL.

Reported, without Amendment, from Standing Committee B.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 198.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 198.]

Bill to be taken into consideration upon Monday next.

LIMITED PARTNERSHIPS (RE-COMMITTED) BILL.

Reported, with an Amendment, from Standing Committee A.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 200.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 200.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 240.]

PUBLIC RIGHTS OF WAY (No.2) BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee A.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 201.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 201.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration to-morrow, and to be printed. [No. 241.]

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 244.]

TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES BILL.

As amended, considered.

Clause 1:—

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon) moved an Amendment to exempt the Militia from the operation of the clause. He did not think it would be necessary to carry the Amendment to a division, as last week the Secretary for War was good enough to give the Leader of the Opposition encouragement to hope that the views entertained by many on that side of the House with regard to the Militia would receive his favourable attention. He sincerely trusted that would be the case. It was some weeks ago since he ventured to suggest that a compromise might be arrived at, and that it might be found possible without destroying the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman that the Militia should be reintroduced into our first line. The Leader of the Opposition had referred to the illuminating example of the Irish Militia, in whose case the difficulty with regard to the special contingent, which the Secretary for War at one time thought insuperable, had been got over. It had been found possible to regard some of the Irish battalions, not only as sources from which drafts might be supplied, but also as units, which in certain eventualities might take the field as battalions. His right hon. friend made the important suggestion that the principle which had been accepted on the other side of the Irish Channel should be accepted on this side also. If that suggestion, to which he understood the right hon. Gentleman had given a conditional assent, were adopted, it would be a great relief to many on that side of the House, as it would permit the Militia to remain as an existing force in our Army organisation. It might be that the right hon. Gentleman would suggest that some of the battalions should be differentiated, as regarded their treatment, from the others; that, he understood, was the case in Ireland. In Ireland a certain number of battalions were to be turned into third battalions of the Regular Army, and to be made liable for service in time of war, and were to act if necessary as units for the purpose of guarding lines of communication or the occupation of fortresses. The remaining battalions were to be retained for the purpose of supplying drafts. He understood that that proposal might be applied to the English Militia. Substantially his view would be met by an arrangement of that kind. He did not, however, believe it was possible to separate the battalions one from another and say that this battalion should or should not be stamped for all time as a unit which would take the field in time of war with its own officers. But the principle would be accepted that the Militia were to exist in the future as they had existed in the past, and if that were so his objection to the Bill would be very greatly decreased, if not altogether removed. Yet this could not be the end, but rather the beginning, of the change in respect of the Militia. The right hon. Gentleman had been good enough to confirm the views they had held with regard to the Militia, and had admitted that before they became a valuable force they must undergo serious changes, and, he would say, serious reforms. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would find after he had taken this very wise step that there was still a great deal to do, because the real difficulty in regard to the Militia was the pressure from the Line to which they were always subjected. As this pressure would not be removed, eventually they would have to go a little further. But for the present, unless he was misinformed, he understood the Militia would remain and would not be destroyed; they would be made liable for service abroad in time of war; they would become the Territorial battalions of the Regular Army; and they would be officered to a considerable extent by officers of the Regular Army. Those four points would carry them a long way towards bringing back the Militia to the position they once occupied, and which he hoped they would occupy again. He hoped he had said nothing in this matter in a controversial spirit. That was not the spirit which animated him. Ever since the right hon. Gentleman made his announcement last week he had felt that there was hope of light on the matter. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would now be able to confirm the outline which he had laid before the House as representing the views of the Opposition, and that he would be able to state in greater detail what he proposed to do in carrying out the pledge given to the Leader of the Opposition as to the maintenance of the Militia as a live part of our military organisation.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 8, after the word 'Regulars' to insert the words 'and Militia.'"—(*Mr. Arnold-Forster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): The Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman gives me, at all events, the opportunity of making a statement on the position which arose at the conclusion of the debate last Monday. The Leader of the Opposition made a suggestion which seemed to me so feasible that I undertook to consider it, and I was the more able to consider it because the whole matter had been before my mind for two months past. Indeed, I think that, but for the attitude and decision of the commanders and officers of the Militia, who frankly refused to supply drafts, the controversy would not have arisen in its acute stage. If they had adopted a different position there might have been a different form for Part III. of the Bill. But the more I have looked into the matter the more I have been convinced it was a happy opposition, because it has given us the opportunity of making the care of the first line the overriding consideration and of producing an organisation simpler than if we had dealt with the matter in a mere spirit of compromise. I entirely agree with what was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London. The right hon. Gentleman referred to our proposals in regard to the Irish Militia, and said why not, at any rate as regards a large part of the English Militia, organise it so that we may get what I think he and his friends regarded as a great point, namely, relief units which will be available as units. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that it was wholly consistent with the demands which I had made upon the population for war purposes, and that it fitted in with the general lines of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman said it was perfectly consistent with that part of the scheme, and he suggested that I should consider whether I could not modify, not the root ideas of the plan, but what are really mere details, so as to extend to England and Scotland the same scheme of Militia organisation as I had applied to Ireland, subject to the qualification that in Ireland there are no Volunteers to take the place of the Militia. I think I can meet the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, and meet it with all the better conscience because it has been my own idea since May last. I think we have got to a happy solution. Not one line will have to be changed—not one part of the machinery altered. It is a question of organisation under the powers which the Bill proposes to confer, and I will explain to the House how we can work it out. The original scheme of the Bill was that we should take sixty-six Regular regiments in England and Scotland, and eight Regular regiments in Ireland, and that we should put behind each of the sixty-six a third battalion, the primary function of which should be to train drafts to supply the wastage of war, and which might, in case of mobilisation, throw off men for lines of communication and for relief purposes. In the case of Ireland we proposed to do the same, but to organise also twelve battalions behind the eight Irish third battalions, which should be enlisted under Part III., the men of which should be under precisely the same engagements as the men in the third battalions, but their primary purpose should be to furnish units, though also liable to supply drafts, as in the case of the existing battalions. When I came to consider the working out of the scheme with the Adjutant-General he pointed out some time ago that, in the establishments we were proposing to take away, we were taking away more than was necessary, because he thought it right to provide a margin of safety. I should give the numbers. In addition to twelve Irish battalions, it is proposed to organise fifteen more in England and Scotland, which will give twenty-seven units for lines of communication and reliefs, and these units will be available in times of great necessity to find drafts. They will be behind and independent of the third battalions. They will principally serve as fourth battalions to certain territorial regiments, and in that way we shall have a provision for drafts in case of emergency, but primarily we shall have twenty-seven battalions for the purpose of providing relief units. As regards men in the fourth battalions as I call them, for short, the strength will be 800. Now, as regards officers, we have made provision for the creation of a reserve of officers, but it will necessarily take a little time before it becomes operative. This plan will enable us to give to junior Militia officers under thirty-five the position at once of going into the reserve of officers, and, as such, they will be in a much better position than they are at the present time. Under the scheme they will have £20 a year retaining fee for taking engagements to serve abroad. I am talking now of men below the rank of major. These officers would be required for the purposes of the third battalions and also for the purposes of the fourth battalions. In the third battalions we propose to provide a large proportion of Regular officers, because we think it necessary in order to make the training machinery as perfect as possible. In the fourth battalions we shall not have quite as many Regular officers, so that we shall be able to make more use from the beginning of the junior Militia officers. These officers on mobilisation would become full Regular officers, taking their positions according to their ranks. Then as regards the senior Militia officers, the House knows that we are short enough of officers at present, and therefore we shall be in a position to make use of the senior officers of the Militia. We should ask them to go into, not the new Reserve of Officers which we propose to create, but into the existing Reserve of Officers into which retired officers of the Regular Army go to be available in the time of war; but I think we should be able to do for them what we cannot do for the old Reserve officers, and that is we should be able to ask them to come out to train their battalions. Shortly, our new proposals come to this: in Ireland the Militia battalions in substance will form eight third battalions with twelve fourth battalions behind them. They will cease to be Militia as such, and they will become Regulars, belonging to and forming part of the organisation of the Regular Army. In the case of the English and Scottish Militia they too—those of them whom we can take—will be asked to come in under Part III. of the Bill, but we do all we can to preserve their traditions, names, and colours. Let me take an analogy from the law. When a commercial company is to have a new constitution, what occurs? It is reconstructed. It is wound up, and it emerges under new articles of association under the Companies Acts, but with the same name, traditions, and shareholders, the same everything, except the legal constitution and the fresh capital. In the same manner the Militia battalions will rise, phœnix-like, in the form of third and fourth battalions.

MR. WYNDHAM (Dover) asked whether there was to be any distinction under the plan between England and Scotland and Ireland.

*MR. HALDANE: None. The only distinction is that we cannot take the whole 124 English Militia battalions. Some of them are in a most unsatisfactory condition, as they are unable to get the men, and it is much better that they should go into the Territorial Army, where we can take them in large numbers. The figures stand in this way. There are at present 124 Militia battalions in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Of these we propose to take material to furnish us with 101 battalions. There will remain a substantial number of weak Militia battalions, with which we can do very little, and, as I have said, we propose that these should go into the Territorial Army. Of the 101 battalions seventy-four will have an establishment of 500 men, with a large staff of officers, and twenty-seven will have an establishment of 800 men, with a substantial staff of officers. Now, I have sketched as nearly as possible the details of my proposal; but there is a great deal to work out, and naturally the House of Commons will ask for details of finance. I am glad to say the difference in money will be very little indeed. I shall be enabled to save the expenditure with the Militia, allowing the working-off engagements under the new system, while new officers come up under the Reserve. The change in our proposals will enable me to fill the Reserve of Officers by the machinery provided. On the whole, the arrangement seems to me, from a financial point of view, sufficient.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcestershire, E.) asked how the future finance of the new Army would be affected.

MR. HALDANE: Practically not at all. We take off on the one hand and put on on the other.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: After the transition period?

*MR. HALDANE: It ultimately means that the Territorial Army will be a little cheaper and the other a little dearer. Of course there are a number of details I have not gone into. Depots will be assimilated, the cost of the Militia Staff will be saved, and the House may take it from me that there will be a great many economies effected from the change to a single force and by simplicity of organisation. I will not go further now than to say that there will be no substantial addition to the cost—something slight, but nothing that the House need trouble about. I have been asked if the proposal will apply to the Militia Garrison Artillery, and here the matter is much more difficult than with the Field Artillery, because the former is not what we want, but we shall endeavour to consult the feeling among the men as well as we can; there is no reason why we should not try to preserve the sentiment, the colours, the band, the name even. You cannot treat them *eo nomine* as a separate force for the Regular Army, but you can keep up the battalion with the same emblems, honourable traditions, and history, and we shall endeavour to do that as far as we can. I think I have now put before the House the main points, and if there is any further information required I will give it, as far as I can, in the form of replies to Questions.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER asked if the force would be under the county associations.

Mr. HALDANE: No, no; for the future all the Militia in substance will belong to the Regular Army. There will be only two lines; we wipe out the intermediate organisation corresponding to the Militia. It may be said that this looks like increasing the Regular Army, and in one sense it is; but we are taking from the force behind it.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): Speaking for myself, I thank the right hon. Gentleman for the modifications in his scheme which he has just explained to the House, and I think the House at large will be grateful to him for the statement he has made. He has told us that it has been in his mind for some time, and we can well believe it, for the germ, or more than the germ, of the proposal can be found in the Bill, and especially in that part which concerns the Irish Militia. There is no change in the substance of his original plan, nothing inconsistent with what I think is the root idea of the scheme. If that is true of the right hon. Gentleman, a similar observation can be made with regard to friends of mine on this side of the House. We feel that the scheme as regards the Militia fits in with our ideas for which we have been arguing, and so we are in the fortunate position of being in agreement in substance with what is proposed to be done, no matter to what school of thought we belong. I do not now wish to delay the House from entering upon other important matters which were not discussed in Committee, and which I hope will receive attention on this Report stage; but there is one Question only I would like to ask. I almost gather from what the right hon. Gentleman said that in his opinion this modification of his plan can be carried out without alteration of the Bill; but surely the transfer from the second to the first line of the whole of the Militia battalions—surely that change will require some modificaton of the actual wording of the Bill? If not, it seems to me that our discussions have been upon no particular plan. Will he explain how it is that the important modification can be carried out without altering a word or comma in the Bill?

Mr. HALDANE: The right hon. Gentlemen has met me in so handsome a manner and in such an admirable spirit that I feel almost anxious to make Amendments to assure him of my good will; but my difficulty is they are not necessary. The Irish Militia have all through been in the position I have just described. I gave an administrative undertaking to organise a special contingent, and the men willing to take service abroad and to be drafted will be asked to enlist under Part III. of the Bill. We then say there are some of the men so good, so well trained, that we give them the chance of forming a fourth battalion. To them we say, "Come under Part III.; we shall want you to be drafted; but it only means that you will come under a new set of statutes; you come into a fourth battalion if required." That will be done in the case of each man, and for the Militia battalions that are weak it is possible we may have to take two battalions to make up a single third battalion. Some of the battalions we hope may come over *en bloc*, and we have every desire to suit their territorial conditions and traditions. Where we can, although the men come in individually, they will be formed into a unit as like as possible to the old, but under new engagements. So far as individual men are concerned, we should try to consult their convenience at every point. We have provided the financial means and the machinery we require to create our first line.

Mr. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said he wished to congratulate his right hon. friend upon his statement, and on the course he was now going to pursue. It agreed in many points with the views he had humbly pressed upon his notice for months past — the formation of the Volunteers and Yeomanry into a Territorial Army, and pushing what was good of the Militia into the first line. What proportion of the twenty-seven battalions did the right hon. Gentleman propose to allocate to Scotland?

Mr. HALDANE said there were some very good battalions in Scotland, but he would have to survey the whole of the battalions and judge according to merit.

Mr. McCRAE said they were all good in Scotland.

Mr. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) inquired as to the age of enlistment. Would it be the same as before, seventeen or eighteen years of age?

MR. HALDANE replied that it would be just the same as heretofore. Seventeen was the minimum age for the Militia, and the reason for that was not that they wished to send out soldiers below the proper age, but that they got a number of men at seventeen whom they would not get at a later age. It paid to get them and train them to a greater extent than those who came on at a more advanced age, and later on they went into the Line. By enlisting at seventeen they secured a stream of recruits whom they had to train more than they trained older men, but who furnished them with material they would not otherwise get. They did not for a moment contemplate sending out these men in either the 3rd or 4th Battalions under the new system at an immature age.

MR. ASHLEY asked whether the period of enlistment would be the same as now, six years.

MR. HALDANE was understood to say the enlistment would be just the same as ever.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said he was very anxious to congratulate the Secretary of State for War personally on the improvement of the scheme by the change, which he thought would be greatly to the advantage and efficiency of the fighting force. He wished, however, to know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to enlist all the Militia Force straight off. If so, were they to work out their time under the existing engagement, and were only recruits to come forward under the new terms; because, however faithful and good the Militia might be, there were always a number of men who would not take any new engagement without being paid for it. He did not think the practice of enlisting at seventeen was so serious a matter as hon. Members thought, although he knew that it did tell to a certain extent in Regular regiments, but not so much in the Militia. In a battalion in which he was interested he found that only 10 per cent. of the men were under twenty years of age, and the reason was that many old soldiers enlisted in the Militia, and they did not get quite so many young men in the force as some hon. and right hon. Gentlemen thought. The officers were well satisfied with the scheme put forward, though some of them who were seniors would have to go, but the old ones always had to go. He thought, however, that there would be an advantage in adopting the formation proposed, and allowing officers to go and fill up the reserve, as there would be a great many Militia who would be useful in time of war. He was glad they would be used and pushed forward into the Regular Army, in which many of them ought to have been. A question which required consideration was whether the men would have to be re-enlisted and whether they would serve out their time, or whether the re-enlistment would be under new terms of service.

SIR SAMUEL SCOTT (Marylebone, W.) asked how the right hon. Gentleman proposed to fill up the Reserve of Officers in order to feed the Regular Army in time of war.

MR. WYNDHAM said he did not rise to join in the chorus of congratulation to the Secretary of State, because, having advocated something of the kind for the last seven years, the right hon. Gentleman well knew how deeply grateful he was that he had consented to carry out the change proposed. He presumed that they might still take 300,000 in round numbers as the strength of the Territorial Force. The Auxiliary Forces at present rather exceeded 360,000, and the right hon. Gentleman was taking 58,000 men to form this reserve battalion. That would leave about 300,000 men in round numbers as members of the Territorial Force.

MR. HALDANE said they took 300,000 as an estimate for the establishment, because they thought that that would be about what they would get. He did not know, now that they were taking away so many Militiamen, whether they would get that number, but the establishment which they proposed would still remain. He thought that what had happened would make it rather difficult to get the Territorial numbers, at any rate, as quickly as under ordinary circumstances.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he desired to ask a question on the financial aspect of the scheme. He assumed that, as a result of the right hon. Gentleman's announcement that day, the whole of the finance of the Militia would be part of the finance of the Regular Army, and that the accounts of the Militia would be audited and controlled by the Auditor and Comptroller-General as at present, and not in the way proposed for the Territorial Army. He also assumed that, under the new arrangement, there would be a special Vote taken for the Militia, as had been the case hitherto.

MR. HALDANE said he did not know about a special Vote for the Militia, because the Militia substance would now be part of the Regular Army, and, of course, the procedure with regard to finance would be precisely the same as that of the Regular Army. He did not want to pin himself to the exact form in which it would come before the House, but that was the substance of it, and, of course, the accounts would be audited in the same way as those of the Regular Army. As regarded the finance, at present they spent on the Auxiliary Forces well on to four and a half millions of money. The estimate he took for the Territorial Army was a sum of £2,850,000, and then he added to that certain other items. That estimate was taken on the assumption that they had 300,000 men going into camp for fifteen days. He never believed that they would get anything like the whole of that number to go into camp for fifteen days, though they would keep the units standing, and he doubted whether, now that they had taken the Militia away, they would for some time, at any rate, get the whole 300,000. The margin for the extra cost that these things would entail came not only from the economies of the abolition of the old depots, but from the difference between what they spent on the Territorial Army and the four and a half millions they spent on the Auxiliary Forces. It was obvious that the simplification of organisation avoided multiplication of stock, and they got a certain amount of economy in that way.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said it was obvious that, when the new state of things came into force, there would be no Militia Vote; but, supposing the present men would not come over, would they have a Militia Vote until the Militia became extinct by time?

MR. HALDANE replied that his right hon. friend was quite right, and he saw his point. There would necessarily be a certain number of people who would say, "We will not come over, and you must keep us going," and there might be, in that transition period, a small Militia Vote. In reply to the Question of the hon. Baronet the Member for Marylebone, he had to say that somewhere about 4,000 officers would be required on mobilisation. Some, they hoped, would come from the universities and public schools, some from the public schools alone. The rest would come, they hoped, by taking a year in a Regular unit, and they would be very much akin to the class who came to the Regular Army through the Militia at the present time. He had to say, in reply to the hon. Member for Lichfield, that they would enlist at once all they could, but there would be some who would remain Militiamen. They would be worked off, he hoped, very quickly, but, while they were there, they could not disturb any contract.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport) asked whether the training of the Militia both for the Reserve and the men would be the same as now.

MR. HALDANE was understood to say that the training in all cases would be six months initial training. It was now six months, with twenty-eight days annual training, but in future it would be six months initial training, with fifteen days annual training and musketry training in addition.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said that when the right hon. Gentleman told them that he was going to save the Militia they had some reason to hope that he would retain it at least on its present basis of efficiency. He did not think, however, they could make the force as efficient with fifteen days training as when it had twenty-eight days. He now understood how it was that the right hon. Gentleman intended to give this training without the expenditure of further moneys. The matter became the more serious from the fact that the Militia as such was going to disappear, and become part of the Regular Army, and be brought under the Army Act and not under the Militia Act. He wished to know, if the new Militia disappeared from the Militia Vote and appeared on Votes A and 1 of the Army Estimates, would it have the same responsibilities as the remainder of the Regular Forces with which it was to be grouped in future? Would that responsibility for foreign service, so far as the new Militia was concerned, be identical with that of the Regular Army?

*MR. HALDANE said he was not quite sure whether he appreciated the point of the noble Lord. The Militia would have the same responsibility as the Army Reserve.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he did not know if the right hon. Gentleman desired him to withdraw his Amendment. He understood now that there was no use for it. There was nothing more to be said on the point saving one thing. He regretted that owing to the time at which this change had been made, some very important questions which arose consequentially upon the change could not be discussed. He would like to repeat a remark he had made earlier in the afternoon. He had been a student of Militia depots for years, and had visited nearly every Militia depot in England and Scotland, and though the House received the right hon. Gentleman's announcement with great satisfaction, the change was not going to make the Militia all the right hon. Gentleman desired. It could only make for good if it was the beginning and not the end of the changes with regard to the Militia.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked whether the Militia was to be taken entirely out of the control of the county associations. He put the same Question at Question time, and then understood the right hon. Gentleman to say there was no truth whatever in the report. But from his subsequent statement it appeared to him that the right hon. Gentleman had taken exactly the course hinted at in the Question he put.

MR. HALDANE said there would be certain Militia battalions which would go into the Territorial Army. They would be under the control of the county associations. The others would be under the control of the Regular Army.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

VISCOUNT VALENTIA (Oxford), in moving an Amendment to secure the exemption of the Yeomanry from the operation of Clause 1, said the right hon. Gentleman had expressed considerable sympathy with the Yeomanry Force at an earlier stage of the Bill. But in listening to the speech, and on since perusing it, he failed to find any reason for including that force in the right hon. Gentleman's scheme, except that they were not as efficient as the right hon. Gentleman hoped to make the cavalry. But Yeomanry were as anxious to make themselves efficient as was the right hon. Gentleman to see them efficient, and so far as serving with other forces in the field was concerned, they were not only prepared to do so, but the complaint of the officers was that they had not the opportunity they would like to have of so doing. With regard to the pay, the right hon. Gentleman had said it would be impossible to go on with different rates of pay. But in the Regular Forces there were different rates of pay at the present time. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to leave the Irish regiments of Yeomanry as they were at present, and there was a very strong similarity between the Irish Yeomanry and those of England, and it was very curious that what was sauce for the Irish goose should not be sauce for the English and Scottish gander. The arguments which had been used in regard to the Militia applied equally to the Yeomanry, with one exception, and that was the production of drafts for the Regular services. There, of course, the Yeomanry was differently situated; owing to the different ages at which the men were enlisted it would be impossible for them to supply drafts. But he thought that the right hon. Gentleman might well extend the analogy of reconstitution to the Imperial Yeomanry as well as the Militia. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think there was considerable value attached by the Auxiliary Forces to their bands and colours. But there was also a sentimental value attached to the conditions under which they served that weighed even more, he thought, with the Yeomanry than with the Militia. Therefore, believing it was unwise to sacrifice the force of cavalry we now had in the shape of Yeomanry in order to obtain what must prove to be a less efficient force in the Territorial Army, he begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 8, after the word 'Regulars' to insert the words 'and Yeomanry.'"—(*Viscount Valentia.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

MR. WYNDHAM said that, if he desired to review the position of the Yeomanry under the Bill, he would be compelled to deal with a number of hypothetical assumptions, because, at the present time, they did not know what its position was. Was it analogous to that of the Militia? The position of the Militia under the Bill could be entirely changed without a word of the Bill being altered, and he assumed that the position of the Yeomanry would be the same. That being so, that seemed to be the opportunity for asking the right hon. Gentleman to temper his power with consideration, to bear in mind what had been so often urged on behalf of the Yeomanry, and not to bind himself in any way. The right hon. Gentleman was asking the Yeomanry to do more, and, at the same time, was telling the officers of the force to ask the men to accept less pay. That was the difficulty. It was obvious to the minds of most people that the admitted efficiency of the Yeomanry during the last ten years was due to the better pay of the force. In recent years they had been enabled, for that reason, to draw many young men, the sons of farmers, and enterprising clerks from the towns, who devoted four or five of the best years of their lives to fitting themselves for service and had made themselves efficient. The right hon. Gentleman must bear in mind that he could not alter these conditions for the men without losing a large proportion of the teachable men—men to whom some knowledge could be imparted in three or four weeks—men who could learn to ride and read a map better than any Regular soldier. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would tell the House that he was not wedded to his system of pay, but that he would preserve an open mind to direct the ample powers he was taking under the Bill. He understood that those of the Yeomanry who were going on active service on the outbreak of war were to pass into the special contingent of fourteen squadrons. Those men were presumably to be taken from the Yeomanry regiments as a body, one regiment furnishing seven and another perhaps twenty-nine, but the average aimed at was about a troop a-piece. He gathered that those men would be taken so largely out of the regiments as almost to cease to belong to them. The House had had nothing distinct upon that point. First, they were told that they came in Class "A," and then in Part III., and then that they would be trained not with the troops to which they belonged. It was too late in the day to argue for and against these various propositions. The right hon. Gentleman had reserved to himself the power to deal with them, and in one way or another to modify his present plan, but he hoped he would keep present in his mind the fact that if they took men away from their officers and comrades altogether they would cease to be part of the units. He would have been very glad if the right hon. Gentleman had seen his way to invite the regiments to supply so many men willing to serve abroad, and then he could say—"We will not take you unless you will do so much training." He believed that if they did that they would have a succession of men taking up the obligation, who would fulfil the tests which the War Office imposed upon them. He confessed they on that side had a predilection for that plan, but he did not press it at that moment. He hoped, however, that the right hon. Gentleman would not dismiss it altogether from his mind, because it was an alternative plan to his proposal which would take the men altogether out of the Yeomanry. According to the plan of the Secretary of State for War these men were to go into the Reserve, but he understood that even according to that plan there was no question of their supplying drafts generally to the cavalry. There was that distinction between their position and that of the Militia. But if, under the Secretary of State for War's plan, they got this special contingent, then they went to produce the fourteen squadrons of additional cavalry, and they did not go into the Reserve. The right hon. Gentleman should not throw away all the chances he had of reaching a class he had not reached before. He hoped he would not imperil his chance of getting these men, or take up an attitude from which he could never recede in respect of the method by which he was going to get men on the outbreak of war.

MR. HALDANE said that no one could have listened to the two distinguished Yeomanry commanding officers who had just spoken without feeling it to be almost impossible to resist them. But he had happened, within almost the last few hours, to be in the company of two very distinguished officers of the Regular Army, one a very great cavalry leader and the other with great experience of cavalry, and they were as full of gloom about the Yeomanry as the right hon. Gentleman and the noble Lord were full of confidence. They had said to him that he was mixing himself up so much with Yeomanry officers in the House of Commons that he was being persuaded to make concessions, and that he was bringing into the Regular Army as divisional cavalry Yeomanry which, they thought, had not and could not have that professional instinct which cavalry who were trained men possessed. It was difficult for a very humble man to decide between two such great authorities. But he felt encouraged to repeat that the safest plan was, after all, the plan which he had decided upon—not to yield to the criticism of any distinguished Regular officers on the Yeomanry, because, as the right hon. Gentleman had well said, the Yeomanry came from an extremely enlightened class. On the contrary, it would not do to set out with a theory about the superiority of the training standard of the Regular cavalry and demand a marked differential character in favour of the Yeomanry. They had done a good deal to bridge over the experimental stage. There would be a period in which the right hon. Gentleman might find out that he had been right and himself wrong.

MR. WYNDHAM: Or it may be the other way.

MR. HALDANE said it might be the other way, but he clung to the hope that, at all events, the House would feel that in this matter he could not be criticised or reproached for want of a certain softness and readiness to yield. But, having gone so far, it would not do to go further, for fear that he should incur the criticism of those distinguished military authorities of whom he had spoken. The noble Lord had said, "Why not extend the kind of treatment the Irish Yeomanry are receiving to the Yeomanry here?" He thought the noble Lord did not appreciate the position of the Irish Yeomanry. He had said that the Irish Yeomanry would go over, like the Irish Militia, to the divisional work. The regiments of Irish Yeomanry were to be asked to go over to the divisional cavalry, which on mobilisation would be attached to the Regular Army. The reason for that was that there was no Territorial Army in Ireland and there was no place open for them. Ireland had taken a prominent part in raising good Yeomanry regiments, and they hoped that Ireland would raise, in substance, two Yeomanry regiments for divisional cavalry. It was quite true that there was a great difference between the Yeomanry and the Militia. The special squadrons, although they came under Part III., were earmarked for divisional cavalry. That was the view of the General Staff. He did not think anybody would be content with the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, who came in contact as much as he did with the views of commanding officers of the Regular Force, upon this subject of the divisional cavalry. The right hon. Gentleman had suggested that they should come under Clause 12 of the Bill, without any training which differentiated them from the Yeomanry; that they should be raised as part of the Yeomanry regiments, and go forward and be earmarked by their own consent for the Regular division.

MR. WYNDHAM said it was only a matter of method. He thought they would get more men if they adopted that method—if they allowed men to offer to undertake foreign obligations, and then told them that they could not be allowed to do that work unless they trained for so many months at a special school. They would get more men, and they would do less by that method to destroy the *esprit de corps* of the regiment than by allowing a man to be nominally attached to a Yeomanry regiment, but drilling him for six months apart from his regiment.

MR. HALDANE said that that was one of the points that were open to reconsideration—how much a man should be allowed to go back. He hoped the House would understand that he was not pinning himself to rigid methods in carrying out his plan. They might gain a great deal by experience. He had had it put to him with the greatest force by some of the most distinguished men commanding these divisions that the men who came into the divisional cavalry must have professional instinct. They said that if the men were left without the support of the Regulars the divisional cavalry could never be relied upon to do the kind of work that was wanted. They must be the ears and eyes of the division, the screen cavalry. They would be required to perform all sorts of services as divisional cavalry, which could not be foreseen, and which required professional instinct. There had been more criticism upon that part of the new organisation than upon any other. It was said that for the very part of the cavalry which required all good men they were making the least preparation; that they ought to have put the Yeomanry into the screen cavalry in the place of the two brigades of mounted infantry; that they ought to have kept the Regular trained mounted infantry for the divisional force. Those were problems which only experience could solve. The Government did not want to tie themselves upon that point. He had the least expert experience of any man in the House, but he had tried to weigh the arguments without prejudice, and, on the whole, he thought the line which he had marked out best met the criticisms and difficulties which had been put to him. The sum and substance of it was that, if they took the Yeomanry out of the Territorial Force, they could only do it, lock, stock, and barrel, in the way the Militia were going. He would be well content to take these fourteen squadrons if he could get them, but that would be to ask the whole force to undertake training which their antecedents and their social condition would not allow them to do. It would be much better to keep them as they were, and do the best they could with them.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that our military authorities had been accused of heresy on this question, and the Continental Powers had decided on the opposite plan. In the case of Austria and Germany tradition might have been supposed to govern their ideas, and that the change would have met with resistance. Italy, which was a very poor country, could not do all that she would like to do; and in the case of France they were driven to contemplate the reduction of the cavalry on financial grounds alone. Although for these financial reasons the decision to retain the full numbers of regular cavalry was unwillingly arrived at, it was forced upon those Powers by necessity. They wanted a little more knowledge on this question. They did not know where the right hon. Gentleman was taking them. As he understood, the right hon. Gentleman did not know himself. He did not blame the right hon. Gentleman, for it was an experimental process no doubt, and he was right to make experiments. The connection between this new short-training divisional cavalry and the existing Yeomanry seemed to be very thin, and it was hardly worth while to pretend that these troops were Yeomanry in any sense at all, and he would have thought that it would be much better to treat them separately from the Yeomanry organisation. Either that scheme or the one suggested by the right hon. Member for Dover would attract him more, but after all it was purely experimental. He would have thought that the existing Yeomanry organisation with the best Yeomanry officers would have formed an organisation to get the recruits for the new body. It would be better to tell the House plainly that that body had no real connection with the existing Yeomanry. The right hon. Gentleman had not yet told them how and where these men were going to be trained. They assumed that they would be trained at Aldershot. If the right hon. Gentleman would give them more information as to what was in his mind with regard to this experiment, he would considerably relieve the minds of hon. Members.

MR. HALDANE said he quite appreciated the view which the right hon. Baronet had taken. As regarded the training, they hoped to make it local, and the only reason why he had not enlarged upon that question was that the whole cavalry organisation was under consideration at the present time. As to the policy of general organisation, he was not in a position to say yet where the schools and training squadrons would be.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham) regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned the opinion of two anonymous cavalry leaders in regard to the Imperial Yeomanry, because he was afraid the House might conclude that military opinion was unfavourable to the Imperial Yeomanry, whereas the contrary was the fact. He would like to know if the two cavalry leaders referred to had had any opportunity of coming into close contact with the Imperial Yeomanry, not in South Africa but since the war. Obviously, if they had not, their opinion was valueless. He regretted to notice a vein of disparagement of the Yeomanry running through the Secretary of State's speeches. If instead of referring to those distinguished cavalry leaders, the right hon. Gentleman had given the House some indication of the sort of views expressed in the reports of the inspecting officers of the Imperial Yeomanry, hon. Members would have gathered a very different impression. As one who had recently come from a training of the Imperial Yeomanry he assured the right hon. Gentleman that his proposals were having an extraordinary effect upon that force, because recruits were falling off and they were frightened at what was being proposed in this Bill.

MR. HALDANE: The last returns for April show an increase of some hundreds more Yeomanry than the previous returns.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR said that that was probably due to the fact that the country had not yet realised the full extent of these proposals. He would like to see the returns in regard to those Yeomanry who had re-engaged at the end of the training. He was very much surprised to hear that the April returns were larger. He did not think that even the right hon. Gentleman would deny that in the Yeomanry generally the gravest apprehension was felt as to the effect of the proposals contained in the Bill. He protested against the quotation by the right hon. Gentleman of the opinion of anonymous cavalry leaders.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Who are they?

VISCOUNT TURNOUR, in conclusion, said the House ought to have an opportunity of knowing what the real military opinion was in regard to the value of the Imperial Yeomanry.

MAJOR SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby) said he did not agree that the right hon. Gentleman in his speeches had shown a contempt for the Yeomanry; on the contrary, he had given them well-merited praise. He deprecated any statement that the Yeomanry as a whole were going to refuse to join on account of this Bill. He had repeatedly stated that he thought it was a mistake to reduce the pay unless it could be made up in some other way. He thought it was very wrong to make things look worse than they were by trying to make out that the Yeomanry would not accept the new conditions; it was their duty to carry out whatever the House ultimately decided.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR said he did not say that the Yeomanry as a whole would refuse to serve. What he said was that their opinion was distinctly unfavourable to the right hon. Gentleman's proposals.

MAJOR SEELY said he did not wish to join in the controversy as to the value of the makeshift troops which his right hon. friend proposed to create. After all, history showed that a long period of peace was a period of accumulated errors in military affairs, and when war broke out the bullets swept the errors away. All their military training was like playing football without a football, because they did not have the thing which was of real importance, namely, the element of fear. Consequently all lessons learned by peace training were liable to gigantic errors, but one supreme lesson they had learnt was that cohesion and confidence in soldiers were more important than the precise number of days training. If, for instance, the right hon. Member for Dover could bring his own squadron complete to the theatre of war, owing to their cohesion and confidence in him they would be of considerably more value than the same number of highly-trained cavalry who had never seen their leader before. The cavalrymen with their higher standard of training and skill would of course be immeasurably superior. Many of them were better horsemasters, because they had been at it since their boyhood. It would not be wise to ignore the spirit of cohesion and confidence in the leader. The proposal to take a small number from each regiment and group them under officers they had not seen was not likely to produce the best results. He did not agree with the suggestion that the Yeomanry should be taken bodily from the Territorial Force and attached to the Regular Army. He trusted his right hon. friend would bear in mind the importance of maintaining cohesion and confidence in their leader in any troops he proposed to send to war, because that was of infinitely more value than anything else.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the hon. and gallant Gentleman had said something which to him was of considerable interest, although he did not agree with his historical recollection. The most successful and the briefest war in modern history was that which took place in 1866, and that was conducted by officers and men of whom not one in a thousand had ever seen war. They were asked to violate the very principles which the hon. and gallant Member for Abercromby had laid down. He understood that little squads of men would be taken from each county, and those men would never act with the squadron in which they were going to fight, still less with the regiment. That seemed to him a very bad preparation—that the men should be organised in such a way that they would never meet as a consolidated unit until they met on the battle field. He wished the right hon. Gentleman would tell them whether he considered he was making the wisest use of the Yeomanry cavalry, which a short time ago became practically mounted infantry, and as such, he believed, were competent to render the greatest possible service. When war broke out the whole of the divisional cavalry of the British Army would now be composed of practically untrained men. That was a very serious matter. Cavalry on the Continent was trained to act by shock tactics against cavalry, but was it probable that cavalry with six months training, who had never acted in masses at all, could be subjected with safety to such an ordeal as that? And the horses were trained, as well as the men, for those shock tactics in the Continental armies. They would not get anything in the least like Continental cavalry in the Yeomanry cavalry, even if they got the regiments together and manœuvred them for some months. Would it not be possible even now for the right hon. Gentleman to modify the use he was going to make of the Yeomanry? He believed with his right hon. friend that the Yeomanry would do their very best to give value to the country, whatever conditions might be imposed, but that, he thought, placed the War Office under the corresponding obligation of making a fit use of them. He hoped the Yeomanry would, at any rate, be given a chance of acting as Mounted Infantry and Scouts, and would not be used as divisional cavalry of the British Army, a position which no troops with their training and qualities could be expected to fill.

Colonel KENYON-SLANEY asked whether the fourteen squadrons of Yeomanry were to be officered by Yeomanry or Regular officers. It was obvious that if they took these men out of their Yeomanry regiments, and sent them away from the Territorial officership, they would strike at the Territorial character of the force. He was interested in what was said by the hon. Member for the Abercromby Division. The hon. and gallant Gentleman was in his usual difficulty: he wished to have an efficient Army, and to get it economically; therefore he had as usual to sacrifice efficiency for economy. He would like to know from the Minister for War whether the men subtracted from the Yeomanry in the way described were to be treated as regular cavalry, or whether they would continue to be counted as mounted infantry. Were they to be trained in an entirely different way from the parent Yeomanry regiment?

Sir SAMUEL SCOTT said the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the Yeomanry regiments were all to be on the same basis in regard to training as the Irish Militia. The Irish Militia were to have six months Militia training. Were the Irish Yeomanry recruits to have six months preliminary training or not?

MR. HALDANE said that was so, otherwise they would not be able to go with the Regulars and form part of the divisional cavalry. All the men who went into the special squadrons would receive six months training. With regard to the cavalry, he thought a great deal of confusion had been imported into the discussion by the use of the words divisional cavalry. He quite agreed that men trained in the fashion proposed would not be able to cope with Continental cavalry. Screen cavalry were part cavalry, part mounted infantry, and the functions of what they called divisional cavalry were in many respects much nearer those of mounted infantry than those of cavalry. Hon. Members knew that nowadays the line of demarcation between cavalry and mounted infantry was not a sharp line. Continental cavalry were organised for shock operations, ours were not. We gave the Lancer the lance still, but the cavalry were trained for work of a different kind. Our operations would render it extremely difficult for cavalry to come into shock at all. In their capacity as cavalry, however, they were much more highly trained than mounted infantry. Possibly the divisional cavalry would be adequately described as mounted infantry, but divisional cavalry was the title which had been given to them. The mounted troops who went with the divisions under the name of divisional cavalry would be trained. As to the officers, of course the grade of officer could not be very high, they must be junior officers.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY asked whether the officers would be Yeomanry or Regular officers.

MR. HALDANE said they would be Yeomanry officers who had gone into the Reserve, and for a troop the officer very likely would not be above the rank of a lieutenant. The higher organisation would naturally look to Regular officers, or officers of a higher grade who were in the Reserve. Very likely they would be Regular officers.

THE MARQUESS OF HAMILTON (Londonderry) said that if the six months training were adhered to, two North of Ireland Yeomanry regiments would be wiped out of existence. He was an officer in an Irish Yeomanry regiment in which practically all the men were farmers' sons. They worked on the farms, and now that a large number of the tenants had purchased their holdings under the Land Act, they would be more needed on the farms than ever. How could they spare six months at seed time and harvest in order to go and train for the Yeomanry?

MR. HALDANE said they must consider the circumstances and how they could deal with the Irish Yeomanry in order to bring them into a divisional organisation. It would be necessary to give them a higher training than they got now. However, he would consider the matter and see whether anything could be done in the direction suggested by the hon. Member.

*MR. ASHLEY said he was glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman would consider the position of the Irish Yeomanry, as the hon. Member for Londonderry had shown that the proposals in the Bill as to the future of the corps was destructive. He had not risen to speak for the Yeomanry, but he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the extra squadron of Yeomanry were to be asked to come out for six months preliminary training, as well as fifteen days annual training. If so, it would be much harder on these men than on the men in the existing squadrons, who received 5s. 6d. pay per day. The right hon. Gentleman had said that in the future the Yeomanry were to receive 1s. 2d. a day pay, 1s. a day allowance for messing and comforts to be paid through the commanding officer, and an Army ration valued at 6d. a day. That was to say, the Yeoman in the future was going to get 2s. 8d. a day—which made him worse by 2s. 10d. than the Yeoman at the present time. Under those conditions he could not see how the right hon. Gentleman would get the same number or class of men in the future as in the past or at present. Could the right hon. Gentleman give the House some information of an incident which he saw recorded in *The Times* with reference to the Hampshire Yeomanry? The impression left on his mind was that the Hampshire Yeomanry, through their commanding officer, respectfully informed the right hon. Gentleman that if their pay was to be reduced at the end of their present engagement, they could not see their way to re-engage; and it was stated that the right hon. Gentleman wrote back that the Yeomanry would be able to continue under the conditions of present engagement. Was that exactly what had occurred?

Mr. HALDANE said he had received a telegram from the commanding officer of the Hampshire Yeomanry asking him what the terms of engagement of recruits would be, and he replied that the commanding officer might enlist new men up to the time the Bill became operative and that the men till then would remain under the present conditions. Of course it followed that the men already under engagement would go on to the end of their term of service under the existing conditions. Following on that the War Office sent out a letter to commanding officers stating the position quite fully. The words of the telegram should be read with the words of the letter.

Viscount VALENTIA said that he understood that the right hon. Gentleman had stated that it would be much better if the Yeomanry were left as they were.

Mr. HALDANE: I did not say that.

Viscount VALENTIA was understood to say that he believed the Yeomanry would have no objection to be under the county associations. However, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman had rather modified his point of view, and he begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT said he wished to move an Amendment to exclude the Volunteers from the operation of the Bill, in order to give the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of stating what good the Bill would do to that force. The Militia were taken out of the Bill, and the right hon. Gentleman had just made a statement that the Yeomanry would continue to serve under present conditions until the Bill became operative—which might be a hundred years hence. He had read the Bill; he had listened to every word which the right hon. Gentleman had said in the course of the debates, and also all the letters which the right hon. Gentleman had written, but he entirely failed to see what advantages the Volunteers were to gain. It was perfectly true that they were going to establish four divisions under old generals. The right hon. Gentleman said that he had conferred with those divisional generals, but he could have formed those brigades without a Bill, as had already been done in the provinces, although London had been left out of account. He could not see what use the county associations would be. The Volunteers were not represented in the House in the same strength as the Yeomanry and the Militia; the hon. and gallant Member for East Edinburgh and himself alone were able to stand up for the Volunteer force. If the right hon. Gentleman would kindly explain what advantages the Volunteers and the country would derive from this voluminous and cumbrous Bill he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the Bill,

"In page 1, line 8, after the word 'Regulars,' to insert the words 'and Volunteers.'"—(*Sir Howard Vincent*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill.

Mr. HALDANE said he could not admit that the hon. and gallant Member now represented in the same sense as before the Volunteer force, of which he formerly was such a brilliant ornament. Since his retirement a great change had come over the spirit of the Volunteers. They wished no longer to be regarded or used as an ornamental force, as those knew who were in very close relationship with them. Even within the last few hours he had received a telegram from Sheffield as to the way in which the strength of one of the chief infantry battalions in that city had grown up under the enthusiasm which had been inspired by the hope of their becoming real soldiers. If the hon. and gallant Gentleman went to Sheffield he would find out how mistaken was the view he had taken. He now appealed to the

House to come to the question of the county associations so that it might receive adequate discussion.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*VISCOUNT MORPETH (Birmingham, S.) moved an Amendment to give more representation to the local authorities on the county associations, because he considered that the county associations as constituted under the Bill were not likely to be successful. He was very sceptical as to the value of the associations at all from a military point of view. The Secretary of State for War had said that he followed up the idea of county associations from a former practical experiment made in this country; but that experiment had been a failure. In military affairs central control was essential. It was the invariable case when an extension of local government was granted by Parliament that what was given legislatively was taken away administratively by the Central Departments of Government. But when it came to a question of Army management the main question was whether the authorities at Whitehall should not be kept in very close contact with administration. He believed that if the associations were to be merely the nominees of the War Office they would consist of a number of excellent persons who would supply valuable information to that Department, but they would after all be simply its instruments. It might be said that the War Office was not a very good selector of persons in the county to form these associations, and it would be very difficult for that Department to make a choice. The right hon. Gentleman had struck out the Lord-Lieutenant as the official head of the association, but no doubt the Minister of War would put himself in communication with the county council and other persons of light and leading in the county. That course, however, was also open to very grave objection. Supposing there was an association nominated in this manner by the War Office, how were the vacancies in that association to be filled up? Probably what would happen was that a member of the association would write to the right hon. Gentleman and say that so-and-so was a very desirable candidate. That led them to the principle of pure co-optation, and although it had certain merits, if it was the sole method of appointment it would inevitably lead to the affairs of the associations falling into the hands of a clique. He had no confidence that these associations would be successful, but he did not feel sufficiently strongly on the matter to say that the experiment should not be made. The state of the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces of the Army was not so flourishing that they could refuse to make any experiment, but if the county association was to have any weight it must be a local body and not merely the creature of the War Office or a co-opted body. If they were to carry Army matters into local affairs they must go to the living centres of local government, and go to the city councils and county councils and ask them to combine and take their share of the work. He quite agreed that the War Office should put on the commanding officers of the county, and that they should be in a majority; but he still thought that the other members should not be nominated by the War Office or by the Army Council.

MR. ASHLEY seconded the Amendment, though not for the reasons urged by the mover. He was in favour of the county associations, as they could do no harm and might do good, and anything that would stimulate interest ought to be supported. He saw no reason why local magnates representing the different interests in the country should not form a considerable adjunct to the work of the Bill in the creation of the Territorial Army. He supported the Amendment on that ground, because it was not at all certain whether they were going to have in these associations representatives of the county and borough councils at all. Under Sub-section (d) the right hon. Gentleman could nominate not less than half of the associations in the persons of the commanding officers, who would form a majority; thereforeit should be left to the local bodies to select the minority.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 9, to leave out all the words from the word 'appointment' to the first word 'of' in line 11."—(*Viscount Morpeth.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'by the Army Council' stand part of the Bill."

MR. HALDANE said the reason for the present form of the clause could hardly be appreciated without some knowledge of the history of the question. When the Bill was first being considered his idea was that they could use the county councils very much in the way that had been suggested by the mover and seconder of the Amendment; in other words, that the county association might be taken to be a body which was in part at all events directly representative of the local bodies. He found a storm of disapproval of that among the Volunteer forces, who refused to be put under the county councils. They seized hold of a phrase of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon that they were going to be made into a county council army, and objected. The unfortunate person who had to deal with Army affairs had to take into account public sentiment, and he had to consider his position. He thought that the Volunteers, with the exception of his noble friend, approved of the way which he had now chosen, viz., that the association should be incorporated with and form part of the administrative portion of the Army authorities, that it should be there as representing the Army authorities, and that its function should be to look after the administrative side of the soldier in the Home Army. They therefore got to the point that the association should be appointed by the Army Council with a considerable amount of elasticity to meet the requirements of the particular locality. It was proposed that not less than half of the body should be composed of commanding officers, and it was necessary that some latitude should be given to bring in people whose local knowledge was likely to help. There was the residue of the association to be dealt with, and for the sake of introducing elasticity it was proposed to insert the words now objected to which would enable the Army Council to introduce representatives of county and borough councils. He hoped the members of these bodies would take a large and honourable part in the work of the associations, but they had thought it right to give a free hand to the Army Council in the matter.

*SIR H. AUBREY-FLETCHER (Sussex, Lewes) was glad that county councils were not to be the bodies who were to have the superintendence of the Territorial Army. He had served ever since the formation of the present Volunteer Force, and in one sense was one of the founders of it. The lords-lieutenant of the counties, the county gentlemen, and in the cities the lord mayor and lord provost were the main factors in starting the force. They had heard that it went back to the days of Cromwell, but without going back so far he might mention that he had found in a family chest a document in relation to the Volunteer Forces dated 1803, which showed that something similar was in the mind of the Government of that day. It related to the county of Glamorgan and said—

> "At a general meeting of the Lieutenancy, holden at Pyle Inn, on Thursday, the 18th day of August, 1803, the Lord-Lieutenant in the Chair. It is recommended that each hundred do raise their own quota to exonerate the county from the compulsory clauses of the Defence Act, that subscriptions be raised in the separate hundreds for this purpose, and that the inspectors of hundreds be requested to use their best endeavours to forward this plan and to receive and distribute the subscriptions in their respective hundreds."

There was another matter that might be interesting—

> "That it be recommended to each inspector to clothe the Volunteers in their districts with a red jacket turned up with lemon colour, grey pantaloons, round hat with a worsted feather; sharpshooters to be clothed in green if Government will allow it. That each inspector shall appropriate the subscriptions to be received by them, in first instance, towards clothing the men, should it be found sufficient for that purpose, not exceeding ten shillings for each man, and the surplus, if any, should remain towards the pay of the men on each Sunday, or other day, at the rate of one shilling per man, when not paid by Government."

The resolutions were adopted. He thought everyone knew that the Volunteer Force of that day did not last for long. When they came down to 1859 the force was raised by the lords-lieutenant, the lord provosts, and lord mayors of the day, and it existed under their superintendence for something like two years, during which he had the honour to command a battalion. He was very happy when the day arrived that they were taken away from the care of the lord-lieutenant and placed under the immediate superintendence of the War Office. He could not say that the War Office did very much for them for many years of their existence, but they did something by providing them with rifles. They found their own uniforms, made their own ranges, and paid their own sergeant-instructors. An adjutant was allotted to them who was usually a retired officer of the Army, not up-to-date, and generally a very useless man. When they got under the War Office they had an adjutant of different calibre and one more satisfactory to the Volunteer Force. The right hon. Gentleman made one remark the other day on which he was tempted to rise and offer his opinion. It might have been a joke. He hoped it was. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Volunteer Force of 1859 was never intended to be a reality. The House might take it from him, and there were many Members who could corroborate him, that the Volunteers of 1859 did intend to be a reality and not a sham. In the second year of their existence they raised 20,000 Volunteers and marched them into Hyde Park, and, what was more, marched them out again. They were told in the old days by the Duke of Wellington that they would never be able to get 20,000 Volunteers into Hyde Park and if they did they would never get them out again. They did both. As to the county associations he was not altogether in favour of them. He thought they would drift in a very short time under the jurisdiction of the county councils. County gentlemen now had their hands full, and most of them were on the county councils. He feared that the county councils might, at no great distance of time, be the presiding bodies under which the Territorial Army would be placed. He hoped that would not be the case, but it might be, and if it was it would be a bad day for the force.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said that if what his hon. friend had just said was true, he could only see failure in this portion of the Bill, but he hoped his hon. friend was mistaken and that the county gentlemen would assist the right hon. Gentleman in carrying out the objects of the Bill. He thought they must approach the question from a different standpoint from that from which it was approached a few days ago. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman had altered the whole position. He thought that if they had the county associations at all they should be for the Militia, but that was now out of the question as the Militia was to go into the third and fourth battalions. Only the remnants of the Militia were to go to the Territorial Army, which would now rest upon the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, and the county associations would now interest themselves in the organisation of those forces. There should, in his opinion, be no rigidity in the matter, for the reason that in a good many counties there would be real difficulty if it was absolutely necessary to work with representatives of the county associations who on their side had adopted what they considered to be certain limits of rigidity of the scheme. He thought a certain amount of elasticity was necessary and that without it the county associations would not be established at all in certain counties. He therefore could not support his noble friend behind him, but would support the right hon. Gentleman, and he trusted his noble friend would not press his Amendment. He was not quite clear how far the right hon. Gentleman was going to invite these county gentlemen to join the associations. Half would be officers commanding and there would be representatives of the county councils. Did he understand that the other representatives would be county gentlemen—because the important part of the scheme was that the right hon. Gentlemen should be able to induce them to interest themselves in the matter; otherwise the scheme would not succeed.

SIR CHARLES DILKE said that to his mind the county associations had been the main objection to the Bill, but he thought it was certain that the Bill would now pass through both Houses of Parliament with some organisation of this description embodied in it. Therefore he thought the one point which they might usefully elucidate was the applicability of the county association system to all parts of the two kingdoms. There were some parts of the country where a very strong county feeling existed. There were other parts of the country where a strong national or Imperial feeling dominated the county feeling. He did not know how far the right hon. Gentleman thought the county feeling such as prevailed in the best Volunteer and Yeomanry counties at the present moment could be created in counties where it had not hitherto had existence. The right hon. Gentleman might reassure some of them who knew the strong view there was among active Volunteers by working more and more in the direction of county committees of commanding officers throughout the counties which had a county feeling and of large groupings of counties, in such cases as Wales and Scotland, where that county feeling did not exist.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT said he was not sure that the right hon. Baronet was quite right in saying that the Bill was certain to pass. He himself was not so certain. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had done him (Sir Howard Vincent) a great injustice. If there was one part of the Bill to which he was favourable it was that dealing with the county associations. He thought those associations were likely to stir up county interest in favour of the Territorial Force. The noble Lord the Member for South Birmingham opposed the proposal of the Government in defence of local government and resented the interference of the Army Council in these local matters. It was perfectly true that the majority of the commanding officers resented the interference of the county associations in military matters, and he was quite sure that the feeling had been well expressed by the right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench, whose services to the Volunteer Force had extended over nearly half a century. A great improvement set in when the military direction was taken over by the War Office, and they were entirely in favour of the military authorities having military control over the Volunteer Force. But that was not the object of the county associations. Their object was to promote financial and local feeling in favour of the Territorial Force and to see that there was a proper provision of headquarters, ranges, and other things appertaining to efficiency. To do that the county association must be a real local organisation. He quite agreed that the commanding officers should have a considerable voice in the associations, and it was provided that 50 per cent. of the members should be representative of the commanding officers of the different regiments; as regarded the other members he thought it must be left to local opinion. But here the proposition was that the Army Council was not only to select the members, but provide the chairman and the secretary, conduct the business, control their finance, and in fact keep a light bearing rein on them all the time. If the right hon. Gentleman thought he was going to invoke local feeling by the aid of county associations under rules of that kind he was very greatly mistaken. The view put forward so well by the noble Lord the Member for South Birmingham and the hon. Member for Blackpool thoroughly represented the feeling in the matter. It was essential that the county associations and the prominent people of every locality should take an interest in the matter, and he did not think that object would be attained by the clause. One would think that the Army Council had enough upon their hands without taking up these matters of local administration, and if the noble Lord went to a division he would certainly vote for the Amendment, which was in accordance with good sense.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said he could not agree with the hon. Gentleman opposite, and he was afraid that the reason why the hon. and gallant Member held that view, was that he was now a retired Volunteer somewhat out of touch with current opinion. He could state from his own knowledge that commanding officers rather resented being placed under county associations. He could not support the Amendment. He thought that the Army Council should have a good deal of discretion in the matter. He had not hesitated to say that he was against county associations as proposed to be established under the Bill; but now the power was to be given to the Army Council, and that, he thought, was a great step in advance. He for one did not fear the Army Council in the matter, and he would rather support that body having pretty large powers as to what duties it might delegate to the county associations, because it was to the Army

Council they must look for the administration of the Territorial Army.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: Without a representative upon it?

Viscount MORPETH said he wished to explain why he must go a division on the Question.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The noble Lord has no right of reply.

Viscount MORPETH: I understood that under the new rule there was a right of reply.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The noble Lord ought to know better than I do that this Bill has not been to Grand Committee.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 265; Noes, 99. (Division List No. 235.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.Hon.HerbertHenry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow,John Emmot(Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J.(Tyrone,N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Benn,W.(T'w'r Hamlets,S.Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell,Sir J.H.(Essex,Romfrd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Branch, James
Brodie, H. C.
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn.SydneyCharles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt. HnRichardKnight
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats,Sir T.Glen(Renfrew,W.)
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,Sir Wm.J(StPancras,W
Corbett,C.H(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, A. H.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Dickinson,W.H. (St.Pancras, N
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne,Major E.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford,S.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn. HerbertJohn
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson,J.M.(Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Colonel Ivor(Mon.,S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope,W. Bateman(Somerset,N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones,Sir D.Brynmor(Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lea,Hugh Cecil(St.Pancras, E.)
Leese,Sir JosephF(Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever,A. Levy(Essex, Harwich
Lever,W. H. (Cheshire,Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks,G. Croydon(Launceston,
Marnham, F. J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan,J. Lloyd(Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John

Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.)
Pullar, Sir Robert
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverhmpt'n
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, A. H (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.,
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomasson, Franklin
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampton)
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarth'n
Wilson, Henry J. (York. W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wood, T. M'Kinnon

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn Hugh O.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring, Capt. Hn. G (Winchester)
Barnes, G. N.
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carlile, E. Hildred
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn J. A. (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clark, George Smith (Belfast, N.
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Jowett, F. W.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hon. Col. W
King, Sir Henry Seymour (Hull)
Lambton, Hon Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Lee, Arthur H (Hants., Fareham
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Moore, William
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Nield, Herbert
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley George D.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H (Hertford, East)
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.)
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Thorne, William
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walker, Col. W. H. (Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Viscount Morpeth and Mr. Ashley.

MR. HALDANE formally moved the omission of the words "after consultation" in lines 9 and 10.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, lines 9 and 10 to leave out the words "after consultation.—(*Mr. Secretary Haldane.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN asked if the Secretary of State for War had any explanation to offer of this Amendment. What reason was there for leaving out those words?

MR. HALDANE said it was a purely drafting Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

MR. ASHLEY moved to leave out subsection (g). It seemed to him that different localities might have different forms of procedure. He had a precedent for the course he was suggesting in the Education Bill of 1902, which provided that any county council might establish education committees constituted in accordance with a scheme made by the council and approved by the Education Board. That was what he desired to be done in this case. He wished to have the whole of the internal affairs arranged in accordance with the scheme made by each county association, and approved afterwards by the Army Council. He thought it was much better that these local matters should be arranged by the local association. Surely such matters as the appointment of the secretary, the chairman, and the officers could be better done by the local association than by an order of the Army Council.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT seconded the Amendment. He said it would be quite impossible for the authorities on the Army Council to appreciate fully the difference in county feeling. The county association was much better able to understand what would be good for a locality than the Army Council. What was the Army Council? It consisted of two Members of the House of Commons, one Member of the House of Lords, and three generals who had spent most of their time in India and knew nothing whatever of local feeling. Whatever might be their individual merits as soldiers, they could not be expected to understand and sympathise with local feeling in the way that was necessary for success. The right hon. Gentleman was really going against his own Bill. The Party sitting on the Opposition Benches had always been associated with the extension of local government, and they thought some sympathy in that direction would have been shown by hon. Gentlemen opposite. That, however, did not appear to be so, judging from the small trust they were reposing in the county associations, because they were now tying them down by a cast-iron rule. If county associations were to be bound by a set of rules of this kind made by the Army Council it was quite certain they would not work. What they required to do was to promote as much as possible local feeling and enthusiasm, and produce local emulation between different cities and boroughs for the furtherance and the success of the Territorial Force. His hon. friend had proposed the Amendment to assist the right hon. Gentleman in making the county associations a success, and he hoped he would recognise the help which it was intended to give him. He thought that even the three parliamentarians and the three generals ought to have an opportunity of seeing these rules before they were put into force in order to see that they did not subvert the principles of the whole Bill which he would be one of the first to support when it was carried.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 18, to leave out paragraph (g)."—(*Mr. Ashley.*)

Question proposed, "That paragraph (g) stand part of the Bill."

MR. HALDANE said that his chief fear was that if he were to accept this Amendment he would fall under the bullets of those Volunteers whom his hon. and gallant friend did not lead, and who had manifested the most lively dislike to control by local bodies of the affairs of their force. They had said "we are quite willing to take local administration of a military character by people who understand us and consider us," and they had asked the Army

Council to frame the schemes themselves. If the hon. Member who had moved the Amendment would only recall what the situation was he would see why the arrangement could only be a provisional one. The proposition was that the appointment of the chairman and the vice-chairman should take place under the scheme which was to be framed by the Army Council once for all for each association. That was to say that when the Bill became law, and they had to frame the scheme, that body could do the thing much better than if it was done according to the varying local opinions, and the most varying ideas. They would certainly consult the localities very closely and very carefully. They would have an idea that they were likely to form the association, and they would provide a scheme which would not always be the same for each county, because there might be variations, but they would provide machinery by which the chairman and the vice-chairman could be elected. There might be cases in which the Army Council might be asked to nominate the chairman and the vice-chairman in the first instance, and then the machinery would provide what was to happen after that. It might be that in other cases the association would desire to elect the chairman and the vice-chairman themselves, in which case the council would promote a scheme to meet their wishes. He instanced those cases to show the great necessity for observing two principles. The first was that wherever they could consult the locality they should do so; and the second was that they should, wherever they could, give the locality some guide as to the sort of thing they wanted. That was why they wished to consult the localities according to their varying circumstances, so as to ascertain the form the schemes should take. It followed that the provisions as to the appointment of the officers should vary; in some cases it might be well to elect them straight off and in others leave them to be appointed by the association.

*VISCOUNT MORPETH said the right hon. Gentleman had told them that he proposed to consult the localities. He had not told them what body he proposed to consult, and he had always shown quite clearly that he did not trust the real local self-governing bodies. There were two authorities in the counties—the lord-lieutenant and the county council. The right hon. Gentleman had thrown over the county council because of the storm among the Volunteers, and he had thrown over the lord-lieutenant, who ought to be at the head of the military force in the county, apparently because of the political storm among his own supporters. When the Bill was introduced the county association was to be the body which was to bring local life and sap into the dying Territorial Forces and to encourage country gentlemen to associate themselves with the local life of the county. There was no greater danger than sham self-government. What the right hon. Gentleman now proposed was not self-government at all. He would have far greater confidence in the scheme if the right hon. Gentleman and the military authorities took the matter into their own hands. He himself had never pretended that these associations would be of any value, but if they were to be set up as pure dummies appointed at Whitehall they would be a hindrance, a pretence, and a sham.

MR. WYNDHAM said the discussion illustrated the difficulty the House had to encounter owing to the way in which the Bill was being put through. This clause alone would have required a very long discussion to enable them to understand the body which the Minister of War saw in his imagination; hon. Members could not conceive exactly what shape the body would ultimately take. The proposal in the Bill was that the scheme should provide for the appointment of the chairman and the vice-chairman, but the Minister for War had reserved to himself how they were to be appointed. It might be by nomination, or it might be by election. If election, by whom? The right hon. Gentleman had thrown out the idea that probably there would be nomination in the first place, and that then if local opinion desired election, election would be substituted. What was the local opinion going to be? In the earlier part of the clause it had already been laid down that the majority of the association was to consist of officers representing the Territorial Forces. If it was left to election, would it not be the case that there would be a tendency to divide into two parties—a military party who desired that the chairman should be a military officer, and a local economical administration party holding the contrary view that the chairman should be the best business man in the county? Surely at the Report stage of the Bill the right hon. Gentleman must have some predilection in his mind. Did he hope that the chairman would be a military man or a business man? Were they not entitled to know which he desired? If he desired the first, of course, he was the best judge as to who the military man should be, but if he desired a local business man the locality would be the best judge. He thought the House should be told provisionally what the right hon. Gentleman expected under the Bill.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 267; Noes, 89. (Division List No. 236).

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armstrong, W. C. (Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmot (Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bennett E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romford
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brodie, H. C.
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchannan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn Richard Knight
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S Pancras, W.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, A. H.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Dickinson, W. H. (St Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon Richard B.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M (Aberdeen, W.)
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Lea, Hugh Cecil (St. Pancras, E.
Leese, Sir Joseph F (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk Bghs)
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M‘Callum, John M.
M‘Crae, George
M‘Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas

Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles A(Doncaster
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C.E. (Edinburgh, Central
Pullar, Sir Robert
Rainy, A. Rolland
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T.F. (Wolverhampton
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradford
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scott, A.H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarthen
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring, Capt. Hn G. (Winchester)
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Cochrane, Hn. Thos. H. A. E.
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Capt. James (Down, E.)
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gretton, John
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Jowett, F. W.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour (Hull)
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Morpeth, Viscount
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Nield, Herbert
O'Grady, J.
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley George D.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thorne, William
Thornton, Percy M.
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col. W. H. (Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Ashley and Sir Howard Vincent.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone) moved the omission of Clause 2. He said he did not move the Amendment in a hostile spirit, but rather because under the action of the guillotine when the Bill was in Committee it had been impossible to have any discussion whatever in regard to the constitution, duties, and powers of the county associations which were to be set up. The associations were an entirely new departure in our military organisation. He did not think for a moment that the right hon. Gentleman had any desire to evade discussion, for he understood that his desire was to make a statement in regard to the county associations. He had said that in this respect there was no necessity to alter one line or word in the Bill; but he could not remove the apprehension that many hon. Members had in regard to the county associations without making some alteration. The Bill was of such a vague character that some alteration was necessary to enable hon. members to comprehend what was at the back of the mind of the right hon. Gentleman. They knew that a system of associations was recommended by the Esher Committee. He had no idea to what extent that recommendation went, but he knew that the suggestions of that Committee were not followed by the Bill. The county associations were practically a new departure, and the definite supervision of the Army Council was also an entirely new departure, and should be discussed fully by the House. It was obvious that the duties of the county associations would be very numerous, onerous, and arduous. On the associations there were to be representatives of the county, officers of the Territorial Army, representatives of the county councils and the borough councils, and of the universities. There were also to be a number of co-opted members, a chairman, and a vice-chairman. That would form a vast body and would add to the numerous bodies already established all over the country. He asked the right hon. Gentleman how he expected such a body of amateurs to take upon themselves those exceedingly onerous duties which would devolve upon them. If they were to be chosen for efficiency they would be busy men and hardly able to devote themselves to the competent discharge of their duties. It was said that during the South African War county committees rose all over the country, but he did not think that there was any analogy with the proposals now made. The association was to be summoned by the Army Council, and the duty to be imposed upon it when constituted was "to make itself acquainted with and conform to the plan of the Army Council for the organisation of the Territorial Force within the county and to ascertain the military resources and capabilities of the county, and to render advice and assistance to the Army Council and to such officers as the Army Council may direct, and an association shall have, exercise, and discharge such powers and duties connected with the organisation and administration of His Majesty's military forces as may for the time being be transferred or assigned to it by order of His Majesty signified under the hand of a Secretary of State." He asked how the right hon. Gentleman could expect that busy men could give up sufficient time to do all that. And then, so far as he could see, there was to be no remuneration given to them. He moved the omission of Clause 2.

*SIR SAMUEL SCOTT seconded. So far as he could understand, the Army Council was to have a very curious control. If they looked closely at the clause the duties which the county associations were to perform were practically all the functions at present exercised by the War Office. There was no guarantee that there would be cohesion and similarity of method such as was desirable; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would assure the House as to what steps he had taken to ensure that cohesion and uniformity of method In the future the Territorial Force would be commanded to a great extent by the county associations, who would lack the military weight of the War Office, and whose orders would not have the same effect as if they came from the War Office. He could not understand through what channel the different associations were to approach the War Office. As far as he could make out there would be no particular dedepartment for the purpose except the Civil Department, the head of which would be a political appointment, and he viewed that with considerable misapprehension. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would seriously consider the necessity of appointing as member of the Army Council a military officer preferably belonging to the Territorial Army to look after the Territorial Army.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 16, to leave out Clause 2."—(*Viscount Castlereagh.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

MR. HALDANE thought it was quite reasonable that an opportunity should be given to raise a general discussion on the position of the county associations. Those associations were perhaps the most novel feature in the whole scheme, and it was as well that the House should have a proper discussion as to their position and significance. The origin of the associations was this. They knew from experience how difficult it was to look after the affairs of the Volunteer Force without a very great deal of local co-operation. They knew very well that to try to manage the Volunteers directly from the War Office would be to overwhelm the force with red-tape and to drown in correspondence all possibility of its expansion; and they knew that the Volunteers were perfectly adapted for local handling. The principle which underlay the clause was to bring in mind the difference between command and training on the one hand and administration on the other. They would have to look after the force, its supplies, equipment and arms, and also the provision of ranges. They would have to consider how best to raise this force and obtain the resources of the country so as to make the best of them. That was a task which it was impossible to discharge through the War Office. Decentralisation they must have, and the question was how best to decentralise. Under the old organisation of the Volunteers there was a good deal of decentralisation, because the commanding officers of units had not only to train their troops, but to provide for supplies, form their bases, and even to pay the debts of the corps. The War Office felt that that would be an impossible position to continue if they were to make the Volunteer force a real force, and consequently, when they came to the reconstitution of the Home Army, they sought to devise a scheme by which the question of administration might be handled locally and yet be left in such a fashion that the individual power of the commanding officers should not be overwhelmed. By far the best plan seemed to them to be to form in the different counties associations consisting of the very people who had done the work hitherto. At least one half of the members of the county associations would be the commanding officers, and they would continue to do the work with which they had been familiar in the past. They would have a secretary who would be an efficient person, and the chairman especially would be a man of business. The associations would be in constant communication and touch with the War Office in more ways than one, both directly through their officials and indirectly through the brigadiers. The Regular officers would be armed with power to attend the meetings of the associations and advise them, although they would have no power to vote. They had taken every means in their power to bring the Associations into close touch with the War Office and at the same time to leave them an open hand and preserve their local character. In the past few weeks he had had experience of the enormous advantage of enlisting the sympathies of those who were of importance in the counties. He had been arranging lately the plan of the cavalry manœuvres which were going to take place in the counties of Scotland. They had managed to bring to their assistance a long string of landowners right down from the North of Perthshire to the South of Scotland, and even on his own small property he would have some 1,300 troops quartered in the next few weeks. Many others had come forward and they had been able to arrange for the manœuvres without a single penny being paid for the land upon which they were to be held. They had not only secured the sympathy of the owners of the land but of the farmers and also of the local tradesmen. Wherever possible contracts for supplies would be given in the locality. There was nothing more encouraging for the prospects of this clause than the way in which the authorities had been met in every county in Scotland. It was infinitely better than the old state of things under which the War Office always had to pay the utmost the law allowed, because the Government was looked upon as the general milch cow. They looked to these associations so to arrange matters that in future owners would not object once in five or six years to troops going over convenient portions of their land, especially when compensation was paid for damage done and the presence of the soldiers brought custom to the district. Even if there were drawbacks to the scheme they were more than counterbalanced by its advantages, because their object was to bring the Territorial Army more in touch with the nation, and he thought that in that sense no exception could be taken to the phrase "a nation in arms." They believed that the clause would be popular throughout the length and breadth of the land. He was asked how they provided for unity of action. They relied very much upon the fact that the associations would be under the direction of the Army Council, The Army Council would, of course, not interfere in details. It would be impossible for them to work out how the quota should be supplied from each district. That must be settled by the people on the spot who knew the local units and the nature of the material of which they were made up. The old-fashioned officialdom, moreover, would know nothing of the rifle ranges required and nothing of local custom. In the past they had not been able to suit either employers or employed, but if they got into communication with those on the spot they would be able to suit both; there were a hundred and one details of military service which could be better carried out by means of decentralisation than by a central body. He challenged those who opposed the scheme to say what they would put in its place. If they came to close quarters with the question they would see that there was nothing so strong as the case for the associations, although they might discuss their constitution. Time must elapse before they would know to what extent the associations would be operative, but they would provide something of an organisation of county life, revivify interest, and bring new life into the country districts where it was very much needed.

Mr. WYNDHAM said he was very glad the right hon. Gentleman had had an opportunity of saying something in regard to the county associations. The right hon. Gentleman had said the chairman would be a business man. If he might use a figure of speech suggested by the word chairman he would like to know who were to be the shareholders; who were the people who were going to sanction the expenditure and to provide the money? When they turned to the next clause they found that all the funds were to be provided by the Army Council. They were the people who were to assign the money to the different objects and decide how much to each. The power of an Association to decide whether its money should be spent on rifle ranges and manœuvre grounds would be very small indeed. If it came into conflict with the Army Council acting in the same district the County Association would go to the wall, because it would be contending with people who had the power of the purse. He further desired to point out that the functions put upon the County Associations fell into two broad categories. Some fell into the category of expedients, such as the provision of manœuvre grounds and provision for the families of men who went abroad. In such directions the County Associations might do good work. But before passing from the provision of rifle ranges and manœuvre grounds the right hon. Gentleman should approach the Department of Woods and Forests and attempt to influence that Department to assist the County Associations in these matters. The Crown owned large tracts of land, much of which was suitable for these purposes, but the Crown had always taken the strict landlord view and had endeavoured to extract large rents for them. It had opposed the efforts of commanding officers of these forces year after year until they almost despaired of turning to account those tracts in England best suited to these purposes. He put it to the right hon. Gentleman that some easy channel should be opened up between the County Associations and the Department of Woods and Forests in order that they might co-operate in this great effort. Other functions of the County Associations were of another character, and there he was not so hopeful of a successful result ensuing. He alluded to recruiting and providing horses. Those functions were of a totally distinct character and he was not sure that the same body should be in charge of the two sets of functions, because it would have to choose on which to spend its money. If it spent its money largely on manœuvre grounds and rifle ranges and so forth it would not have the energy to see to the recruiting. He thought the recruiting should be in the hands of the commanding officers as at present and that the County Associations should direct their energies solely to those matters which were of a somewhat commercial character. Otherwise, neither set of functions would be carried out effectively, and they were far better fitted to perform the former rather than the latter. The commanding officers had often great difficulty in respect to the component parts of their corps, and had to decide whether a company could be drawn from a particular district. They were experts, and the recruiting should be left to them or to soldiers. He hoped when the right hon. Gentleman came to deal with this matter he would reconsider his plan. Apparently, the County Associations were not only to mount the Yeomanry in time of peace but to keep a register of all horses available for any purpose in time of war. The horse question was a very difficult one. In any case, there was the danger of two sets of people buying in the same market for the same purpose. He believed that was a subject to which the right hon. Gentleman would have to give very careful attention.

*Mr. McCRAE did not think the right hon. Member for Dover was very convincing in his criticism in connection with the division of duties of providing rifle ranges, etc., and recruiting, because, as he understood from his right hon. friend that afternoon, those functions would be separated on the Estimates. It would be made impossible for the County Associations to spend money under one head on any other purposes. He rose to draw attention to a matter which he considered to be of serious constitutional importance. Under Clause 2, line 22 and onwards, his right hon. friend, unless he put in some limiting words, was really taking power to hand over to the County Associations not only the finance and administration of the Territorial Army, but of the Regular forces also. He knew that was not the intention of the right hon. Gentleman but it was the effect of the Bill. He was particularly anxious as to that point because he felt that the less the County Associations had to do with the control of the finance, even of the Territorial Army, the better. He therefore brought the fact to the notice of the right hon. Gentleman in the hope that he would restrict the operation of the clause.

Colonel KENYON-SLANEY said his right hon. friend the Member for Dover had spoken of the County Associations spending their money on different objects, and that phrase had again raised the old suspicion in his mind to which he called attention in Committee. What money was it that they were to spend? Was it still contemplated that the County Associations were to spend money other than the funds supplied by the Army Council? Because if that was so the Government were setting up a fatal system which would lead to inequality in the Army. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would distinctly and positively assure the House that the County Associations were not to raise or spend any money other than that put at their disposal by the Army Council after it had approved of the scheme of the County Associations. He believed the County Associations as constituted under the Bill would be unable to work; that they would lead to confusion and extravagance and not to any purpose of good soldiering. He therefore urged the right hon. Gentleman to separate the functions that he intended to impose on the County Associations, and keep them entirely clear from any sort of interference with the actual soldier while the man was a soldier. They should have nothing to do with ranges or recruiting. The raising of the Yeomanry recruit should be left with the Yeomanry colonel and the Volunteer recruiting to the Volunteer colonel. The raising of the Regular troops for the Crown should be distinctly left to the War Office. The introduction of this hybrid element, this semi-civilian and semi-business element, would be altogether mischievous. He thought they would be imposing upon the Associations a duty which would lead to a great many local jealousies and a great deal of mistrust, and instead of cementing kindly feeling between the county element and the military element, they would do a great deal to upset it. He could understand, apart from military administration, how these County Associations could be made useful for a limited purpose. They might be used to discharge duties which were now performed by two or three kindred associations. There was the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, which dealt with the families while the husbands were away in time of war, and there was the association whose object was to find employment for soldiers after they had returned from the war. Neither association was allowed to spend a penny on the objects of the other; and so they had two or three associations in every county overlapping, making the work more difficult. It was only by having a central association in every county that they could deal with all these matters relating to the Imperial forces, and such an association as the County Association would be able adequately to deal with them. If they reserved the County Associations for that kind of work they would be doing well, but if they put actual live soldiering upon them the duties would not be properly performed. Supposing a General-in-Command came in conflict with the new County Association on some point as to when and where the soldiers should train, was the Commanding Officer or the County Association to have the supreme voice? If it was not to be the General Officer, what an absurd position they put him in; for he must of necessity be a far better judge than the County Association of what should be the training of the men and which would be the most suitable locality for their training. He had never attempted to conceal his disapprobation of the work proposed to be put upon the County Associations and of this encouragement of them illegitimately to spend illegitimate money, which they had no business to spend and no business to raise. He wished that they should act entirely in concert with military advisers, possibly on such questions as the provision of ranges and areas, and also with regard to looking after soldiers on their return to civilian life. The Government proposal was fraught with danger, and he much regretted the determination at which the right hon. Gentleman had arrived.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT said the point raised by the hon. and gallant Member for Edinburgh was of very serious importance, and it should have the most careful attention of the Secretary of State. He was extremely glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman state that the establishment of County Associations was the most novel part of the Bill, and should have received full discussion. When the right hon. Gentleman said that, he could not have recollected that nearly a month before the discussion came on, the whole process of debate was absolutely prevented. On the first day the Bill was in Committee only two lines of the whole clause was dealt with, and three foolscap pages were advanced without anyone having an opportunity of saying a single syllable as to the constitution, powers, and duties of the Associations, or of the financial arrangements appertaining thereto. He was very glad to see the Financial Secretary to the War Office in his place and in charge of the Bill, because they had hardly heard his voice during the whole of its conduct; when a private Member he was continually speaking; now they never heard his voice. He would like to learn the hon. Gentleman's personal view on the important point raised by the hon. Member for Marylebone, who said that it was unfair that the Army Council should regulate the whole of the proceedings of the County Associations. They were to have no direct representation of the Territorial Force upon the Army Council, with the exception of a political officer, who had no practical knowledge or experience, or very rarely indeed, and was appointed for a reason entirely other than his knowledge and experience of the Territorial Force. It was most unfair and improper that these great duties should be forced upon the Army Council without the Territorial Force having distinct representation upon it by the presence of an officer of high rank who was fully acquainted with the whole of the details, to say nothing of the feelings of the force and of the locality. The political officer, the Under-Secretary of State, who represented the War Office in the Upper House, could not possibly, with his Parliamentary duties, go about visiting the Associations and the regiments, and he had no technical knowledge and experience. If the Territorial Force were represented as it should be on the Army Council by an officer of high rank, responsible for that force, it would be possible to lay before the Council in large measure the feelings of the different localities, which it was so absolutely necessary should be done. The Financial Secretary probably had observed that the Secretary of State had ignored the remarks of the hon. Member for Marylebone on that subject, and he hoped the Financial Secretary, if he had not spoken already, would give them his views on the point. He would like to hear the hon. Gentleman's defence of the position taken up in defiance of the Duke of Norfolk's Committee on which sat many officers of large experience, who were absolutely unanimous in the view that it was necessary for the efficiency of the Auxiliary Forces that they should be represented on the central department by an officer of experience who believed in the forces, and had knowledge of their aspirations and wishes. Many hon. Members on that side of the House had expressed the hope that this matter would be again raised on Report, the opinion of the Volunteer Forces, the Yeomanry, and Militia being entirely in favour of direct representation upon the Army Council by an officer of practical experience, and not merely by a political officer representing the War Office in the House of Lords. He thought that the Government, if they were anxious for the success of the scheme, should have met that general feeling. It was deplorable, at that time of day, to hear the Secretary of State say that he wanted to make the Volunteer Force a real force, when they remembered that it consisted of 248,000 men, that for several years it had withstood official opposition and the official cold shoulder which had always been shown to them, and that they sent 30,000 men out to the South African War without the stimulus of a moral or legal obligation to do so.

Attention called to the fact that forty Members were not present. House counted, and forty Members being found present,

SIR HOWARD VINCENT said the fact of this count showed the extent of the interest taken in the Bill. There had been an extremely small attendance on the Government benches throughout the discussions. The fact was that there was no driving power behind the Bill in the country. Every Member on the other side of the House knew that it had fallen perfectly flat. If the Bill did go through it would be by the use of a Parliamentary procedure borrowed from foreign legislatures, and not by the merits of the measure in any shape or form. The point he was making was that there should be direct representation of the Territorial Force on the Army Council, by an officer of high rank with a practical knowledge of the force, in accordance with the recommendations of the Norfolk Commission. That was the more important in view of the fact that the House had just declared by large majorities that the War Office was to regulate the proceedings of the county associations, the appointment of chairman and secretary, and all their functionaries. There should be proper and direct representation, and not by means of a branch of the Adjutant-General's Department, presided over by an officer having no executive authority himself, and having to submit every Question and every Paper to the Adjutant-General.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER said he did not see how this question arose on the Motion before the House.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT submitted that it arose on the proposal of the hon Member for Marylebone, but he had finished what he had to say.

*VISCOUNT MORPETH said that when the Bill was first introduced the Association seemed to be an important feature in it. But as the debates proceeded the value of the Association seemed to be steadily diminishing, and its *personnel* appeared to have very little importance attached to it. The right hon. Gentleman had given rather a bald account of the duties to be assigned to the Association, and he had defended this course on the ground that there should be decentralisation. They had been challenged to say what other plan they had to submit as an alternative which would bring about the desired result. It seemed to him that there was one very obvious and apparent plan, which was that decentralisation should be carried out through the major-general who would in future command the divisions of the Territorial Forces. He was the proper man to deal with the questions assigned to the County Association. Outside the officers commanding battalions, the County Association consisted in its essentials of a chairman and secretary. The chairman had to be a business man, but what was a business man? As a rule it meant either a man engaged in commerce or manufacture, or a man of ordinary business-like intelligence. If the first, a great many other qualities went to make up what was required for successful dealing with these matters. If he had to choose between a business man as secretary and a major-general who was commanding a division he would have far more confidence in the decision of the major-general. If the right hon. Gentleman approached the leading landowners in the same spirit in which he approached those he had referred to in his speech he had no doubt that he would get similar results to those obtained in Perth. To attempt to build up a system of County Associations was altogether an exaggerated bit of constructive legislation. He viewed with some alarm the suggestion that County Associations would be valuable in the way of encouraging local tradesmen by giving them local orders. If the Associations had to purchase their supplies locally the expenditure would be vastly increased.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

SIR HENRY CRAIK (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities) moved to omit from the sub-section transferring to the County Associations powers for "establishing and maintaining or fostering and encouraging cadet battalions and corps and rifle clubs" the qualifying words, "Provided that no financial assistance shall be given by any association in respect of any person in a battalion or corps in a school in receipt of a Parliamentary grant until such person has attained the age of sixteen." He said the subject he desired to raise was of the greatest interest to those immediately connected with the Army. The questions which had been discussed hitherto were matters of technical rather than of Imperial or National interest, but the subject introduced by the Amendment really touched a large National interest of the first and most important kind. He had refrained from the first from interfering in the debates on this Bill, not because he had not the strongest personal reasons for being interested in the matter, or because he had not studied the question, but because he thought it was a matter of presumption on the part of mere laymen to attempt to speak on technical subjects side by side with the military Members of the House. On this special subject, however, he claimed that he had some right to speak. He happened to be one of the very few hon. Members who had sat upon the Advisory Education Board at the War Office from its commencement. For three years he had been chairman of the Army Qualifying Board, and he had formed an opinion upon questions such as those involved in the Amendment. It was because of that experience that he ventured to place his views before the House. He was speaking as one who was by no means an enemy of the Bill. As far as he was able to judge he looked with thorough trust and great admiration on its provisions, and he had no wish to do anything that would tend to wreck the measure. He wished, however, to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman from his second thoughts to his first. He desired him to restore his Bill to the form in which it was read a second time. He could not believe that the Bill was introduced without careful consideration, and he preferred himself to follow that stream of clear thinking by which the right hon. Gentleman laid such a store, and in which they fully recognised his mastery before the clear stream was disturbed by the more turbid waters which flowed from his extreme supporters. He appealed to the Secretary of State for War first on what was more or less a technical and a personal point. Only last autumn the right hon. Gentleman appointed a Committee of eminent civilians and military men to consider how from the schools and universities a large supply of what he called supplementary and auxiliary officers might be obtained. That Committee took evidence at some length, and came to certain definite conclusions which were approved by the Army Council. What did those conclusions amount to? Those supplementary and auxiliary officers were to go through a training of a year with a unit of the Army. It was recognised that training for a year was to busy men and to poor men who were compelled to earn their livelihood a very serious difficulty.

The scheme proposed that a cadet corps from the schools should be formed, and that it should be open to the schools of every grade throughout the country. It was expressly contemplated that by that means a large supply of officers coming from every class of society, and comprising those who were sent by means of county council scholarships to the secondary or intermediate schools, should have certain advantages open to them. They were to be allowed at fifteen years of age to pass an examination after two years training. They were then to obtain a certificate to exempt them from four months of the training. If they went to the University and obtained a further certificate after three or four years training they were then to be exempt for eight months out of the twelve months training. Consequently the advantage to those boys was very considerable. They were to be admitted to the level of officers of the Army. They were to get considerable payment for outfit and payment on the level of a second lieutenant. The right hon. Gentleman carried the scheme a little further than mere approval by the Army Council. The scheme was communicated to the teachers throughout the length and breadth of the country, and they were asked to co-operate. He might say that the scheme was very cordially received, and they were prepared to establish in their schools cadet corps. They pledged themselves to the stirring up of patriotism, and in that way they would have been able to add very largely to the class of supplementary and auxiliary officers. On the 7th June, after the Secretary of State for War had yielded to the disturbing element to which he had alluded, he summoned a meeting at the United Service Institute. On June 7th the right hon. Gentleman summoned a meeting of teachers, and was it not the case that strong disappointment was felt when he took away the foundation of what they expected would give them high results? He hoped the House would remember that he was not speaking of the rich schools. To the large public schools like Eton and Harrow the grants were of no importance; it was the poorer schools scattered throughout the country, and attended by children whose parents could not subscribe, whose hopes were raised, and whose hopes were now shattered, by the proviso which the right hon. Gentleman, without discussion, introduced during the Committee stage. He felt that this was a more or less technical point; it was closely connected with the whole scheme. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would not deny that it was connected with the general scheme which he had been tracing out. He was doing far more than interfering with the training of a few thousands for the Auxiliary forces. Officers were to be drawn from the very poor. Though their position might be very disadvantageous from birth, if they proved to be in possession of brains and capacity, they would be able to take their position among the officers of the Army. What did the right hon. Gentleman base his whole scheme upon? He based it on an appeal to patriotism; he spoke of the strength of a trained youth and of a nation in arms, but he gave up a fundamental part of his scheme when he withdrew this encouragement to the sense of patriotism, nowhere more readily aroused than in the schools of the country. That observation applied not merely to the upper, but to the intermediary, and even the elementary, schools. Was it for the Army alone that there could be no practical training under the age of 16? Did the training of a sailor not begin until after that age? Did not practical training for the work a lad was to do in after life begin much earlier? In elementary and middle-class schools drill was studied day by day with physical advantage and assistance to education. The verdict of the teachers, one and all, was that they were helped in their work in that way. Was the right hon. Gentleman going to abandon the hopes which he himself had expressed? But while these lads were being denied the opportunities they had enjoyed hitherto, the offer made by the right hon. Gentleman of a £3 premium, which might be gained at the age of fifteen by pupils at the schools, was taken away, and they would be left merely to the tender mercy of voluntary subscriptions, and possibly the small subscriptions, which might be extorted from the teachers or the parents. The right hon. Gentleman might answer that this, after all, was not a matter for the War Office, but for the Education Department. He did not think that that argument would hold water. In the first place, if they introduced military drill into the ordinary curriculum of the elementary schools, they gave some ground for saying that it was compulsory. He had no wish to make it compulsory, but if it was embodied in the code as part of the ordinary curriculum they would put an argument into the mouths of those who objected to its being compulsory. Besides, the Education Department had many things to do, and it had not hitherto given any ground for saying that the physical training given in schools was military training, and it was not likely to do so. During the present session it had been seen how the slightest indication of any inclination on the part of the education authorities to introduce such training into the curriculum of the schools would directly be made the subject of complaint in the House. He was afraid, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman in relieving himself in this way was placing the matter on the shoulders of the President of the Board of Education, who in turn would shift the load on to parents of the children attending the schools. He wanted to make an appeal with all respect to hon. Members who sat below the gangway, and to others who represented extreme opinions on the other side of the House. He knew that there were those who were almost mad on the subject of the dangers of military training. If a boy went through squad drill and manual practice, and if he learned to present arms, they thought he was almost a full blown soldier. If he went so far as to practice at a Morris-tube range, they thought the next step would be that he would go out and shoot the first man he met. He hoped that some of those extremely nervous, and perhaps hysterical, persons would learn what military exercise really meant. A gun was a dangerous weapon, but it was never more dangerous than in the hands of those who did not know how to use it. It was dangerous to the enemy if a man knew how to use it, but it was still more dangerous to his friends if he did not know how to use it. He would ask those who were interested in the training of the children of the labouring classes to think of what they were depriving those children when they objected to military training in schools. Had they no trust in those who worked the schools? He maintained that the vast majority of teachers were prepared to back up Parliament in introducing this military drill, not merely as an adjunct of the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman, but as a means of building up character, and of teaching discipline which would not only benefit the boys themselves, but assist the work of the schools. They all knew that the sons of the richer classes did not do all the educational work which they might do; but, after all, by means of their physical training, and the compulsion of discipline, the boys learned comradeship and obedience. If the boys of the poorer classes were withdrawn from the discipline it would be a downright loss to them. They had been told by an hon. Gentleman opposite that this was not an age of militarism, but an age of industrialism. But, though we were extending our industrial interests with the constant improvements in machinery, was it to be supposed that what might be called our fire insurance for defensive purposes was one whit less necessary, that our growth did not excite the cupidity of others, and entail greater risk, or that they made it less necessary for the country to stand boldly for defence, and not for offence? They were told that this spirit of militarism was to be exorcised, and that they were to devote their whole labour capital to industrialism; but that was to forget that the defence of one's country was one of the first duties of citizenship. Again, they had been told that with the extension of militarism liberty was checked. But what was the experience of the Colonies? Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—of the prowess of whose sons they had all reason to be proud, and whose democratic spirit was beyond question—had established, without any fears in their hearts, cadet corps for the defence of their country. Natal, with a population of only 100,000 white men, had 4,000 cadets under fifteen years of age. Mr. Deakin had stated that in Australia there were 30,000 cadets this year, that they would number 40,000 next year, and 50,000 the year after. The Commonwealth Premier at the same time declared that was no injury to the democratic feeling of the country, but made for its safety. No course of action could be more cruel than to neglect boys after their compulsory schooling was ended, and not to keep hold of them so as to train them to take their share, if occasion arose, in the defence of the country, instead of sending them long afterwards into the rough and tumble of the battlefield with insufficient preparation and training. He fancied he was not wrong in thinking that the right hon. Gentleman fully recognised the importance of the very crucial question presented to him in the Amendment, although he spoke as if it were a dangerous reef which might wreck his ship. He was not one of those who despaired; time was on their side. The feeling of the nation was against the policy of the Government. Parents, children, teachers were all alike in favour of military drill for their boys, and day by day the number of cadet corps was increasing. The time would come when we would have the beginning of a nation in arms. He begged to move.

MR. GUY BARING (Winchester), in seconding said he had had six years service in Australia, and had personal experience as a soldier of the value of cadet corps. There was no more conspicuous or smarter body at the memorial service in Melbourne to the late Queen than the cadet corps, although there were representatives of all branches of His Majesty's Service present. The reputation of the Melbourne larrikin was world wide, the larrikin being the forerunner of the hooligan. Law and education had failed to reform these larrikins, and at last some of the citizens hit on the method of forming cadet corps, which had proved to be a conspicuous success, and larrikinism was now dead; the streets of Melbourne knew it no more as a real source of terror. The people of Australia were neither militarist nor undemocratic, but they believed that the physical and moral training to be obtained from the cadet corps ought not to be lost to the nation. He sincerely hoped that the pressure of public opinion would induce the Government to alter the present form of the Bill, and put it back into its original shape.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 9, to leave out from the word 'clubs' to the end of paragraph (f)."—(*Sir Henry Craik.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the second word 'in,' in page 4, line 11, stand part of the Bill.

MR. HALDANE said the House had listened to a speech of genuine earnestness which contained a good deal of eloquence from the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment, and they had also listened to a technical speech from the seconder. These speeches in support of the Amendment showed what strong feeling there was in one direction upon this question; but it was not the only direction in which there was strong feeling. The duty of a War Minister in charge of a Bill of this sort was a very difficult one. A War Minister subjected to two such crossfires had only one course to fall back upon, and that was to consider the matter on its merits from the point of view of the organisation of the Army. In the first place, they did not want for the officers of the Army the training of children, but of men. He had made the most close and careful inquiry from those responsible for the Committee which had been referred to, and they told him that really boys under sixteen were of little or no use for the particular purpose; but there was a great distinction between the State aided schools and those great public schools where cadet corps had existed for a great number of years. The type of boy he wanted was the type between sixteen and eighteen, about the time when the public school boy proceeded to the University.

SIR HENRY CRAIK: Did not the Committee recommend the training of these boys between fifteen and sixteen years of age?

MR. HALDANE said he was informed by those who were responsible that the Committee thought that the question was immaterial to their deliberations. What they required was not to disturb the old state of things, but he was anxious to make it clear that what they wanted was such material as should be sufficient for the reserve of officers. It might well be true that some of the corps which had been mentioned not only did not lead to the diffusion of a spirit of militarism, but were excellent things in themselves. Boys' brigades were splendid things, and many of them wished to encourage them in every way in the good work they did and to teach the young idea even from eleven to twelve how to shoot. But these things were outside the province upon which he could justify the expenditure of public money. He had an extremely limited amount of money to dispose of, and he did not intend to spend it on boys' brigades.

SIR HENRY CRAIK: I never said anything about boys' brigades.

MR. HALDANE pointed out that the hon. Gentleman had referred to cadet corps, the age of the members of which went down to thirteen or fourteen and even to eleven or ten. That question was one which emphatically belonged to the department of education. Inquiry taught him that except in so far as it was expedient not to disturb the state of things in the great secondary private schools, he was not really much concerned with boys under sixteen. What was the situation at present? The Government did not give grants of money to cadet corps; they gave ammunition and arms to the uniformed corps. Of these there were some 11,000. He laid great stress upon this, because it was from them that he hoped to get material for the reserve of officers. These organisations in the great schools would give him what he wanted for the reserve of officers; but it did not in the least follow that he would get what he wanted by going to another class of school, and encouraging the formation of cadet corps consisting of boys under sixteen years of age. He would be travelling wholly outside the region of the War Office into the department of education—outside anything which could be of practical use to him—if he were to propose to earmark financial assistance for boys under sixteen in the State-aided schools. What he was concerned to do was at least not to preclude himself from supporting the cadet corps in the great private schools. Those were the bodies on which he drew, and was likely to draw. The duty of developing military training in the elementary schools was one he declined to assume. It was a matter which belonged to the field of education, and to the field of education he left it.

MR. WYNDHAM said the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the contact between his Bill and education was merely accidental, that it touched education at one point—by those provisions which he hoped would enable him to obtain a reserve of officers. But the intervention of certain hon. Members in the matter was not accidental, but intentional. Their view was that drill was an injury to the young.

MR. HALDANE: They are content to help me to get my reserve of officers. They say take them from boys over sixteen.

MR. WYNDHAM said that would not do. They were not merely discussing the right hon. Gentleman's reserve of officers; they were discussing whether it was well or ill that in the course of education in schools some form of military training should be given to the young. Why had the right hon. Gentleman chosen the age of sixteen? He knew perfectly well that he had swept out of the Bill and debarred from any such encouragement as might have been obtained under it all the public elementary schools and all the intermediate schools in the country. Whatever might be the reasons of the right hon. Gentleman for yielding to pressure, those who brought it to bear considered it a mistake that the young should be brought into contact at a plastic age with anything that might stir their sympathies for a military career. The right hon. Gentleman was deliberately inventing a class distinction. Youths attending schools of a certain character were to have their minds impressed with military aspirations and to receive training; and the rest of the nation, attending public elementary schools and intermediate schools, were to be put in a different class. They were to have a kind of Greek Republic in which there was to be a class of soldiers and another class composed of those engaged in industrial occupations. That was the suggestion, and he thought the House ought to pause before it accepted it. It was the fact that the sons of artisans and those engaged in industry did, as a rule, leave school earlier than the sons of the upper class. Therefore, if a universal rule of sixteen were made, the sons of one class would be taught a certain amount of drill, while the sons of the other class would not be taught drill at all, a class distinction being thus made—one class being brought up with military tendencies and the other being debarred in youth from learning anything but industrialism. From the purely educational point of view it was held by many educational authorities that the great danger of the industrial age was not only to the manhood of the country, but to the youth of the country who were brought up in a narrow groove. We were living in an age of competitive commercialism, but that was only a reason for trying to broaden the lives of the youths of the country and not to allow them to be narrowed into the industrial groove. Why did we teach children to sing the musical stave or freehand drawing? In order to give them education and to draw them out of the narrow groove of industrialism. What would the hon. Member say if he was told he must not teach children to sing or draw lest they should be impregnated with the artistic temperament? To tell the children of what were sometimes called the lower classes that they only were to be cut off from the stimulating appeal to patriotism was a mistake, and he earnestly hoped the House would not consider the question within the narrow limits laid down by the Secretary of State. It was a great national question, and a great educational question. For his part, he thought these associations could not direct their efforts better than by giving some slight assistance, in providing drill-sergeants and miniature rifles, to widen the lives of children in elementary schools, to stir patriotism in their breasts, and to make men of them, instead of little machines to grow up into big machines.

*MR. BENNETT (Oxfordshire, Woodstock) said that he would oppose the Amendment with the greatest pleasure. There were many reasons for offering resistance to any proposals for foisting military training on children of tender years. He wished to point out, however, in passing, that the alleged distinction between the son of, say, an artisan and the son of a rich man taught at a public school was quite unreal. The artisan's boy at seventeen could, of course, if he wished for military experience, join his local Volunteer corps, and would possess exactly the same privilege, in fact an even higher one than the public school boy of the same age who was serving in his cadet corps. The majority of hon. Members on his side of the House would, he thought, agree that military training tended to produce a very undesirable spirit amongst young boys. He did not like the thought of very young children being continually associated through drills and firing exercises with the idea of human slaughter in one form or another. Many hon. Members were convinced that the introduction of military training into the schools of the country was an indirect encouragement to the idea of national conscription. That theory might be seen in a crystallised shape on the board hung up in Victoria Street, "The National Service League, with which is incorporated the Lads' Drill Association." He would, however, chiefly confine himself that evening to some more prosaic arguments than that based on a conscientious dislike of militarism. He was utterly opposed to the military training of young boys because such training was quite futile and provided no real asset of any military value. If corroboration was sought elsewhere, let hon. Members reflect that France, which possessed what was probably the most efficient army and military system in the world, had altogether discarded the *bataillons scolaires.* The French had come to realise what he trusted we should realise also, that these toy regiments of small boys were of no earthly use to the State. As to the military drill, it was well known that our drill was perpetually being altered. The manual exercise of their boyhood soldiering had been improved almost out of existence; and the simplest company movements were very different now from what they were when hon. Members served in cadet corps. Would any real benefit accrue to the country in any time of national stress and peril, because so many hundreds of thousands of her citizens had in their childhood acquired the beggarly elements of a system of drill long since obsolete? Further, the proposed drills and firing exercises involved very often a sheer waste of school time. While the nation's ideals of education were so imperfect, no Liberal, at any rate, he felt sure, could desire to see any hours which should be devoted to the intellectual curriculum of the school given up to square drill or musketry. Again, another ground for opposing the Amendment arose from the expense involved. The military training of cadet corps in our national schools meant the grants of rifles, ammunition, rifle ranges, and instructors. Musketry instruction could not fairly or reasonably be demanded amongst the qualifications of a national schoolmaster. The Government was pledged to economy, and could not afford to spend public money on such wholly subsidiary and somewhat ridiculous organisations. Some hon. Members had experienced some difficulty in securing a second suit of clothes for the Territorial Forces; they had been threatened with the loss of their regular adjutants and the diminution of the number of their regular drill instructors. These disadvantages had been threatened on the ground—a very legitimate ground—of economy. That being so, he protested against any grants of the taxpayers' money being assigned to corps and battalions of what one of our Colonial visitors recently described as "kiddy soldiers." Finally, no pledge of service was exacted or could be exacted from such boys; indeed he felt that even the older boys who won Certificate A or, later on still, Certificate B would really be receiving public grants without any definite undertaking on their part to render military service in return. His own experience, too, had taught him that the existence of cadet corps did not necessarily encourage young men to join Volunteer and Militia battalions later on. Quite the contrary in many cases. At Oxford and, he was informed, at Cambridge too, one of the commonest excuses for shirking military duties in the Volunteer battalions was that the undergraduate alleged that he had had quite enough drill at school. As to rifle clubs an age limit was desirable not only for the younger members, but the older ones. He did not think it right that any public money should be given to any member of a rifle club who was by age quite unfitted to undertake any kind of military service. Nor indeed was he, as a keen Volunteer and anxious to do his best for the Territorial Army, very deeply enamoured of rifle clubs. He greatly feared that the good-fellowship, pot-hunting and, above all, the easy terms of service might lead many young men to devote their attention exclusively to rifle clubs in preference to the more arduous and infinitely more valuable conditions of service in the Territorial Force. The Bill was getting better and better day by day as various excrescences were lopped off, and he for one could wish that it was wholly free from any maintenance or fostering of the cadet corps system, which he regarded as not only injurious to the boys, but useless to the State.

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton) said that as the text of his observations on the Amendment he desired to take a speech of the hon. and gallant Member for the Abercromby division of Liverpool, made some four or five years ago, when he said—

> "I myself, speaking as a Member of Parliament, with a seat to lose, say openly that I consider it extremely desirable and obligatory that every male in this country should be trained to arms. I also believe that five-sixths of the people of this country would welcome such a proposition."

He accepted in its entirety that simple statement of the attitude of his hon. and gallant friend at that time, and he would invite the House to welcome the opportunity which was afforded by the Amendment of deciding what was the best method of carrying into effect those aspirations, which, be it noted, were to some extent shared by the right hon. Gentleman the Minister for War. Here they were struck by one of the most astonishing phenomena in reference to the position of the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the arguments with which those on his side of the House commended the Amendment of his hon. friend. It was true that the hon. Gentleman had spoken in one part of his speech of the spirit of militarism. The hon. Member for Salford, who sat behind the right hon. Gentleman, had a perfectly clear idea of what was meant by the spirit of militarism. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Minister for War had an equally clear idea of what was meant, when he spoke with reprobation of the spirit of militarism. Though he had spoken of the spirit of militarism with contempt, yet the Minister for War had gone round the country and presented to one Volunteer corps after another the prizes which had been won, and at the same time he had expressed an ardent desire that the nation should "spring to arms." Was it in a spirit of Quakerism that they were to spring to arms? Did the right hon. Gentleman or did he not wish under the stimulating influence of his eloquence, and of his example, for aught he knew, the nation to spring to arms. He presumed, when the right hon Gentleman asked his countrymen to take upon themselves the burden of defending the country in the last resort, it was really his view that the position of this country, having regard to international complications, might well prove to be such that it would be necessary for the safety of the realm that every adult male should, in the last reort, be able to defend it. If that was not the view of the right hon. Gentleman, why should he indulge in mischievous utterances, crying of "springing to arms"? Why should he spread the poison of the doctrine of militarism? Why should he not rather repress it? But that was not what the War Minister was doing, and that was not what the Bill was doing. If it was a wrong thing to foster the spirit of militarism, if the hon. Gentleman the Member for Salford, who made unsuccessful efforts to conceal his disgust at the speeches of the Secretary for War, hought that was the right spirit, then let them limit the doctrine of militarism in other ways than by merely saying that it should not be applied to boys of fourteen or sixteen years of age. He had studied various periods of human life with as much care as most men, and he was utterly unable to discover what was the magic about the age of sixteen. What was the difference between sixteen and seventeen, considering it from the point of view of this question? Of course, there was no distinction between those two ages. He always listened to the hon. Gentleman with respect when he made demands on the patience of the House, but let him remind the hon. Gentleman that in an earlier part of the debate he had said that if a foreign invader approached our shores, "a million bayonets would flash in the sun." What an inspiring thought —a million bayonets flashing in the sun, in an age of artillery, and flashed by people who had never been taught to handle a gun? It was in these circumstances that the right hon. Gentleman went to Volunteer meetings like another Peter the Hermit, bidding the nation to give him troops for a great European war. ["No, no."] Let them have an understanding. Was there or was there not a desire on the part of the right hon. Gentleman that we should have in England a nation ready to spring to arms? That was a simple question. Was that the wish of hon. Gentlemen opposite or was it not their wish? He had not observed that anybody had come forward to contradict him when he had referred to the right hon. Gentleman as another Peter the Hermit, exhorting the country, and necessarily hon. Gentlemen opposite, to rally in support of his contention that the nation should be ready to spring to arms. At the time when the Bill was drafted the right hon. Gentleman held the view that the pecuniary support which he was now determined to withhold ought to be given to cadet corps without reference to the age of sixteen; it was not suggested that the right hon. Gentleman when the Bill was drafted did not consider the point. What were the representations which changed the views of the right hon. Gentleman? Were they military representations? That was not alleged. Was it the argument of an expert that the right hon. Gentleman would not get value for his money, which was the only argument that he had laid before the House that night? No, the arguments were the arguments of the hon. Members for Salford, Haggerston, and Falkirk Burghs, who believed that the whole spirit of militarism was injurious to the country. [MINISTERIAL cheers.] Yes, that was the view. They had got the argument in the open now—was it the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the responsible Minister for the armed forces of the Crown? The House knew that it was not. But from what quarter did the representations proceed? The right hon. Gentleman first became conscious that he was not going to get value for his money when a deputation approached him of Members who were convinced that he would not get value for any money spent for this purpose. In the words of Mr. Deakin—

> "If you want a community which realises what war is, you must go to the community in which every household shares the risk of war."

On that side of the House they were not afraid to face that prospect. They could all fill some place in the great scheme which was open to them under this Amendment, and even the hon. Member for Salford might be employed in a non-belligerent capacity, giving lectures on patriotism to the children of the soldiers.

*SIR W. J. COLLINS (St. Pancras, W.) agreed that it was undesirable to draw a distinction in this matter between schools receiving a Parliamentary grant and those schools ordinarily called public schools. He urged the right hon. Gentleman to consider the propriety of applying this proviso impartially to all types of schools. He made that appeal mainly on educational grounds. It was said that the Bill was a bulwark against conscription. Let them not indirectly put compulsion on children of school age by giving official sanction to military drill for them and voting public money for stimulating and fostering cadet corps. He objected to the proposal on educational grounds because it was cultivating premature specialisation, and those who were acquainted with school life and higher education knew the danger of too early specialisation in our schools. Sixteen was a sufficiently early age for specialisation, whether for a soldier or for any other profession. He was strongly in favour of physical exercises. But *esprit de corps* was promoted in the cricket field and the football field; while the exercises of the swimming bath and the gymnasium were far better and less mechanical than drill with a rifle. The late Sir Joshua Fitch in one of his pamphlets said that the handling of a rifle, forming fours, and preparing to receive cavalry were no necessary part of a good system of corporeal drill, and were often advocated with the ulterior political object of encouraging the martial spirit amongst boys. At the Albert Hall the Prime Minister said—

> "It is vain to seek peace if you do not also ensue it."

Was it ensuing peace to teach boys of thirteen or fourteen exercises of a military character? He would urge upon the Secretary of State for War that the pathway alike of reality and progress was the pathway of peace. The time was opportune for showing our sincerity in regard to this question. At the Hague Conference the nations were now represented in larger numbers than on any previous occasion. He ventured to think that we should be giving proof of the sincerity of the aspirations expressed by our representatives at the Conference if we showed that in regard to boys of fourteen and fifteen we did not desire to stimulate the spirit of militarism in them.

*MR. BYLES (Salford, N.), who was greeted with laughter and cries of "Oh!" said it seemed to him that he was received with a certain amount of derision. Did anybody in the House suppose that he was ashamed of his opinions on war? If they did they would find that they were mistaken. This he believed was the only time during the whole of the debates on the Territorial Forces Bill at which the anti-military party in the House had been able to make any protest. [AN HON. MEMBER: They have not been here at all.] He wished to enter his protest in the strongest possible way against teaching children the art of war. War was murder; war was a horrible thing, and it ought to be hated and avoided. It was the negation of everything good and beautiful. If it was ever necessary, it was a necessary evil. The purity and loveliness of youth ought to be a stranger to this as to many other forms of human evil. He wondered who of his hon. colleagues on that and the other side of the House would wish his own prattling boy of fourteen or fifteen, holding a miniature rifle in his hand, to be taught that when he was bigger he should have a bigger rifle and learn to use it in order that he might shoot and kill his fellow-man. He did not believe that anyone would like his own son to be imbued with those ideas. The truth was that a student was one type of humanity, and a soldier was another. For his part, he was sorry to see the references in the Bill to the universities and the schools. The tramp of armed troops through the peaceful haunts of learning was not, to his mind, a pleasant vision to contemplate. He was surprised that these proposals to associate scholarship with militarism should have been brought forward by his right hon. friend, who, after all, was a civilian and a scholar, and one who had drank deep at the wells of literature and learning. The right hon. Gentleman well knew that scholarship made for international fellowship and brotherhood, while militarism always made for mutual suspicion and hatred, and was the denial of the fellowship and brotherhood of man. At the Hague Conference, now in session, the representatives of forty nations were assembled trying to put an end to, or, at any rate, to put some limitation to, the evils of war which, he supposed, every Member of this House, even the postprandial scoffers whom he saw before him [Cries of "Order" and "Withdraw"] wished to limit. Was that a moment when England, the pioneer in civilisation, with a Liberal Government, should be forming schoolboy brigades and cadet corps, and carrying even to the children of the land the knowledge and the love of war?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said he was sure the hon. Gentleman had spoken from the depths of his heart; he had given expression to a ruling principle in his life, and doubtless felt that he was acting in a missionary spirit in the interest of peace. In that interest they were all agreed. There was not a man in the House, to whatever Party he belonged, who did not think, in the first place, that war was in itself, as the hon. Gentleman truly said, a horrible thing, and that the interests of this country, quite apart from the horrors of war in the abstract and the moral question, were all for peace. In so far as that was the case, they were all of the hon. Gentleman's school. But let them consider the general propositions which the hon. Gentleman had advanced, and the particular conclusion which he had deduced from them. The subject they were now discussing was whether boys at school ought or ought not to be taught the elements of drill if the schoolmaster desired it, and if the county council wished to spend the money in promoting it. There was no compulsion in the Amendment of his hon. friend. No county council, if the Amendment was carried, would be required to spend a shilling in the cause of military drill, and no schoolmaster if he thought it inimical to the general interests of education would be obliged to accept a shilling from the county council. The Amendment gave liberty both to the giver of money and the receiver; it compelled money neither to be offered nor to be received. But supposing money was offered and received, did all the ill consequences which the hon. Gentleman had conjured up really follow? The hon. Gentleman pictured to himself the British schoolboy as a peaceful and innocent animal—[Labour cries of dissent, and an Hon. Member: Practically]—well, practically, to whom the very thought of strife was detestable, who was a natural lover of peace, and whom a flagitious Government, aided by an unscrupulous Opposition, were going to indoctrinate with these prejudices in favour of bitterness and strife. He ventured to say that the hon. Gentleman's picture of the ordinary British schoolboy was drawn in rather too angelic colours; those of them who had been at school did not remember to have seen angelic wings springing from the shoulders of their school-fellows, and while there was not that absolute innocence waiting to be corrupted by the Government existing in either our elementary or our public schools, there was really nothing in the Amendment which suggested to a schoolboy otherwise peaceably inclined that he should henceforth devote himself to the reckless and unnecessary destruction of his fellow men. The hon. Member for West St. Pancras seemed to have a strong leaning towards athletics as well as a strong objection to the Amendment, but he supposed he had in his mind the old, he believed the apocryphal, adage that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. He did not think it could be undue specialisation to say that any boy who desired instead of learning cricket, or in addition to learning it, to learn the use of the rifle, might be more competent to win some battle other than that of which the Duke of Wellington talked. And when the hon. Gentleman talked of over specialisation, and compared a boy of fourteen or fifteen learning how to use the rifle with a boy of fourteen or fifteen being prematurely indoctrinated into the mysteries of the profession of which the hon. Gentleman himself was so great an ornament, he must have felt that the parallel was not a very close one. He did not think it could be described as over specialisation. But could they seriously take the view of the hon. Gentleman and think that this was going to promote a military spirit? What did they want a Territorial Army for? As he understood the views of the Secretary for War, he desired among other things to make the land of this country and the territories of the British Empire absolutely secure. Neither he nor anybody on that side was in favour of a policy of conquest and adventure, even were the possibility of conquest and adventure open to any Government in this country. The only military interest we had was the interest of self-defence, and the Amendment was directed to teaching a boy of under sixteen that he might have to defend himself. The Amendment would not promote the military spirit. What it would promote was the spirit of the man who was ready to do his share in rendering the Empire of which he was a citizen secure against foreign attack. There was no possibility of any Government under any circumstances arising in this country which would be so mad as to desire to enter upon a reckless and unnecessary war. [LABOUR cries of "The Transvaal War."] Hon. Gentlemen below the gangway appeared to think that the South African War was reckless and unnecessary. [MINISTERIAL cheers and OPPOSITION cries of "Asquith."] Did hon. Gentlemen below the gangway think that that war was unnecessary? [LABOUR cries of "Yes."] He need hardly say that that was not the opinion of the hon. Gentlemen who sit on the Opposition side of the House, nor was it the opinion of the majority of the people. He never suggested that in future the whole of the country would be unanimous as to whether a war was wise or unwise; but he did say that no Government was likely to exist which would go into a war believing it to be unnecessary and solely for the purpose of aggression or conquest. He appealed to the Government to resist to the utmost of their ability the heresy—for it was nothing else—that to teach boys and men how to handle in the interest of national defence those weapons by which alone national defence, in the last resort, could be accomplished, was to promote the military spirit, if the military spirit was the spirit of aggression, and to assert that it was but to enable the people of this country to prepare to offer a successful resistance to any invasion that might be organised by a foreign Power of their rights, their liberties, and their territories.

MAJOR SEELY said he most earnestly hoped that the Government would resist the Amendment, and precisely for the reasons urged by the hon. Gentleman who moved it. He believed it was the duty of every man to fit himself to defend his country, and he believed that nine-tenths of the people were willing to do so. But the worst way to proceed was to force the children to do that which they themselves were too cowardly to undertake. He was convinced they could procure a sufficient number of persons voluntarily to undertake to defend the country without resorting to the policy of the Amendment; and, indeed, by forcing children under the age of sixteen to go through military exercises was to turn them against the Army, and so far from adding to the military strength of the nation they would greatly diminish it. [OPPOSITION cries of "There is no forcing."] It had been suggested by his right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board that military ardour was like measles, and that a man only got it once in his life and when he did he got it strongly. Therefore if they forced children——

SIR HENRY CRAIK: My Amendment does not involve any force.

MAJOR SEELY said he quite understood that, but if his hon. friend had borne with him for one moment he should have pointed out why he had used the word "force." What he was saying was that if they forced children to go through military exercises they were much less likely to get them to serve their country in the Army. Now he would come to the argument of the hon. Gentleman that there was no compulsion. Surely that was a ridiculous doctrine. If military exercises were laid down in the school curriculum by the school authorities, it was absurd to say the children would not be forced to undertake them. If the children were forced to undertake exercises of that kind, it would tend to decrease the efficiency of the Army, because by such a course the military ardour of the lads would be diminished and their fighting efficiency in after years lessened. He disagreed with those who thought that when we entered the Hague Conference we should gain anything by saying we would not allow our children to learn the use of arms, because we were at the present moment proposing to maintain a larger expeditionary force than we ever had before. That fact cut the ground from under the feet of those who thought it wise to pursue an anti-military policy because we were going to maintain a far larger Regular Army than any country in the world. He suggested, therefore, that it was useless, in view of the increase of the expeditionary force, to urge the fact that we refused to allow our children to receive military training. He joined with those who asked that they should not force upon the children that which the parents had not yet accepted. He thought that in so far as they forced a boy to do what he did not want to do they would detract from his efficiency in time of war, because he would not wish to go through the military exercises which he had been compelled to practise in his youth. He should therefore resist the Amendment.

*SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.) observed that to make drill a part of school work was the surest way of crushing out the military spirit of the youth of the country. He remembered when he was at school a long time ago a sergeant used to come and drill the boys, who hated the very sight of him, and such a course tended to discourage lads from thinking of a military career. When a man grew up he would not go back to the work which he had to undertake at school, and if the system now suggested was carried on for ten years they would not be able to get a single recruit for the Army from the schools which were subject to it. The only thing they could teach boys in schools was barrack-square drill, and all our wars had shown us that that was precisely what we did not want. As Sir John Gorst had said, a good soldier was far more likely to be made by such games as cricket and football than by drill of this kind. In those games the boys were taught to act independently but with devotion to the interests of the side to which they belonged and affection for their captain. For himself he had been brought up in an atmosphere of game and shooting, and in the early days of Wimbledon he was a very keen rifle shot. Although he was apprehensive of the result of a policy of putting firearms into the hands of children, he might say that if Lord Roberts's scheme of universal military training were carried out, there would be this compensation. One of the greatest evils of the present day was the over preservation of game for the purpose of supplying the *battues* which were now the fashion. He was not sure that our forefathers were not happier when, after a day's sport, they brought home a partridge and a couple of snipe, than the cockney sportsman who came down from London and whose only object was not to kill but to "muddle down" more pheasants than other people in the neighbourhood did. If Lord Roberts's plan was carried out, the present over preservation of game would cease, because it would be impossible if they turned out from the schools every year a healthy crop of young poachers.

And, it being half-past Ten of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded, pursuant to the Order of the House of 6th May, to put the Question on the Amendment already proposed from the Chair.

Question put "That the words proposed to be left out, to the second word 'in,' in page 4, line 11, stand part of the Bill."

The House divided: Ayes, 304; Noes, 114. (Division List No. 237.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott (Som'rs't
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt. Hn. Sir J. T. (Chesh.
Bryce, J. Annan

Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt.Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Cambpell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats,Sir T.Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,SirWm.J.(S.Pancras,W
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H.(Sussex,E. Gr'st'd)
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson,W.H.(St. Pancras,N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan,C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunne,Major E.Martin (Wals'll
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffiths, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harmsworth,R.L. (Caithn'ss-sh
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harwood, George
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson,J.M.(Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert,Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones,Sir D.Brynmor(Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G (Leominster)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lea,Hugh Cecil (St. Pancras,E.
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A.Levy (Essex,Harwich
Lever, W.H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederic
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks,G.Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J.Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps,Col.Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps,J.Wynford(Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C.E.(Edinburgh,Central)
Price,Robert John (Norfolk, E.
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Rainy, A. Rolland
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T.F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Rt.Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott (Bradf'd
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Rt.Hn. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley,Hon.A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas,Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas,Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr)

Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E
Thorne, William
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarth'n
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Hn. C. H. W. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt Hn. A. J. (City Lond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Brodie, H. C.
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clark, George Smith (Belfast, N.
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Dalrymple, Viscount
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gretton, John
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hon. Col. W.
Keswick, William
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Sir Henry Seymour (Hull)
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt. Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Rees, J. D.
Renton, Major Leslie
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesal
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seaverns, J. H.
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley George D.
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walker, Col. W. H. (Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Henry Craik and Captain Baring.

Mr. SPEAKER then proceeded successively to put forthwith the Questions upon any Amendments moved by the Government, of which notice had been given, which were necessary to dispose of the Business to be concluded.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 38, at the beginning, to insert the words 'Subject to regulations under this Act.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Haldane*).

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided: Ayes, 314; Noes, 105. (Division List No. 238.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, CH (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edward, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harmsworth, R. L. (Caithn'ss-sh
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harwood, George
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Wope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jomes, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lea, Hugh Cecil (St. Pancras, E.
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs.
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morton, Alpheus Charles
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (D'ncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Grady, J.

Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Rainy, A. Rolland
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Rees, J. D.
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpton
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'd)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E.
Thorne, William
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarth'n
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Hn. C. H. W. (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt Hn. A. J. (City Lond.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring, Capt. Hn. G (Winchester
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clark, George Smith (Belfast, N.)
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craig, Capt. James (Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Viscount
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gretton, John
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clemet (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kennaway, Rt Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour (Hull)
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Farehan
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Ednburgh W.)
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Percy, Earl
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson, John Frederick P.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley George D.
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)

Thornton, Percy M.
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walker, Col. W.H.(Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Drafting Amendment made.

Amendments—

"In page 4, line 42, at the end, to insert the words, 'Provided that nothing in this section shall be construed as enabling the Army Council to give their consent to the application of money to any purpose to which, apart from this section, it could not lawfully be applied, or to give their consent, without the authority of the Treasury, in any case in which, apart from this section, the authority of the Treasury would be required.'"

"In page 7, line 14, at the end, to insert the words, (c) 'When the corps of a man of the Territorial Force includes more than one unit, authorise him when not] embodied to be posted, without his consent, to any unit other than that to which he was posted on enlistment; or.'"—(*Mr. Haldane*).

Agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 8, line 20, to leave out the word 'a,' and insert the word 'such.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Haldane*)—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided: Ayes, 312; Noes, 106. (Division List No. 239.)

AYES.

Abraham, William ((Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carylon
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J.H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Bodrie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T. (Cheshire
Bryce, J., Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras,)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C.H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Esutace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harmsworth, R.L. (Caithn'ss-sh
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harwood, George
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp

Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, W.Bateman(Somerset,N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones,SirD.Brynmor(Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lea, Hugh Cecil (St.Pancras,E.
Leese,SirJosephF. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex,Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks,G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Cramarthen)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W.D. (Colchester)
Philipps,Col.Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps,J.Wynford(Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh,Central)
Price,RobertJohn (Norfolk,E.)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Rainy, A. Rolland
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards,T.F.(Wolverhampton
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Rt.Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson,SirG.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton-under-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thorne, William
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward,John (Stoke-upon-Trent)
Ward,W. Dudley(Southampton
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,JohnCathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
WilliamsLlewelyn(Carmarthen
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson,Hon. C.H. W. (Hull,H.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hon.SirH.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,RtHn.A.J.(CityLond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring,Capt.Hn.G(Winchester)

Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry,N.)
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish,Rt.Hon.Victor C.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clark,GeorgeSmith(Belfast,N.)
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig,CharlesCurtis(Antrim,S.)
Craig,CaptainJames(Down,E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Viscount
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon.A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gretton, John
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hervey,F.W.F.(BuryS. Edm'ds
Hill, SirClement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kennaway,Rt.Hon.SirJohnH.
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.Hon.Col.W.
Keswick, William
King,Sir Henry Seymour (Hull)
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants., Fareham
Lockwood,Rt.Hn.Lt.-Col.A.R.
Long,Col.CharlesW.(Evesham)
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Dublin,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt .Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver,SirLewis(EdinburghW.)
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease,HerbertPike(Darlington)
Percy, Earl
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson,JohnFrederickPeel
Roberts,S.(Sheffield,Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sheffield,Sir Berkeley GeorgeD.
Smith,F.E.(Liverpool,Walton)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G. (Oxf'dUniv.
Thomson, W.Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walker,Col.W.H.(Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid.)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson,A.Stanley(York,E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Amendments—

"In page 8, line 21, after the word 'county,' to insert the words 'as he may select and, if that corps comprises more than one unit within the county, shall be posted to such one of those units as he may select.'"

"In page 8, line 36, after the word 'discharged,' to insert the words, 'before the end of his current term of service.'"

"In page 9, line 11, to leave out the words, 'both or either,' and insert the words, 'all or any.'"

"In page 9, lines 11 and 12, to leave out the words, 'as to notice and payment.'"

"In page 12, line 19, to leave out from the word 'the,' to the end of line 22, and insert, the words 'requirements of this section may be dispensed with in whole or in part, (i) as respects any unit, by the prescribed general officer, and (ii) as respects an individual man by his commanding officer, subject to any general directions by the prescribed general officer.'"—(*Mr. Haldane*).

Agreed to.

Bill, as amended, to be further considered To-morrow.

DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS AND PESTS BILL [Lords].

Read a second time.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House for To-morrow—(*Sir Edward Strachey*).

BOARD OF EDUCATION SCHEME (HULME TRUST ESTATES EDUCATIONAL) CONFIRMATION BILL.

Read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee.

Adjourned at nineteen minutes after Eleven o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 18th June, 1907.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Alton Military Hospital Bill [H.L.]. Committed.

London County Council (Money) Bill. Read 2ª.

Great Central Railway Bill. Read 2ª, and committed, the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection. Sunderland Corporation Bill. Brought from the Commons, read 1ª, and referred to the Examiners.

Metropolitan Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [H.L.]; Simon-Carves Bye-Product Coke Oven Construction and Working Company, Limited, Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Read 2ª (according to order), and committed.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Read 2ª (according to order).

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS, ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3828. Turkey (Crete) (first six months of 1906).
No. 3829. Turkey (Monastir).
No. 3830. Turkey (Benghazy District).
No. 3831. Spain (Cadiz).
No. 3832. China (Hangchow).
No. 3833. Netherlands (Rotterdam).

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) 1899.

Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the provisions of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, and the methods followed in carrying out those provisions: Report; Appendix to the Report; Minutes of Evidence; Minority Report.

IRISH LAND ACT, 1903 (EVICTED TENANTS).

Special Report by the Estates Commissioners of their proceedings up to 31st May, 1907, in respect of persons applying as evicted tenants or their representatives, for restoration to their former holdings or for parcels of land in lieu thereof under the Irish Land Act, 1903.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, at half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 18th June, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the County of Durham (Jarrow Division), in the room of Sir Charles Mark Palmer, baronet, deceased.—(*Mr. Whiteley.*)

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Aberdeen Corporation Electricity Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

Boston Spa Gas Bill; Brockenhurst Gas Bill. Lords Amendments considered and agreed to.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (Additional Capital, etc.) Bill; Barry Railway Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

St. Neot's Urban District Council Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow.

Canal Tolls and Charges (New Junction Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Ladybank Sewerage Drainage and Water Provisional Order Bill. Read a second time; to be considered upon Monday next.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP H).

Sir **Joseph Leese** reported from the Committee on Group H of Private Bills; That, at the Meeting of the Committee this day, notice was received from Sir Walter Nugent, one of the Members of the said Committee, stating that he was unable, on account of an urgent public engagement, to attend the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee—

"That, in the case of the Coventry Corporation Water Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with :—That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

"That, in the case of the Midland Railway Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with :—That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

Resolutions agreed to.

Devonport Corporation Bill [Lords]. Reported from the Police and Sanitary Committee, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to: Brecon and Merthyr Tydfil Junction Railway Bill; Port Talbot Railway and Docks Bill, without Amendment.

Amendments to: Manchester Ship Canal (Various Powers) Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Education under the Education Acts, 1870 to 1903, to enable the London County Council to put in force the Lands Clauses Acts." [Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 2) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under The General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Pwllheli." [Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under The Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Dorking Water, Freshwater Gas, New Tredegar Gas and Water, Skegness Gas, and Woking District Gas." [Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Acts for appointing a stipendiary justice of the peace for the parish of Merthyr Tydfil and adjoining places; to provide for the application of those Acts in the event of the grant of a separate commission of the peace for the borough of Merthyr Tydfil; and for other purposes." [Merthyr Tydfil Stipendiary Justice Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for conferring powers on the Imperial Tramways Company, Limited, for constructing a tramway and widening and altering roads in the North Riding of the county of York; and for other purposes." [Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill [Lords.]

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 246.]

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 247.]

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 248.]

Merthyr Tydfil Stipendiary Justice Bill [Lords]; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).

Sir HENRY KIMBER reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That Mr. Charles O'Donnell, one of the members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (PROVISION OF MEALS) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Eastwood, against; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions for alteration: From Aberdeen; Eastwood; and, Holm; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petition from Birmingham, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

WEEKLY REST DAY BILL.

Petition from London, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PUNJAB LAND COLONISATION BILL.

Return [presented 12th June] to be printed. [No. 202.]

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) (DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE).

Copy presented, of Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the Provisions of The Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, together with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence, and Minority Report [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND ACT, 1903 (EVICTED TENANTS).

Copy presented, of Special Report of the Estates Commissioners of their Proceedings up to the 31st May, 1907, in respect of persons applying as Evicted Tenants, or their Representatives, for restoration to their former holdings or for parcels of land in lieu thereof under The Irish Land Act, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS (NON-PAYMENT OF RATES).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 20th March; *Mr. Weir*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 203.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

MR. O'MARA (Kilkenny, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, whether purchasers under the Land Act of 1903 are entitled to pay their annuities as to three-quarters in cash, and one-quarter in Land Stock; whether regulations have been made to enable purchasers to buy Land Stock through the Post Office Savings Bank; and, if not, when it is intended to issue such regulations.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) It is not considered that Section 2 of The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, applies to annuities payable by tenant purchasers under The Irish Land Act, 1903. As to the remainder of the Question, I would refer to the Answer given on the 12th instant by my hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury, from which it appears that the Treasury are in communication with the Departments concerned in reference to the question of making regulations under the section quoted.

[The foregoing Answer is in substitution for the Answer circulated with the Votes on June 13, and published in the *Debates*, clxxv., 1578.]

Hydrographic Survey of Canadian Coast

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, from what date the Dominion took over the hydrographic survey formerly under the Admiralty, and engaged a British naval officer, and commenced the employment of survey-ships on the Atlantic Coast of Canada; when the survey-ship building for the Dominion on the Pacific Coast is likely to be ready; whether the Admiralty survey in British Columbian waters during 1906, recorded in the Annual Report recently laid before Parliament, was still under Admiralty direction; and what arrangements have been made for the future as to joint action between the Admiralty and the Dominion Government in the extension of hydrographic survey, stated by Mr. Brodeur, in his speech at the Colonial Conference, to be now taking place.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) No Admiralty survey has been in progress on the Atlantic Coast of Canada since 1888. At the request of the Dominion Government, a naval officer was lent, in March, 1906, for surveying duties. It is not known when the Dominion Government surveying-ship for the Pacific Coast is likely to be ready. The Admiralty survey in British Columbian waters during 1906 was, and is still, solely under Admiralty direction. No such arrangement as that suggested has been made, as the Dominion Government have taken over a large part of the hydrographic surveying, and from what was stated at the Colonial Conference they are apparently prepared to undertake the whole of the survey of their own coasts.

Nucleus Crews for Destroyers and Torpedo Boats.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state the provision intended to be made for the complements of torpedo destroyers and torpedo boats, so as to obviate the present arrangement whereby, when a flotilla puts to sea, boats in commission in reserve are depleted of the engine-room artificers required to carry out necessary repairs.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The present arrangement is that the complements of nucleus-crew destroyers and torpedo boats, which may from time to time for special reasons be brought up to full numbers, shall be completed from the resources of the port to which they belong without withdrawing ratings from other nucleus-crew vessels. It is the exception and not the rule to complete them from nucleus crews. I am not aware of any intention of altering the complements of torpedo-boat destroyers and torpedo boats.

Rates on Royal Dockyards.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, whether, as the sums paid in lieu of rates for the Royal Dockyards to local authorities appear on the Civil Service Estimates, it is to be understood that the prices quoted for Government work in building ships do not include any proportionate charges for the payments in respect of contributions to local authorities, whereas the private ship-builders have to allow for their payments of full rates levied by the local authorities.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The Answer is in the affirmative.

Suggested Select Committee to Examine Estimates.

MR. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley): To ask the Prime Minister, if, for the purpose of an economical formation of Estimates, he will take into consideration the appointment of a Select Committee for the purpose of examining and reporting on them, precedent to their being discussed in Committee of Supply, as recommended by the Select Committee on National Expenditure.

(*Answered by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*) This is not so easy or plain a matter as might appear on the surface, and, in addition to the difficulties that have always been foreseen, there is now this fresh objection, that the changes in Procedure, made this session, have involved a large addition to the Committee work of the House, and it is desirable to gain more experience of the working of these arrangements before adding another important Committee to the list.

Kinvarra Harbour Improvement.

Mr. DUFFY (Galway, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what steps have been taken to carry out the pledge given by the Irish Government that a Bill would be introduced in the present session to enable the county council of Galway to carry out a scheme of improvement in Kinvarra Harbour.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) It seems to have escaped the hon. Member's notice that my right hon. friend the Attorney-General for Ireland introduced the Navigation Works (Ireland) Bill on Thursday last

Uneconomic Holdings on the Estate of Mrs. O'Hara.

Mr. DUFFY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have yet dealt with the estate of Mrs. O'Hara, Raheen, Gort, under the Land Act, 1903; and whether the memorial of the uneconomic holders adjoining has yet received the consideration promised in their letter of acknowledgment dated 16th June, 1906.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) No proceedings for the sale of the estate mentioned have yet been instituted before the Estates Commissioners. The memorialists were informed in the letter referred to that their petition would be considered when the Commissioners should come to deal with the estate.

Enforcement of the Game Laws at Gort.

Mr. DUFFY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the Lough-Contra property, Gort, of Lord Gough, Chargé d'Affairs at Dresden, a tenant on the estate, Mr. John Hennelly, took proceedings against his lordship at the Gort January quarter sessions to recover damages for trespass of game on his corn crops; can he state the approximate amount realised in fines for the past twenty years at the Gort petty sessions against his tenantry for alleged offences under the Game Laws; is he aware that the tenants on the estate and in the neighbourhood, through fear of the class of men who compose the Gort bench of magistrates, submit to the fines imposed by the gamekeepers and the agent on the estate, outside the petty sessions court; and what action he purposes taking to remedy such a state of affairs.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that Mr. Hennelly brought an action against Lord Gough to recover damages for the trespass of game, and that the action was dismissed by the county court judge. During the past twenty years fines amounting approximately to £21 have been imposed at Gort petty sessions on some of Lord Gough's tenants for offences against the Game Laws. I have no definite information that the practice referred to in the latter part of the Question prevails. If it does, it is the fault of the persons who make the payments. I have no reason to suppose that the magistrates do not act impartially.

Intimidation of Mr. Farrell at Roscommon.

Sir J. RANDLES (Cumberland, Cockermouth): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that on Sunday, 2nd June, a Mr. Farrell was brought before the Roscommon branch of the United Irish League, and there stated that his cattle had been stopped on the road by order of the League and that he himself was boycotted; and what amount of protection is now given to Mr. Farrell and his property.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Mr. Patrick Farrell, who is referred to in the Question, has informed the police that he attended a meeting of the Roscommon branch of the United Irish League on the 2nd instant, but made no statement that his cattle had been stopped on the road or that he was boycotted. Farrell, who is himself a member of the branch, is not boycotted. He receives no protection, none being necessary.

Intimidation at Moylough.

Colonel HARRISON-BROADLEY (Yorkshire, E.R., Howdenshire): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to a resolution passed by the Moylough branch of the United Irish League, on Sunday, 2nd June, to the effect that the pressure of the League should be brought to bear upon certain persons indicated at the meeting; whether the circulation of this resolution is or is not considered by the police and the inhabitants of the locality as a direct incitement to boycotting and intimidation; and whether, seeing that it has been held in the courts of justice that it is a criminal offence for a newspaper to publish resolutions under the special circumstances of a disturbed locality, he proposes to take steps to bring to justice those who are responsible for publications of this nature.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) A resolution, which purported to have been passed by the branch mentioned on 2nd June, has appeared in a local newspaper. The resolution appears to be directed against a certain tenant, and the police inform me that previous similar resolutions have produced no effect. As regards the latter part of the Question, I would refer to my Answer to the hon. Member for the City of London on 6th June.†

Administration of Justice at Roscrea.

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on two occasions the proceedings taken before the Roscrea petty sessions court against sixteen men charged with having driven cattle off the land of Mr. Nathaniel Luttrell have been rendered abortive because five out of ten magistrates are opposed to a conviction; and what steps he proposes to take to secure an effective adjudication upon the case.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The magistrates at Roscrea petty sessions have been equally divided in opinion on the three occasions on which this case has come before them. The case now stands adjourned to the 24th instant. My right hon. friend the Attorney-General for Ireland will in due course consider what further proceedings, if any, should be taken in the case.

Intimidation at Craughwell.

Mr. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on 5th June a party of men drove up to the residence of a farmer named Keary, in the Craughwell district of county Galway, and deliberately fired several gun shots into the dwelling house; and whether any arrests have been made in connection with this incident.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The police have reported that on the early morning of 8th June several shots were fired into the house of Thomas Keary. No arrest has been made.

Disturbances at Gurrancoyle.

Mr. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at midnight on Saturday, 8th June, a party of men entered upon a Gurrancoyle farm in the neighbourhood of Athenry, and in spite of the efforts of the police drove off some of the cattle; whether two shots were fired by members of the crowd; and whether he will state what measures the holder of the farm in this case could have taken to protect his own property.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) A prosecution has been directed in this case, and in the circumstances I am not prepared to enter into the details of the offence. It is not for me to enumerate the acts which may be permissible under the law in defence of private property.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 813.

Police Protection to Servers of Writs for Rent in County Cork.

MR. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proceedings in the King's Bench Division on Tuesday, when, owing to the refusal through fear of civil bill officers to serve writs for rent in certain districts in county Cork, Mr. Justice Johnson made an order allowing service to be effected by post; and whether, having regard to the previous attacks made upon postmen while delivering letters supposed to contain writs, adequate police protection will be afforded to servants of the Crown in the performance of their duty.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Answer to both parts of the Question is in the affirmative.

Pay of Men Employed in Building Works Department at Woolwich Arsenal.

MR. W. T. WILSON (Lancashire, Westhoughton): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now see his way to pay the standard rate of wage to the workmen employed in the building works department at Woolwich Arsenal.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) I would refer the hon. Member to the reply I gave to a similar Question of his on the 13th March last to the effect that, when the benefits accruing from Government employment are taken into account, the wages paid in the building works department of the Royal Arsenal are considered fully equal to the rates current in the district. There is no intention of making any change in the present conditions.

Defective Ammunition.

MR. A. L. LEVER (Essex, Harwich): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that defective and ill-assorted ammunition has been served out to some Volunteer battalions, he will arrange that these battalions do not suffer in capitation grants as a consequence of bad shooting resulting therefrom.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) I am not aware that any bad shooting has resulted from defective ammunition served out to Volunteers.

Mr. Justice Dodd and Land Appeals.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether it is proposed to continue Mr. Justice Dodd in the office of a Judge for the hearing of Land Commission appeals.

(*Answered by Mr. Cherry.*) On 23rd February last the Lord Chancellor nominated Mr. Justice Dodd to act, for the term of five years, as an additional Judicial Commissioner for the purpose of hearing appeals under the Land Law Acts, and at the same time nominated him to act for a like term as an additional Judicial Commissioner for the purposes of the Land Purchase Acts. The Judicial Commissioners of the Irish Land Commission regulate among themselves the division of their business, and the Government does not and cannot control them in the matter.

Thefts from Letter-Boxes.

MR. STRAUS (Tower Hamlets, Mile End): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will furnish a Return of the number of prosecutions in cases where letters have been stolen from letter-boxes during the last three years; and whether he proposes to introduce the system in use in Germany for the prevention of such thefts.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) During the last three years there have been only five prosecutions in the United Kingdom for the theft of letters from Post Office letter-boxes and four prosecutions for attempted theft. I am in communication with the German Post Office on the subject of the apparatus in use in street letter-boxes in Germany.

Metropolitan Police—Effect of Granting One Day's Rest in Seven.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): To ask the Secretary for the Home Department whether he is now prepared to furnish the detailed statement and estimate to which he referred on the 26th November last, showing the effect of granting one day's rest in seven to the Metropolitan Police.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The following memorandum, which has been prepared by the receiver for the metropolitan police district, gives the details of the estimate. The estimate has been very carefafully framed, and errs, if at all, on the side of under-estimating rather than on that of over-estimating the cost.

Metropolitan Police.

Approximate Estimate of the additional cost which would be incurred were each man granted one day's leave in seven:—

At present each metropolitan police officer has on an average: twenty-six days per annum in fortnightly leave; eleven days per annum in annual leave; ten days per annum in sick leave. Total, forty-seven days.

The number of working days is consequently 318.

If a weekly instead of a fortnightly holiday were granted each officer will work twenty-six days less, that is, on 292 days only.

At present 1,000 men work 318,000 days a year.

This would be reduced to 292,000 days a year. or 26,000 days less than at present.

To provide for these 26,000 days the number of men required to be added to the force will be 26,000/292=89·04 per 1,000 men, which is equal to an increase of 8·904 per cent.

The number of men now employed at the cost of the Metropolitan Police Fund, that is, excluding all those paid for out of Imperial funds or by public companies and private individuals, is as follows—

—	Total.	Deduct number of men who do not now perform Sunday duty.	Number to whom the 26 additional days' leave would have to be granted.	Augmentation required at the rate of 8·904 per cent.
Uniform :				
Inspectors - - -	464	24	440	39
Sergeants - - -	1,876	148	1,728	154
Constables - - -	13,094	165	12,929	1,151
Criminal Investigation Department :				
Inspectors - - -	41	6	35	3
Sergeants - - -	235	10	225	20
Constables - - -	214	5	209	19
	15,924	358	15,566	1,386

The cost of the force for each rank, based on the present actual expenditure, is—

—	Exclusive of any charge for pension.			Inclusive of charge for prospective pensions.		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Uniform men :						
Inspectors - - - - -	206	15	3	257	5	4
Sergeants - - - - -	130	16	10	156	18	1
Constables - - - - -	99	13	11	115	16	8
Criminal Investigation Department :						
Inspectors - - - - -	269	10	9	336	4	2
Sergeants - - - - -	144	19	3	174	4	7
Constables - - - - -	101	16	11	118	8	11

These rates include the pay of the officers, rent-aid allowance, gratuities, and reserve pay, the cost of clothing, coal allowance, medical attendance, and supervision by superintendents, and a charge of 7½ per cent. to cover all administrative expenses, inclusive of the cost of section-house accommodation.

The charge for the contingent cost of the men's pensions is calculated at—28 per cent. on the annual pay of an inspector; 24 per cent. on the annual pay of a sergeant; 20 per cent. on the annual pay of a constable.

These percentages were fixed by Mr. Finlaison, the late actuary to the National Debt Office, after an exhaustive actuarial investigation.

The cost of the additional men would therefore be—

—	Augmentation required.	Increased charge excluding superannuation.			Increased charge including superannuation.		
		£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Uniform :							
Inspectors - - -	39	8,063	14	9	10,033	8	0
Sergeants - - -	154	20,149	12	4	24,163	4	10
Constables - - -	1,151	114,749	18	1	133,324	3	4
Criminal Investigation Department :							
Inspectors - - -	3	808	12	3	1,008	12	6
Sergeants - - -	20	2,899	5	0	3,484	11	8
Constables - - -	19	1,935	1	5	2,250	9	5
	1,386	148,606	3	10	174,264	9	9

The total sum which would, therefore, have to be raised by means of an addition to the Metropolitan Police rate would be £174,264 9s. 9d., if proper provision is made for the future pensions of the men augmented, or £148,606 3s. 10d., if no provision is made for these pensions. The proceeds of a 1d. rate are estimated at £223,420.

In addition to the men employed at the cost of the police fund there are 51 inspectors, 232 sergeants, and 1,572 constables employed at the cost of the Imperial Exchequer.

These men are employed under varying conditions which necessitate special charges being made for their services, but it is estimated that if the leave be increased by twenty-six days per annum, the additional cost which will have to be provided for by the Treasury will be £21,575 6s. 7d. per annum.

(*Signed*) A. R. PENNEFATHER.

17*th June*, 1907.

Crew of Steamship "Maritta."

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesbrough): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the steamer "Maritta" engaged a crew at Cardiff on 4th June, 1907, and that on the previous voyage the "Maritta" carried six able seamen, while on the present voyage she has sailed without any qualified able seamen; whether he is aware that six ordinary seamen had been engaged at £3 10s. per month to take the place of able seamen, and can he say if the superintendent of the mercantile marine office has brought under the notice of the surveyor of the Board of Trade at Cardiff the question of the manning of this vessel, and what steps, if any, did the Board of Trade take to prevent the "Maritta" from proceeding to sea without a qualified crew of able seamen; and whether, in view of the position that may arise in steamers proceeding on foreign voyages without a competent crew, he will take steps so that British ships may be properly manned in accordance with the recommendation of the Manning Committee's Report of 1896.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) On the previous voyage the "Maritta" carried a carpenter, a boatswain, and six able seamen, the wages of the able seamen being £4 per month. On the 4th instant a carpenter and a boatswain were engaged, and six ordinary seamen, the wages of these seamen being £3 10s. per month. The case was referred by the superintendent of the surveyors, and the surveyor who looked into it reported that these men had been seen personally by him and that he was satisfied that they would be found capable of performing the usual duties of seamen. On testing them, it was evident to him that they understood and could carry out the usual duties that are given to seamen. He also observed them moving the steamer in dock, and noticed that they obeyed orders rapidly and in an intelligent and seamanlike way. He also stated that he was informed that they had served three years at sea, and he understood that they held discharges for twelve months of that time. He added that the master stated that he had selected four of these men to act as helmsmen, and had found them satisfactory on the passage round from London. Each of these men was sent to the wheel, and given various orders in his presence which were evidently understood and executed rapidly. My hon. friend will remember that the Merchant Shipping Act of 1897, which deals with undermanning, was passed in consequence of the Manning Committee's Report. Carefully considered instructions as to procedure under that Act were issued by the Board of Trade to their officers, and, as at present advised, although I am watching carefully the way in which shipowners interpret their obligations under the Acts of 1897 and of 1906 in respect of manning, I do not think that any reason has been shown for altering those instructions.

Patents—Extension of Protection.

MR. J. D. WHITE (Dumbartonshire): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what was the number of patents in force in the United Kingdom on 1st January, 1907, giving, as regards those patents which have been prolonged, particulars as to the years, serial numbering, names of patentees, dates to which prolonged, and references to reports of prolongation proceedings, and showing, as regards the other patents, how many date from each year.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The information asked for by the hon. Member is as follows:—Number of patents in force in the United Kingdom on the 1st day of January, 1907, 68,367.

Patents which have been prolonged, numbering in all three.

Years.	Serial Numberings.	Names of Patentees.	Dates to which prolonged.	References to Reports of Prolongation Proceedings.
1883	5,718	S. C. C. Currie and J. A. Timmis	11th Dec. 1907	P. O. R., vol. 15, p. 63
1888	15,159	J. C. Thompson -	21st Oct. 1909	P. O. R., vol 19, p. 565
1892	8,700	C. F. Cross E. J. Bevan, and C. Beadle	6th May 1911	P. O. R., vol. 23, p. 485

Other patents, numbering in all 68,364, dating from years as follows:—

Year.	Number of Patents.
1893	542
1894	711
1895	845
1896	1,089
1897	1,299
1898	1,654
1899	2,021
1900	2,440
1901	3,608
1902	5,324
1903	15,103
1904	16,118
1905	14,816
1906	2,794

Women Serving on Boards of Guardians.

Mr. HERBERT (Buckinghamshire, Wycombe): To ask the President of the Local Government Board how many members of boards of guardians are women; and in how many cases the election of such women members was a contested election.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) According to the latest figures in my possession the number of lady guardians is 1,093, of whom 1,050 were elected and forty-three were co-opted. Some of the Returns, however, for the present year have not at present been received, and in these cases the numbers have been taken from last year's Returns. I am not able to say in how many cases the election of the women who are serving as guardians was contested.

Boards of Guardians—Visiting Committee of Women.

Mr. HERBERT: To ask the President of the Local Government Board how many boards of guardians have appointed visiting committees of women.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I have not the information desired as regards the number of boards of guardians who have appointed committees of ladies to visit workhouses.

Suggestive Fee for Registration of Vaccination Exemption Certificates.

Captain FABER (Hampshire, Andover): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, seeing that the granting of exemption certificates to conscientious objectors to vaccination is a matter over which vaccination officers have no control, and that the receipt of exemption certificates entails as much clerical and statistical work upon vaccination officers as do vaccination certificates, he can see his way to insert a clause in the new Vaccination Bill to provide for the payment to vaccination officers of a fee for the registration by them of exemption certificates in the same manner as is now provided for the registration of certificates of successful vaccination.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I have had occasion to consider this matter, and I do not see my way to propose the insertion in the Bill of a clause to the effect suggested.

Irish Evicted Tenants—Application of Mr. John Graham.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received and considered an application from Mr. John Graham, of Banagh, Clonelly, county Fermanagh, who was, in 1893, evicted from his holding in Aughaleague, near Ederney, for non-payment of rent.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners cannot trace receipt of the application referred to.

Claim for Disablement Pension for Mr. John Flynn.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any claim has been made by Mr. John Flynn, ex-national teacher, of Newtownforbes, county Longford, for a disablement pension; is he aware that this man and a large family have been reduced to extreme poverty by the loss of his employment; and will he request the Treasury to take his case into immediate and favourable consideration.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) A claim has been made by Mr. Flynn, but unfortunately it cannot be acceded to. He voluntarily quitted the service in January, 1905, and the pension premiums which he had paid were returned to him on his application. He is therefore disqualified for the grant of a disablement pension under No. 10 of the Irish Teachers' Pension Rules, 1897.

Inquiries under the Labourers Acts.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any steps are being taken by the Local Government Board to carry out the numerous inquiries under the Labourers Acts which will soon be going on all over Ireland; and whether it is the intention of the Board to employ such extra help as may be required to carry out existing schemes without unnecessary delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Answer to both parts of the Question is in the affirmative. The staff of the Local Government Board has been increased for the purposes of the Labourers Acts, and up to the present the inquiry into every scheme received by the Board has been held within the statutory period.

Purchase of the Thompson Estate, Clonfin.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any report has yet been received on the question of the ownership, for purposes of sale, of the Thompson estate at Clonfin, county Longford; and, if so, whether any offer has yet been made by the Estates Commissioners for its purchase, with a view to subdivision amongst deserving applicants in North Longford.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that they are unable to add anything to the statement contained in my Answer to the hon. Member's Question on this subject on the 21st February last.†

Evicted Tenants—Case of Patrick Brady.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of Patrick Brady, evicted tenant, of Aghnagarran, county Longford, whose uncle was evicted from the White estate in 1882; and will he direct that this farm of land, which is at present for sale, shall be bought in by the Estates Commissioners with a view to its being resold to Brady and to his restoration to the same.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have received no application for reinstatement from Patrick Brady referred to in the Question.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxix., 1050.

Sale of the O'Brien Estate.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any further progress has been made with the sale of the O'Brien estate at Cornakelly and Corglass, county Longford; is he aware that it is nearly six years since the negotiations for sale of this estate were begun; and will he now press that the promise of Judge Ross to push through this sale will be given effect to, and thus relieve a large body of suffering tenants.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have not yet been able to make an offer to the Land Judge for the purchase of this estate, but intend to do so as soon as some necessary amendments in the rental have been made. The solicitors in charge of the proceedings for sale are now having these amendments made.

Firing at Police Patrol at Riverville (Loughrea).

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether a police patrol was fired on at Riverville, near Loughrea, on the night of the 8th inst.; and, if so, what steps were taken to apprehend the persons concerned in the outrage.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) A prosecution is pending in this case, and I must therefore decline to make any statement upon it.

Untenanted Land of the Estate of Mrs. Anne De Blaquiere at Tubber.

MR. DUFFY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the estate of Mr. William De Blaquiere, Tubber, near Gort, has been purchased by the Estates Commissioners; is he aware that the district is one where small holdings generally are to be found; and whether he will direct the Commissioners to safeguard the untenanted lands on this estate for distribution amongst the people.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) It is presumed that the Question refers to the estate of Anne De Blaquiere. The Estates Commissioners have made a provisional offer for the purchase of the estate, and the owner has expressed her willingness to accept the offer; but a formal agreement for purchase will not be entered into until title has been shown. The Commissioners will, in distributing the untenanted land, pay due regard to the wants of occupiers of small holdings in the locality.

Police and the Delegates of the Gaelic Athletic Association.

MR. DUFFY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that delegates representing the Gaelic Athletic Association from the county Galway, who attended the annual meeting of that body held at Thurles, county Tipperary, on the 24th February last, were shadowed by detectives of the Royal Irish Constabulary and were photographed by them; and, having regard to the non-sectarian and non-political character of the association, will he state what was the object of these proceedings.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The hon. Member appears to have been misinformed. I learn from the police authorities that the delegates referred to were neither shadowed nor photographed by the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Evicted Tenants—Application of Patrick Skerry.

MR. DUFFY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners received an application from an evicted tenant named Patrick Skerry, Fiddane, Gort; whether he is aware that Skerry was evicted out of Lord Gough's estate, Gort, in September, 1888, for the non-payment of two years rent; and whether, in view of the negotiations going on for the purchase of this estate by the Commissioners, the application of Mr. Skerry will be considered with a view to reinstatement, or providing him with an equivalent holding on the estate, when the purchase is complete.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have made full inquiries into the case of Patrick Skerry, and have decided that they can take no action in the matter.

Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of John Keating.

Mr. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have inquired into the case of John Keating, of Little Graigne, South Wexford, a sub-tenant on the Marquis of Ely's estate, who was evicted some years ago by the middleman named H. P. Gahan, who is a large farmer, and who has now purchased his holding, which includes John Keating's farm; and if the Commissioners, before making the vesting order in this case, will require Keating's holding to be given back to him so that he may get the same chance of purchasing as the other tenants.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have inquired into John Keating's application for reinstatement in an acre of land which he formerly held as sub-tenant, and have decided to take no action in the case.

Army Expenditure.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the increase on Army Expenditure in the financial year 1905–6 compared with that in 1895–6 and 1885–6, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The figures are as follows:—

	1905–6.	1895–6.	1885–6.
	£	£	£
Net Expenditure under Army Estimates - - - -	28,478,863	18,470,535	23,480,086
Less Loan Annuities - -	1,020,824	131,491	—
	27,458,039	18,339,044	23,480,086
Add Loan Expenditure - -	1,287,416	619,676	—
	28,745,455	18,958,720	23,480,086

Increase as compared with 1895–6 - £9,786,735.
„ „ 1885–6 - £5,265,369.

The figures for 1885–6 include expenditure on the Egyptian Expenditure.

The Territorial Force and Regimental Depots.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, when the new arrangement whereby recruits will pass direct to their battalions and will not be retained at the regimental depots comes into operation, the existing establishment of these depots will be maintained; and, if so, what purpose it will serve.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: To ask the Secretary of State for War what is the total number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and men employed in the regimental depots of the infantry of the Line, and what proportion, if any, of these will be retained when the new arrangement whereby recruits will proceed direct to their battalion comes into operation; whether, when that time arrives, the present strength of the depots at Winchester (Rifle Brigade and 60th), Newcastle, Lichfield, and Bury will be maintained; and, if not, by what numbers will they, respectively, be reduced.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The question of sending Line recruits direct to Home battalions for training is still under consideration, and nothing is yet settled definitely. It is largely a question of barrack accommodation. In any case the regular staff, which it is proposed to maintain for the 3rd battalions at existing depot barracks, viz., nine officers and seventy-six other ranks, is held to be sufficient for the purpose of training not merely the recruits of the special contingent, but, if necessary, recruits for the Line as well.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Small Admiralty Craft.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what second and third-class cruisers, naming them, have been built to replace the number of small craft removed from the Navy List in the early part of 1905; and how many, and which, of these are in commission or are ready for immediate service.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON, Dundee): No necessity has yet arisen for building the type of vessel named, but the "Boadicea," now under construction at Pembroke, is the first of a new class. Since the date named in the Question, eight scouts and three third-class cruisers have been completed.

Refrigerating Machinery for Ships' Magazines.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to the fact that, in consequence of recent experience of the decomposition and deterioration of smokeless powders in hot magazines, the Admiralty have found it to be urgently necessary to ask for tenders for refrigerating machinery for the magazines of our ships, involving large additional expenditure on Vote 8; whether he is aware that Vote 8, as presented, does not include any expenditure on refrigerating machinery; and whether the Government will follow the accepted practice in this case, where the Vote has been presented but not discussed in Committee of Supply, by presenting a Supplementary Estimate.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: It is true that Vote 8 for the current year does not include any specific provision for refrigerating machinery, but I am not prepared at this date to affirm either that there will not be sufficient funds in the several sections of that Vote to meet the charge for such machinery falling in the current year, or that a supplementary grant for naval services will be needed. I hope, however, in accordance with the accepted practice, to make a statement on the general subject when Vote 8 is moved in Committee of Supply.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon): Will not a sum approaching something like £500,000 be required for this purpose, and will this large sum have to be taken from other necessary services?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: No.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: But Vote 8 as originally drawn did not provide for that. Is it intended to have a Supplementary Estimate or not?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I cannot yet say if one will be necessary.

MR. BELLAIRS: Is it not customary in cases involving such large sums for us to pay our way as we go along?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I am, with the consent of the Treasury, following the accepted practice in this case.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): Will any considerable portion of this machinery have to be supplied during the current financial year?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Yes, and a certain sum will be required this year in consequence.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): Is it intended that all vessels shall have this refrigerating apparatus?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I have answered that on more than one occasion.

MR. GRETTON (Rutland): Is it not urgent to provide it at once?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I do not think so.

Torpedo Destroyer Armaments.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, for the purpose of increasing their fighting efficiency against torpedo craft, the river class of destroyers are each being armed with three 8-cwt. 12-pounder guns instead of five 6-pounder guns; whether these guns, instead of being ordered from Woolwich or elsewhere, are being taken without replacement from a large number of ships; and, as these guns were used for boat work or landing parties, and were also mounted on distinct permanent mountings as part of the armament of the ships, will he state if it is the intention of the Admiralty to replace them.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: In the opinion of the Admiralty it is not desirable in the interest of the naval service to give information on matters connected with re-armaments.

Mr. BELLAIRS: Is my right hon. friend aware that this information has already appeared in the newspapers, and that these guns have been removed from the ships and put on the destroyers? And he is further aware that he stated, in answer to a Question, that no guns had been removed?

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I have nothing to add to the statement I have already made.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered the Question. It is of very considerable public interest and one in which Members on both sides of the House are interested.

Channel Fleet.

Sir BERKELEY SHEFFIELD (Lincolnshire, Brigg): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many unarmoured cruisers are at present attached to the Channel Fleet.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Three, as stated at page 269 of the Navy List.

Sir BERKELEY SHEFFIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many torpedo-boat destroyers are at present attached to the Channel Fleet.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: None. They are sent as occasion requires—six and a scout last week, thirty-six and three scouts next week

Royal Yacht Contract.

Mr. WATT (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many firms of shipbuilders were asked to compete, or did compete, for the contract for the new royal yacht; whether these tenders included the upholstery and decorative work of the yacht; who was the successful tenderer, and at what price including everything; was the contract carried out by the Admiralty exactly as accepted; and, if not, will he say what alteration was made with the upholstery and decorative sub-contract, and why.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I am informed that nine firms were invited to compete, and eight submitted designs and prices. The tenders did include upholstery and decorative work. I understand that Messrs. A. & J. Inglis' tender was accepted at a price of £120,000 to include everything, subject to such modifications as might be found necessary. These modifications were afterwards found to be so important that eventually Messrs. Inglis submitted a new design to meet the altered requirements. At the same time they were relieved from the duty of providing furniture and decoration for the royal apartments, and a contract for this part of the work was placed with Messrs. Waring. Inglis' price was ultimately fixed at £123,500, and the sum to be paid to Waring's at £6,500.

Mr. WATT: Do I understand that by this alteration the price of the yacht was increased by £3,000 on the first estimate?

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The price was increased a great deal more than that.

Mr. WATT: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the designer to Messrs. Maple also designed for Messrs. Inglis, whose contract was rejected?

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: That was before my time altogether.

Greenwich Observatory.

Mr. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can state the result of the negotiations between the Admiralty and the London County

Council with reference to the generating station at Greenwich.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: No statement can be made yet as to the result of the negotiations, which are still proceeding.

MR. ASHLEY: Will the right hon. Gentleman press the matter forward? It has been going on a long time.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I will do my best.

The Unrest in India—Cases of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh.

MR. MACKARNESS (Berkshire, Newbury): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, by the State Prisoners Regulation, 1818, under which Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh have been deported, it is provided that when it may be determined that any person shall be placed under restraint otherwise than in pursuance of some judicial proceeding the grounds of such determination shall from time to time come under revision, and the person affected thereby shall at all times be allowed freely to bring to the notice of the Governor General in Council all circumstances relating to the supposed ground of such determination, or to the manner in which it may be executed; and whether either of the above-named State prisoners have availed themselves of the permission so accorded by the Regulation.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. MORLEY, Montrose Burghs): The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative; the Answer to the second part, according to the latest information in my possession, is in the negative.

MR. MACKARNESS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether at the time of their arrest and deportation, or at any other time, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh made any protests against the treatment to which they were subjected or raised any defence to the charges alleged against them; and, if so, what was the nature of the protests or defence.

MR. MORLEY: According to my information, the Answer is in the negative.

MR. MACKARNESS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether at the time of the arrest and deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, they were informed of the grounds upon which it was thought necessary to arrest and deport them; and, if so, what were those grounds.

MR. MORLEY: The persons mentioned knew that they were arrested under the State Prisoners Regulation, and one of them has since applied for a copy of the order authorising his arrest. He had a copy given him and he was informed in the terms of the Regulation that the reason for his arrest and deportation was to preserve a portion of His Majesty's dominions from internal commotion.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he will say whether Lala Lajpat Rai and others, recently arrested summarily in India, are considered as political prisoners; and what treatment is accorded and where they are detained.

MR. MORLEY: The two persons referred to are officially designated State prisoners. They are detained at Mandalay, where they are lodged in houses within the fort. They receive allowances for maintenance suited to their positions in life.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there is any difference between the treatment of these prisoners and political prisoners in this country; whether they have any means of communicating at all with their friends outside, or whether, under any conditions, their friends have access to them?

MR. MORLEY: I believe my hon. friend and I have fought together the battle of political prisoners before now. If he will put a Question down, I do not doubt that the Answer will be satisfactory.

MR. MACKARNESS: May I ask whether the charge of causing internal commotion is not one to be dealt with by the Penal Code, passed forty years after this Ordinance, and whether, under these circumstances, there is any jurisdiction under the Ordinance of 1818 to deal with these offences?

MR. MORLEY: My hon. and learned friend being a lawyer, must see that a Question of that kind must have notice.

MR. O'GRADY (Leeds, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the fact that Lala Lajpat Rai was not connected with the agitation carried on by Ajit Singh, and that no specific charge of preaching sedition has been alleged against him, in what particular did the Regulation of 1818 apply, giving power to the Indian Government to order the arrest and deportation of Lajpat Rai.

MR. MORLEY: It has never been admitted, and is not the case, that there is no connection between Lajpat Rai and the agitation carried on by Ajit Singh. The Regulation of 1818 gives full power to the Government to take action under it whenever reasons of State, including the security of the British dominions from internal commotion, require any person to be placed under personal restraint.

MR. O'GRADY: Am I to understand, then, that there has been a definite charge against Lajpat Rai of causing sedition?

MR. MORLEY: I have already said, almost too often, in answer to my hon. friend and to one or two hon. Gentlemen below the gangway on this side, that it is entirely adverse to the public interest to go into details as to the circumstances which the Government of India, with my full assent, thought justified the application of this law—the law of the land.

MR. O'GRADY: May I ask, if it can be proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Lajpat Rai did not preach sedition, is there to be no appeal or redress then?

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): May I ask whether, if it is so dangerous for Lajpat Rai to go back to the Punjab because it is in such an inflammable condition, the right hon. Gentleman would make an inquiry into the condition of the people and ascertain the causes of disaffection?

MR. MORLEY: Does not my hon. friend feel assured that I am all day long inquiring into it?

SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.): May I ask whether it is a fact that Lajpat Rai was only present at one of the many public meetings which were organised and addressed by Ajit Singh?

MR. MORLEY: To the best of my information, that is not the case.

SIR H. COTTON: At how many then?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Did the right hon. Gentleman hear the observation made by the Member for Sheffield, "Why not shoot Lajpat Rai?" That is a shameful observation. Withdraw what you said, Sir.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I rise to a point of order. I beg respectfully to ask you, Sir, whether it is in order for an hon. Gentleman in this House to make the suggestion publicly that one of these British subjects should be shot.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): Perhaps it is unnecessary to say I made no observation of any sort. I spoke to myself.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I heard you myself.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: We all heard it here.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: With all respect, an hon. Gentleman who speaks aloud in this House speaks to the whole Empire. I wish to ask is it consistent with order and practice in this House that a clear incitement to murder should be made?

*MR. SPEAKER: I certainly did not hear the expression.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: We all heard it here.

*MR. SPEAKER: I said the expression did not reach my ears.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: They listen to private conversations. [NATIONALIST shouts of "Oh, oh!")

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Withdraw. How dare you say that!

*MR. SPEAKER: The observation did not reach my ears. That is all I am prepared to say as to that. I should like to add this, that if the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield could control the observations which he is always interjecting, not only during Question time, but during debate, it would be to the general advantage of the House.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I with great respect ask the Secretary for India whether, in view of the very serious condition of affairs in India, and the damage and exasperation likely to be caused by the reporting of an observation made in this House that an Indian prisoner should be shot, he would at once take measures to dissociate not only himself, but the Government, entirely from the statement?

MR. MORLEY: I think all I need to say is that it is very fortunate that the hon. Gentleman is not, and never has been, in any position of executive responsibility.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to give notice that, if anything should happen to any of these Indian prisoners imprisoned without trial, a very considerable section of Members in this House—certainly Members representing Ireland—will take steps to put the blame on the shoulders of those who are responsible.

MR. O'GRADY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he was consulted by cable by the Government of India before the order for the arrest and deportation of Lajpat Rai was actually issued; and whether he has since made any inquiries as to whether there were charges sufficiently grave alleged against Lajpat Rai to warrant the case coming under the Regulations of 1818.

MR. MORLEY: The case being deemed a case of urgency, the Governor-General in Council decided at once to issue the two warrants, and immediately telegraphed the circumstances and their decision to me. Without hesitation I approved. The Answer to the second part of the Question is in the affirmative.

SIR H. COTTON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will make further inquiries as to the degree of complicity, if any, between Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh?

MR. MORLEY: No. I do not think I can promise that, because I have had the advantage of long conversations with Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and I do not think it is necessary for me to make further inquiries of the kind my hon. friend demands.

SIR H. COTTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that it is universally affirmed in India that there is no connection whatever——

*MR. SPEAKER: Will the hon. Member kindly put any further Question that he has on the Paper?

The Nawab of Dacca.

MR. O'GRADY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the Government of India has granted a loan of 3¼ lakhs of rupees to the Nawab of Dacca; whether a larger loan is to be granted; whether he can state the purposes for which the loan was granted; and what are the terms as to repayment and interest charged.

MR. MORLEY: The Government of India have authorised an advance of £21,000 to the Nawab of Dacca, in accordance with the practice of lending money to land-holders and other notabilities which is well recognised and not at all infrequent in India. I understand that a proposal for a further loan will shortly be referred for my sanction. The purpose of the loan was to maintain the stability of an important family by preventing the Nawab's share of the estate from passing into the hands of outsiders. I am unable to state the terms on which it was granted.

MR. LUPTON: Was this loan made in order to secure the adhesion of the Nawab to the partition of Bengal?

MR. MORLEY: I am informed it had nothing whatever to do with it.

Calcutta High Court Sentences.

MR. O'GRADY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the character of the sentences passed by Mr. Justice Stephen, of the Calcutta High Court, upon prisoners for petty crimes, in one case a man of seventy-five years of age being sentenced to ten years imprisonment for attempting to steal an oil canister from a courtyard, another case of four years for stealing a pair of boots exposed for sale in the street, and another case of six years' imprisonment on a young man for theft from his employer; whether he is aware that these sentences are causing apprehension and dissatisfaction in Calcutta; and, if so, will he bring the matter to the attention of the Government of India with a view to inquiry and revision of such sentences.

MR. MORLEY: My attention has not been called to the cases referred to in the Question, but I will make inquiry.

Chenab Canal.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the capital sum devoted to the creation of the Chenab Canal was found out of the revenues of the Government of India, which are chiefly collected from small farmers; whether it is incumbent on that Government in the interest of the general taxpayer to recover from those who immediately profit by the construction of such works of irrigation such increased payments as are proportionate to the advantages conferred; and whether the increase in the prosperity of the cultivators affected is greater than the increase in the payments required of them by the Government.

MR. MORLEY: It is the case that the general revenues of India are financially responsible for the capital outlay on the Chenab Canal, and for that of other undertakings of a similar character. The rates charged to cultivators taking the water are fixed on the principle that they should bear some relation to the economic value of the commodity supplied, while leaving a substantial margin of profit to those who use the water. As regards the last part of the Question I would refer the hon. Member to the Answer given to Question No. 25, dated 11th June, 1907, as to the selling value of land in the Chenab Colony.†

Trade Descriptions for Imports.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any of the self-governing Colonies have similar regulations to those now adopted by Canada as regards the proper description of imported goods; and, if so, will he make the necessary representations to secure that Ireland may be enabled to learn the extent of her annual trade with those Colonies.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): I believe that all Colonies with a Customs tariff provide for the proper description of imported goods; but the regulation referred to relates primarily to the nature and value of the goods, and not necessarily to the country of origin.

Canadian Customs Memorandum.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the Canadian Customs Memorandum, dated 1st May, 1907, and in particular to the second clause, to the effect that every invoice shall contain a sufficient and correct description of the goods imported; whether, in view of the facilities thereby given to distinguish goods of Irish origin, he will represent to the Canadian Government the advisability of maintaining this distinction in the preparation of their annual statistical Returns, and thereby enable Ireland to estimate exactly the extent of her trade with Canada.

MR. CHURCHILL: I am advised that the regulation to which the hon. Member refers looks rather to the proper trade description and valuation of goods than to the country of origin, but I see no objection to asking the Dominion Government if they will give such instructions as may enable the separation of the exports of Irish produce from those of the produce of Great Britain.

Congo Annexation Bill.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 1221.

Foreign Affairs whether he has any information as to the provisions of the Congo Annexation Bill; and, if so, whether he can state how far this Bill will make possible the reforms advocated and urged by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): The terms of the proposed Congo Annexation Bill have not yet been published, and I cannot say what they will be.

British West Indians and the Galapagos Islands.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any official information showing that a number of British West Indians have been held in a state of slavery at the Galapagos Islands, and have been chained and beaten and otherwise maltreated; if so, what steps he intends to take to prevent the recurrence of such incidents; and whether he will demand prompt and adequate compensation for the victims and punishment to the persons implicated.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I would refer the hon. Member to the Answer returned to the hon. Member for Mid Armagh on the same subject yesterday as to the facts.† The question of what steps should be taken to repatriate the men referred to is now under consideration.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman will make stringent inquiries as to whether these natives have been encouraged to gamble and borrow money with a view to keeping them in a state of servitude?

SIR EDWARD GREY: The point is this. They owe money to the company, and because they owe money they have been prevented so far from leaving the islands. I do not consider that they ought to be prevented from leaving the islands, and what is now under consideration is what steps should be taken to secure their repatriation.

Hague Conference.

MR. GIBBS (Bristol, W.): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Tewkesbury Division of Gloucestershire, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if his attention has been called to announcements made by various foreign Ministers as to the attitude of their Governments on matters to be raised at the Hague Conference; and whether some similar statement can now be made with propriety in respect of the policy to be pursued by this country.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The only announcements by foreign Ministers which I have seen have been of a very general character, and similar in scope to expressions of opinion which had been previously made on behalf of His Majesty's Government. I think as much publicity has already been given to our views as to those of any other country. The Conference has already met, the various delegates are in communication with each other, and what further statements are made must depend upon their deliberations.

British Consular Staff on the Upper Congo.

MR. GIBBS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the fact that the British consular staff in the Upper Congo are at present compelled to utilise the steamers of the missionary societies in order to travel on the waterways, His Majesty's Government will consider the advisability of providing the British consular staff with the requisite means of conveyance, independent of outside assistance.

SIR EDWARD GREY: His Majesty's Consul at Boma has just been provided with a steamer, and the question of supplying His Majesty's Vice-Consuls at Leopoldville and Stanleyville with similar means of conveyance is under consideration.

Housing of the Poorer Classes at Cairo.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, seeing that in Cairo the poor quarters of Boulak, Abassieh, Demerdash, Ghamra, and Old Cairo have in large part been demolished to make way for middle-class and upper-class dwellings, and that no provision has been made for the poorer classes ejected by the demolition, he will advise the Eygptian Government to prepare a scheme for the better housing of the working classes of that city.

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† See page 155.

SIR EDWARD GREY: His Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that the Eygptian Government are neglecting this question, but the matter is not one on which any advice can usefully be tendered. It is very desirable that the subject should receive attention in Egypt as elsewhere, but progress must be gradual.

Egyptian Judges of Appeal.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Procureur Général, Mr. E. K. Corbet, C.M.G., Messrs. J. L. Willmore and V. S. Alston, Judges of the Native Court of Appeal in Egypt, were originally appointed by the Egyptian Government without having had any previous legal training whatsoever; and whether he will advise the Egyptian Government to consider the advisability of placing them on the retired list.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I do not know what the legal training was in all these cases. I have no doubt that the qualifications were considered when the appointments were made, and I am not aware of any reason whatever for interfering with them.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is the right hon. Baronet not aware that these gentlemen know nothing whatever of law; that it is a Punch and Judy tribunal?

SIR EDWARD GREY: My information, especially with regard to one case, is directly to the contrary.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: And who is that?

SIR EDWARD GREY: Mr. Willmore. With regard to all, I have no reason to suppose that they are in any way not qualified for their duties.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Having regard to my responsibility for putting the Question, will the right hon. Gentleman take the trouble to inquire further?

SIR EDWARD GREY: I have no reason to think there is any need for inquiry.

Egyptian School Regulations.

MR. SWIFT MACNIELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will advise the British agent at Cairo to consider the expediency of cancelling Article 89 of the Official Code of Regulations, relating to school organisation and discipline, which enacts that pupils are strictly forbidden, under penalty of expulsion from the schools, to supply any information to newspapers, to write any letters or articles to newspapers, or to become agents for any paper.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I have not seen the article in question, but the Code of Regulations must be decided by the Egyptian Educational Authorities.

Foreigners and Income Tax Exemption.

SIR WILLIAM BULL (Hammersmith): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will cause to be laid upon the Table of the House the two Treasury letters of 1842 granting exemption from income-tax to foreigners residing abroad on the dividends of Colonial and foreign loans cashed in England on their behalf.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): Presumably the hon. Member refers to the Treasury letters of 7th October, 1842, and 5th August, 1856, the material portions of which were laid upon the Table by me, at the hon. Member's request, on 10th December last.

Income Tax on Foreign Securities Interest.

SIR WILLIAM BULL: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the interest of Foreign Government securities which is not payable in the United Kingdom, but has to be sent abroad for payment, such as French Rentes, Italian Rentes, and Jàpanese Internal Loan, are assessable under Schedule C, as are the dividends of Colonial and Foreign Governments which are payable in the United Kingdom, such as Japanese Sterling Loans.

MR. ASQUITH: Interest on all Foreign and Colonial securities is chargeable if and when received in the United Kingdom, whether the interest be paid in this country or be collected through an agent. In the former case, it is chargeable under Schedule C; in the latter, under Schedule D.

Income Tax Refund.

SIR WILLIAM BULL: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what legal documentary evidence is required by the Inland Revenue for a refund of income-tax to prove the ownership of securities standing in name or names other than that of the claimant; or whether an affidavit from the person or persons in whose name or names the investment stands would not be accepted as sufficient evidence when there is no deed of trust.

MR. ASQUITH: On the Question of the documentary evidence required, I can add nothing to the Answers which I gave to the hon. Member on 22nd March, 1906.† I am not prepared to say that a simple affidavit from the person or persons in whose name or names the investment stands, unsupported by any independent documentary evidence, would be sufficient evidence when there is no deed of trust. The circumstances of each case have to be considered on their merits.

Suez Canal Shares.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he has considered the desirability of offering to the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia, of New Zealand, of India, of Ceylon, of the Straits Settlements, of Hongkong, of Natal, and of Mauritius, at the current market rate, a proportion of the shares in the Suez Canal Company acquired for the United Kingdom by the late Earl of Beaconsfield, in consideration of the interest in that waterway of those Governments.

MR. ASQUITH: No, Sir. I do not think it would be practicable to act upon the suggestion.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how much these shares have increased in value since they were purchased by Lord Beaconsfield?

MR. ASQUITH: No, Sir.

London's Local Taxation Grants.

SIR GEORGE FARDELL (Paddington, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, in their final Report published in 1901 recommended a new scheme of grants from the Local Taxation Account which would have the effect of raising London's proportion of such grants from about 18 per cent. to over 25 per cent.; and will he say whether the total increase in the grants to London proposed under that scheme would have amounted to over £1,000,000 per annum.

MR. ASQUITH: In the Report signed by the majority of members of the Royal Commission it was recommended that certain new and increased grants should be paid through the Local Taxation Account to the local authorities throughout England and Wales, and it was estimated that the additional cost to the Exchequer would be about £2,500,000 a year. So far as I am aware, the Report did not show how much of this additional relief would accrue to London, or how London's share of the total grants would be affected.

Local Taxation—Estate Duty.

SIR WILLIAM BULL: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he has taken steps to ascertain whether the proportion of Estate Duty payable into the Local Taxation (England and Wales) Account under Section 19 of The Finance Act, 1904, has proved to be an adequate equivalent of the share of the Probate Duty formerly allocated to that account under Section 21 of The Local Government Act, 1888; and, if not, whether he would be prepared to make the necessary investigation, inasmuch as Exchequer contributions have already been paid to local authorities on the basis of this estimated equivalent for twelve years.

MR. ASQUITH: There is really no need for any investigation. Prior to 1894, what was paid to the Local Taxation (England and Wales) Account was four-fifths of the Probate Duty Grant, the Probate Duty Grant being one-half of the proceeds of the Probate Duties. As the Probate Duties were at the rate of 3 per cent. on personal property, when it exceeded £1,000 in value, and at lower rates on property of lesser value, the

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† See (4) *Debates*, cliv., 620.

Probate Duty Grant was slightly under 1½ per cent. on the aggregate amount of such property. Under the Act of 1894, the contribution is fixed at an amount equal to 1½ per cent on the aggregate amount of such property, and therefore must have been slightly in excess of the contribution that would have been made on the ante-1894 basis. As a matter of fact, the contribution to the Local Taxation Account for England and Wales has, since 1894, averaged more than £100,000 per annum in excess of the average contribution for the five years 1889–1893, and, in addition, an average of £125,000 a year has, during the last seven years, been paid in relief of rates on Tithe Rent Charge under the Act of 1899.

Care of the Feeble-Minded.

SIR JOHN TUKE (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, pending the production of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, and pending legislation founded on the said Report, he will take any steps to supplement the Lunacy Commission so as to relieve the existing congestion in the Department and to procure adequate inspection of asylums.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): The number of the Lunacy Commissioners is fixed by statute, and while I am fully alive to the fact that the great increase in the duties which they have to carry out has caused a considerable congestion of business, to meet which an addition to their staff may be required, I could not initiate legislation pending the presentation of the Report of the Royal Commission.

SIR JOHN TUKE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that two or three of the Commissioners have had to find substitutes, and those substitutes had no special qualification for the office?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid I can add nothing to my Answer.

Edalji Case.

*CAPTAIN FABER (Hampshire, Andover): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, before the Home Office Vote is taken, he will print all the police reports and communications which have been addressed to the Home Office on the subject of Edalji since the outrages commenced to the present day.

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. As I intimated in reply to several Questions yesterday, I do not propose to publish any further Papers in connection with this case.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many police reports upon the Edalji case are now in existence which have not been shown to him or his friends; and whether any of them were before the Edalji Committee.

MR. GLADSTONE: No police reports have been shown to Mr. Edalji or to his friends. All the documents in the possession of the Home Office were submitted to Sir Arthur Wilson and his colleagues.

Compensation for Wrongful Imprisonment.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will lay Papers showing the sentences passed upon and the periods of imprisonment undergone by all persons who have received compensation in respect of such sentences and imprisonment in the last twenty years.

MR. GLADSTONE: If the hon. Member will be good enough to put this down as an unstarred Question, I shall be glad to give him the information asked for without mentioning the names of the persons compensated.

Street Trading by Girls.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, if he will grant a Return of the local authorities which have made by-laws under the Employment of Children Act, 1903, and the names of those authorities which have framed regulations prohibiting street trading by girls under sixteen years of age.

MR. GLADSTONE: I hope to issue later in the year a full Report on the working of the Act, which will include the information for which my hon. friend asks. If, however, he desires to have the particulars he mentions in advance the Return can be granted.

British Commercial Travellers Abroad.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that in nearly every foreign country a British commercial traveller has to obtain a costly licence before he can solicit a single order for British goods; if any corresponding duty is levied upon the agents of foreign firms for the privilege of soliciting orders in the United Kingdom for foreign goods; and, in the contrary case, if he will endeavour to bring about free interchange of practice.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): I would refer the hon. Member to the memorandum entitled "Commercial Travellers" issued last year as a Command Paper (Cd. 3241), from which he will see that the licences required to be taken out can only be described as "costly" in the case of comparatively few of the more important countries. The charge for licences is in all cases the same for travellers of all foreign nationalities, and there is no differentiation against British travellers. No licence is required to be taken out by foreign commercial travellers in the United Kingdom. The attention of the Board of Trade has on various occasions been directed to this matter, and such steps as seemed possible have already been taken with a view to the reduction of the charges in the case of certain countries, but without any satisfactory result at present. The matter, however, will continue to receive attention.

S.S. "Ethelburga."

MR. HALL (Yorkshire, W.R., Normanton): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the steamer "Ethelburga" engaged a crew at the port of Glasgow on the 7th June, and that only two qualified able seamen were engaged; whether he can state if the superintendent at Glasgow reported this case to the Board of Trade surveyor; and whether the surveyor was of the opinion that the ship was fully and properly manned by qualified men.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I find that the deck hands engaged on the "Ethelburga" on the 7th instant were one boatswain, two A.B.'s, three seamen, one ordinary seaman, one apprentice. As the manning complied with the minimum requirements, the case was not referred to the surveyors, and no report has been made by them with regard to it.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): Will the right hon. Gentleman define what he means by "three seamen." I assume they must be either A.B.'s or ordinary seamen.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Three ordinary seamen, certainly.

S.S. "Moorfield."

MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the steamer "Moorfield" engaged a crew at the port of Cardiff on the 4th June, 1907; whether he is aware that on the previous voyage the "Moorfield" had as deck hands six able seamen and one ordinary seaman; whether he is aware that on the present voyage the number of able seamen has been reduced to five; and whether the superintendent at Cardiff reported this case to the Board of Trade surveyor that it might be ascertained as to whether the vessel was seaworthy with regard to the manning.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The facts are as stated by the hon. Member, but on the previous voyage three out of the six A.B.'s did not produce proof of their title to that rating. It was not necessary to refer the present case to the surveyors with regard to undermanning, as the minimum requirements as to manning were complied with.

S.S. "Adelina Patti."

MR. JENKINS (Chatham): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that on 3rd June, 1907, a crew was engaged for the steamship "Adelina Patti," at Newport, Monmouthshire; that only three qualified A.B.'s were signed on the articles of the ship; and that on the previous voyage the steamship "Adelina Patti" carried six A.B.'s; whether he can state if the superintendent at Newport directed the Board of Trade surveyor's attention to the manning of the steamship "Adelina Patti"; and whether any steps were taken to ascertain whether the steamer was manned by an efficient crew.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I find that a boatswain, three A.B.'s, and three ordinary seamen at the full A.B. rate of wages were engaged on the "Adelina Patti" on the 3rd instant. The vessel had more than the minimum number of deck hands required, and the case was not referred to the surveyor. On the previous voyage this vessel carried a boatswain and six A.B.'s.

MR. JENKINS: Is the right hon. Gentleman of opinion that three able seamen are sufficient for a vessel of this tonnage?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: This matter was very carefully considered by a Committee of this House some time ago, and regulations were framed in compliance with its recommendation. I am told that this vessel has complied with these requirements.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesbrough): To what regulations is the right hon. Gentleman referring?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The regulations made under the Act of 1897 by the Board of Trade.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON: Are we to understand that these regulations allow a vessel of this tonnage to proceed to sea with less than six qualified able seamen?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I am not quite sure as to the tonnage of this vessel. I will look into that matter. My hon. friend knows perfectly well what the regulations are, and our surveyor reports that in this case the regulations were complied with.

S.S. "Resolute."

MR. W. E. HARVEY (Derbyshire, N.E.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that a crew was engaged for the steamer "Resolute" on the 6th June at the port of Sunderland; whether he is aware that this vessel only engaged three qualified able seamen; whether he can state if the superintendent reported the matter to the Board of Trade surveyor at the above port; and what action, if any, was taken.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I find that the deck hands engaged on the "Resolute" on the 10th instant were one boatswain, three A.B.'s, one ordinary seaman, and two deck hands. The two last served in the ship on the previous voyage as A.B.'s, but could not be entered as A.B.'s on the present voyage as they were unable to prove their title to that rating. The manning complied with the minimum requirements, and it was therefore not necessary to report the case to the surveyor or to take any special action with regard to it.

Maintenance of Non-provided School Buildings.

MR. MASSIE (Wiltshire, Cricklade): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been drawn to the diversity in the practice of various local education authorities with regard to payments made by them for wear and tear in non-provided school buildings and the sums apparently paid by some authorities in excess of their legal obligation; whether he will obtain a Return from all local education authorities showing the methods they adopt both in assessing the amount of their liability and in discharging it; and whether he will issue a general circular giving the authorities such directions as will secure that the practice is uniform throughout the country, and that expenditure under this head is kept within strictly legal limits.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): My right hon. friend has asked me to answer this Question. The matter to which it relates has been brought before the Local Government Board and the Board of Education in various forms during the last few years, and the Board of Education issued a circular with regard to it in May, 1904, intimating the view of the Local Government Board that a local education authority cannot legally enter into contracts with school managers for the commutation of the expenses of maintenance for which the local education authority are liable. The Education Act, 1902, leaves, however, a certain amount of discretion to local education authorities with regard to the amount which they will pay on account of wear and tear in non-provided schools. I have no authority to give directions which would have the effect of securing a uniform practice throughout the country in this matter, and it does not appear to me that there would be any advantage in obtaining a Return on the subject. If in any particular case it is considered that the action of the local education authority is illegal, it can be raised at the audit of their accounts.

Poor Law Expenditure.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is now able to state the expenditure out of loans on Poor Law administration for England and Wales down to March, 1906, it being now fifteen months since the end of that financial year; and, if so, will he state the amount of expenditure out of loans and the amount of expenditure not out of loans, but including the expenditure of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, respectively.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: The total expenditure of Poor Law Authorities for purposes connected with the relief of the poor during the year ended March, 1906, was approximately as follows:—Expenditure out of loans, £998,000; Expenditure not out of loans, £14,036,000. These figures include that portion of the expenditure of the Metropolitan Asylums Board which did not relate exclusively to their hospitals for infectious disease.

Local Taxation Grants—London's Share.

Sir GEORGE FARDELL: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what were the amounts of London's share of the Local Taxation (England and Wales) Account in 1889–90 and 1905–6; what were the deductions made from those amounts in each of those years respectively and paid to the Receiver for the Metropolitan Police district; what were the amounts, in each of those years respectively, of the grants which the London County Council are compelled to make out of the Exchequer Contribution Account to guardians of the poor, metropolitan borough councils, public vaccinators, and other authorities respectively; what were the net amounts, in each of those years respectively, left in the Exchequer Contribution Account of the London County Council and available for the reduction of the general county rate; what were the amounts of the other grants and payments which the London County Council is required, under the Local Government Act, 1888, to make to local authorities out of the general county account; and what was the final effect upon the finances of the London County Council in each year.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this Question, but I must point out that the information desired by the hon. Member cannot conveniently be dealt with by means of an Answer to a Question; but if, as I presume, his object is to show that the amounts which the London County Council are required to pay to other authorities in London out of the Exchequer Contribution Account and otherwise has considerably increased in the period to which he refers, I may state generally that this is no doubt the case.

London Medical Officers' Salaries.

Sir WILLIAM BULL: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, seeing that the discontinued grants towards the salaries of medical officers of health and sanitary inspectors were made under the Public Health Act of 1875, which does not apply to London, and that consequently London received no share in these grants; that, notwithstanding this fact, the grant was included in the basis adopted for the distribution of a large part of the grants from the Local Taxation (England and Wales) Account under the Local Government Act, 1888; and that from 1888 to the present time the London County Council has in effect received no grant in respect of sanitary officers, but has been required by Parliament to pay to the metropolitan borough councils one-half the salaries of the medical officers of health and sanitary inspectors employed by them with the approval of the Local Government Board, he can state the additional amount which London would have received from the Local Taxatian Account if the sanitary officers grant had been excluded from the basis of distribution fixed in 1888.

MR. JOHN BURNS: Perhaps I may be allowed to answer this Question. I am aware of the facts referred to in it. The grant in respect of the salaries of provincial medical officers of health and inspectors of nuisances was one of the discontinued grants on the basis of which county and county borough councils outside London have shared in some of the moneys payable out of the Local Taxation Account. Had the grant been excluded from the basis and no other variation in the scheme been made, the county and borough councils outside London would have received less and London would have received more. Calculations have been made showing that on the altered basis about £295,000 would have changed hands, as between the provinces and London, during the period from 1889 to 1907.

London's Poor Law Grants.

MR. FLETCHER (Hampstead): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the grants made by the London County Council to the guardians of the poor out of the Exchequer Contribution Account have steadily increased from £146,377 in 1889–90 to £248,993 in 1905–6; that the grants paid by the London County Council to the metropolitan borough councils in respect of sanitary officers have increased from £131 in 1889–90 to £34,440 in 1905–6; that the balance of London's Exchequer Contribution Account, available for the relief of the county rate, has fallen from £203,547 in 1889–90 and £280,721 in 1891–2 to £53,333 in 1905–6, representing a loss of more than 1d. in the pound to the general county rate; and whether, in revising the bases of the Local Taxation Account, he will consider the desirability of providing means to prevent the charges upon London's share increasing in a much greater ratio than the amount of that share itself.

MR. JOHN BURNS: My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this Question. I am not able to follow the precise figures given by the hon. Member, but there is no doubt that the sums paid by the London County Council to boards of guardians and sanitary authorities in respect of grants have largely increased between 1889–90 and 1905–6, and that the balance of the Exchequer Contribution Account available for general county purposes has diminished. As the Government have already intimated, the share which London should receive from the Local Taxation Account will be carefully considered when the Government come to deal with the question of the relations between the Exchequer and Local Taxation as a whole.

Grantown Telephone.

MR. A. WILLIAMSON (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the Postmaster General if he has yet come to a decision as to the best means of providing telephonic communication with Grantown; and, if so, when it is expected that operations will be commenced.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): The best means of providing telephonic communication with Grantown would be by a new line from Inverness. The line might be useful also as forming part of a direct route for the main trunk lines between Inverness and the South, but the cost would be great and further inquiry is necessary before definite proposals can be made. It may be necessary to ask for a guarantee in respect of the expense of serving Grantown before the work can be undertaken.

Swedish Telephones.

MR. SUMMERBELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that his Department have recently taken out the old telephones in the Medomsley district and replaced them with telephones made in Sweden; and, if so, will he state the reason for such change, and also the price and efficiency of the new ones compared with the old.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The telephones referred to by the hon. Member were some in stock of a more modern pattern than the old ones. All such instruments now supplied to the Post Office are of British manufacture.

Education Code—Secondary School Education.

MR. GIBBS: On behalf on the hon. Member for the Tewkesbury Division of Gloucestershire, I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education when it is expected that the new Regulations dealing with secondary schools will be circulated.

I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Education when the new Code will be in the hands of Members.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of EDUCATION (Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.): In reply to these two Questions, I hope both sets of Regulations will be in the hands of the printers next week, and they will be circulated as soon as the necessary supply can be delivered.

West Riding Judgment.

Mr. GIBBS: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether £428 8s., the costs of the West Riding County Council of their unsuccessful litigation on the question of teachers' salaries has been paid by the Government; if so, by what authority, statutory or otherwise, this payment has been made; and whether any agreement had been made upon the matter before the Government appealed to the House of Lords.

Mr. McKENNA: Perhaps I may be allowed to reply to this Question. The taxed costs of the West Riding County Council amounted to £483 8s. 0d., and were defrayed from the Vote for law charges under Treasury sanction. The answer to the last paragraph is in the negative.

Queen Victoria Memorial.

Mr. SAMUEL ROBERTS (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he can give any indication when the memorial to Her late Majesty Queen Victoria is likely to be completed.

The FIRST COMMISSIONER of WORKS (Mr. Harcourt, Lancashire, Rossendale): This work is not in my Department, and I am unable to give any definite information, but I am told that the sculpture is progressing satisfactorily.

Viscount TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham): Which Department is responsible?

Mr. HARCOURT: No Department at all. The matter is being managed by a committee representing the subscribers.

Supplementary Estimates.

Mr. SAMUEL ROBERTS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if any supplementary Estimates, in addition to that dealing with Jamaica, will be presented during the present session.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Runciman, Dewsbury): Yes, Sir; but I cannot say how many at present.

Trawling in Weymouth Bay.

Mr. SCARISBRICK (Dorsetshire, S.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that, owing to the inaction of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, more than 100 licensed watermen have for a long time been prevented from earning a livelihood by trawling in Weymouth Bay; and will he say when the Board will confirm the by-laws which were made by the Southern Sea Fisheries Committee so long ago as the 20th September, 1905, and the suitability of which has been proved in evidence at the public inquiries held in relation to such by-laws.

The TREASURER of the HOUSEHOLD (Sir Edward Strachey, Somersetshire, S.): The delay in arriving at a decision in this case has been due to the fact that since the original proposal was made in 1905 several alternative or counter proposals have been placed before the Board, and it has been necessary to hold three public inquiries and to make other local investigations, which were only completed last month. We are now in communication with the Committee, as required by the Act, with reference to the exact form of the by-laws, and, so far as the Board are concerned, there will be no delay in bringing the matter to a conclusion.

Scottish Public Parks.

Mr. WATT: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if his attention has been called to the fact that many burghs in Scotland assess their ratepayers for the purchase and upkeep of public parks, and then charge these same ratepayers for admission to entertainments in these parks; whether he is aware that this is contrary to Section 44, subsection

3, of the Burgh Police Act of 1903; and if he will take steps to see the law carried out in future.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. THOMAS SHAW, Hawick Burghs): I shall be glad to have from my hon. friend the particulars on which he bases his statement that many burghs in Scotland follow the practice alleged. My attention has not been called to it. I may, however, point out that the legality of such actings is a question proper for decision by the Civil Courts at the instance of any party having a legal interest.

Duke Street Prison, Glasgow.

MR. WATT: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if his attention has been called to the fact that, by the Report of the Prison Commissioners of Scotland for 1906, fifty-nine men were punished in Duke Street Prison, Glasgow, for refusal to work, while in the same prison 145 men were punished by being deprived of work; if these were the same men at different periods; and if the punishment of deprival of work has been found such a success as to warrant its continuance.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): I have considered the facts stated in the Report. The fifty-nine were included in the 145. The Prison Commissioners consider the punishment of the deprival of work a good punishment and find it to be generally effective.

Irish Grazing Farm Dispute Prosecutions.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether, having regard to the frequent assertions made by the disturbers of the peace in the West of Ireland that the Government really supports and approves of the agitation against owners of grass farms, the Law Officers intend personally to conduct any of the pending prosecutions in Roscommon or Galway, with a view to making it clear that the aforesaid assertions are not well founded; and will Mr. Attorney-General or Mr. Solicitor-General conduct the prosecution in the Ballinagleragh case in county Leitrim.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. CHERRY, Liverpool, Exchange): It seems to have escaped the hon. Member's notice that before this Question appeared my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary stated in this House that it is the intention of the Law Officers to conduct personally the prosecutions at assizes in at all events some of the cases referred to. I am not prepared to say in what particular cases my hon. friend or myself will prosecute. That will be a matter for my consideration in due course.

Cooscroum Pier.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the resolution adopted by the Cahirciveen Rural District Council, on the 6th instant, with reference to the construction of a pier at Cooscroum; and whether any, and if so, what steps will be taken by the Congested Districts Board to comply with the request contained in the resolution.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): I have received the resolution referred to, and the subject of it has been carefully considered by the Congested Districts Board. Having regard to the state of their funds, the Board find it impossible to undertake the construction of the proposed works at Cooscroum during the present year.

Belfast Civil Bill Appeals.

MR. GEORGE CLARK (Belfast, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that between the month of July and the month of March there is no Court available for hearing civil bill appeals for the city of Belfast; that during such interval decrees of the Recorder appealed against are rendered inoperative; that, with the object of remedying this grievance, it was arranged four years ago that civil business and civil bill appeals should be heard at the winter assize, which is held in Belfast in December in each year; that, at the first sitting of such Court in December, 1903, Chief Baron Palles decided that there was no power under the existing Acts of Parliament to hear civil bill appeals at such Court, and that an Act of Parliament was necessary to confer jurisdiction for such purpose; that no step has since been taken for the purpose of conferring on such winter Assize

Court the necessary jurisdiction to hear civil bill appeals; and whether he will take into consideration the question of introducing at an early date a Bill conferring the necessary jurisdiction on the Judges of such Court of Assize.

Mr. BIRRELL: I understand that the facts are substantially as stated in the Question, but the hon. Member is mistaken in supposing that no step has been taken with the object of providing that civil business may be heard at winter assizes at Belfast. The Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Bill, which was introduced last session by my right hon. friend the Attorney-General for Ireland, contained a provision to that effect, but the Bill failed to become law. It is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill containing a like provision when opportunity offers, but in the present state of public business it does not seem probable that the Bill can be brought in during the present session.

Turoe Outrage.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether on the night of the 9th instant the residence of Mr. H. Dolphin, at Turoe, county Galway, was fired into; and, if so, whether any person has been arrested in connection with the matter.

Mr. BIRRELL: Mr. Dolphin's house was not fired into, but out of. No person has been arrested.

Mr. P. J. Kelly, J.P.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what decision he has arrived at with reference to the speech of Mr. P. J. Kelly, J.P., delivered at New Inn, county Galway, on 2nd inst., in which he incited his hearers to treat Lord Ashtown in the same way as John Blake, who was shot dead in 1883, was treated; and whether Mr. Kelly is still a justice of the peace.

Mr. BIRRELL: It has been decided to institute criminal proceedings in this case. Under the provisions of the Local Government Act, 1898, Mr. Kelly is a justice of the peace by virtue of his office as chairman of a rural district council.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: Is Mr. Kelly to be deprived of his office of justice of the peace?

Mr. BIRRELL: Pending the proceedings it would obviously be improper to take any action in the matter.

Cappawhite Evicted Tenant.

Mr. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether Thomas Franklin, of Ballykeveen, Cappawhite, county Tipperary, who was evicted from his holding about eighteen years ago by his landlord, the late Valentine Ryan, of Chadville, Cappawhite, county Tipperary, has yet been reinstated; is he aware that the estates of the late Valentine Ryan in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick were sold to the tenants about seven years since; can he say whether an inspector has been sent from the Estates Commissioners to Thomas Franklin to inquire into the particulars of his eviction; and will he instruct the Estates Commissioners to approach Mrs. Helena Ryan, widow of the deceased Valentine Ryan, or his executors, Dr. Barry, of Thurles, and Thomas Kenny, solicitor, of George Street, Limerick, with the view of arranging for the reinstatement of Franklin.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners have inquired into Thomas Franklin's case, but have not been able to effect his reinstatement. The present owner of the land from which Franklin was evicted has been approached by the Commissioners, but so far has not consented to his reinstatement. The Commissioners have placed Franklin's name upon the list of applicants suitable to receive an allotment of land if it can be obtained.

Castlewaller Evicted Tenant.

Mr. HOGAN (Tipperary, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland can he say whether Thomas Molony, of Castlewaller, Newport, county Tipperary, evicted a few years since by his landlord, John B. Barrington, has as yet been reinstated; is he aware that John B. Barrington, when only agent on the property to Captain Hamilton, before his having purchased the estate over the heads of the tenants, induced the late Michael Molony, brother and predecessor in tenancy of Thomas Molony, to exchange the tenancy under which he and his people before him held the farm for many years from a leasehold into an eleven months one, thereby shutting him out from the benefits of the Act of 1881; and will the Estates Commissioners use their best endeavours to enable Molony to be reinstated and admitted to purchase, as the other tenants on the property who have purchased for the past few years.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners have investigated Thomas Molony's application for reinstatement and have decided to take no action in the case. It has been judicially decided that the lands in which Molony seeks reinstatement are demense lands, and moreover it appears that the applicant is already in possession of a holding of about fifty acres.

Grazing-Farm Disputes in Ireland.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can inform the House how many grazing farms have been surrendered since 25th May, and of these how many have been surrendered owing to pressure from the United Irish League; whether all the farms on the Caheroyan lands are now unoccupied; and whether this land is shortly to be sold to the Estates Commissioners.

MR. BIRRELL: As regards the first part of the Question, I would refer to my Answer to the right hon. Member for South Dublin on 30th May.† I am informed that the grazing farms on the Caheroyan estate are now unoccupied. The Estates Commissioners have had the estate inspected, and have entered into negotiations with the object of purchasing it. The negotiations are pending.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether it is intended to prohibit the Estates Commissioners from granting holdings on these farms to any persons arrested for intimidation?

MR. BIRRELL: That is a matter I have already replied to in answer to former Questions.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: What is the meaning of the statement of Lord Crewe in another place?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must know that that is irregular.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: Surely, Sir, when a member of the Government in one place makes a statement, and another member of the Government in the other place makes another statement diametrically opposed to it, we are entitled to an explanation?

*MR. SPEAKER: Differences of expression continually occur, not only as between members of the Government in the two Houses, but also in this House.

Colonial Trade with Ireland.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in considering the recommendations made by the Board of Trade Commercial Intelligence Committee, to which reference is made in the current Journal of the Board of Trade, he will endeavour to secure that the self-governing Colonies furnish information as to the extent and character of their trade with Ireland.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The point referred to shall not be lost sight of, but, as my hon. friend is doubtless aware, any commercial agents appointed by us in the Colonies would have no control over the form of the Official Trade Accounts issued by the Colonial Governments.

Irish Education.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to the statement on page 118 of the recently issued special Report on educational subjects, Vol. 17, that if in Ireland some Father Mathew could initiate a high-school crusade, with something of the Danish enthusiasm, Ireland's day of prosperity would have come indeed; whether the writer of the Report has any acquaintance with educational affairs in Ireland, and in particular with the work of the Gaelic League in enthusiastically promoting the study of the language, history, and poetry of Ireland on the lines sketched out by Bishop Grundtvig in founding the Danish high schools; and can he say whether the Board of Education assumes responsibility for giving currency to a statement which deliberately ignores the existence of an Irish intellectual and educational movement.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 92.

MR. MCKENNA: I must refer the hon. Member to the last sentence in the Prefatory Note to the volume in question, which reads as follows:—"In this case, as always, the Board must not be taken as necessarily endorsing the opinions of the author; the responsibility for these is his, and his alone."

Allotment of Parliamentary Time.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the block of legislation both in the House and the Standing Committees, he would consider the expediency of appointing a Committee of the House to apportion the time to be allowed for the discussion of particular measures and parts thereof in the Committee stage in the House and in the Standing Committees.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): I have already expressed my own view and that of the Government in regard to this matter. We are entirely favourable to the establishment of a Committee of Public Business. But the demands made upon the time of the House in connection with other questions of procedure have, as I have already informed the House, left us no opportunity for taking steps to set up a Committee of the kind.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): May I ask what Bills will be taken next Friday?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said the business on Friday would be, first, the Small Holdings Bill (Finance Resolution in Committee), then the Second Reading stage of the Telegraph (Money) Bill, British North America Bill, Australian States Constitution Bill, and the Evidence (Colonial Statutes) Bill. The next orders would be the Criminal Appeal Bill (Finance Resolution in Committee), and the Motion regarding a new Judge, and there might be other Bills.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that the Under-Secretary for the Colonies says the British North America Bill must pass by the 1st July. In that case, would it not be better to put it earlier in the list—the responsibility for passing it, of course, rests with the Government.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I will consider whether the Bill may not be put higher in the list.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

First Report brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 205.]

VACCINATION BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee C.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 204.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 204.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 245.]

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES.)

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A: Mr. T. W. Russell; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Rendall.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Sir Edward Boyle; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Viscount Turnour.

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Attorney-General; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Solicitor-General.

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Incest Bill): Mr. Goddard Clarke; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. William Pearce (in respect of the Incest Bill).

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had added to Standing Committee A the following Fifteen Members (in respect of the Leeds (South Parade Chapel) Charity, the Kingswood (Whitfield Tabernacle, Schoolroom,&c.) Charity, the Longton (Caroline Street Chapel) Charity, and the Board of Education (Hulme Trust Estates Educational) Confirmation Bills):—Mr. Burdett-Coutts, Mr. Barran, Mr. Billson, Mr. O'Neill, Mr. Lewis Haslam, Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. Hay Morgan, Sir Henry Seymour King, Mr. Everett, Mr. Liddell, Mr. Leicester Harmsworth, Mr. Whitwell Wilson, Mr. Marnham, Mr. William Jones, and Mr. Watt.

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C: Mr. Walter Long, Earl Percy, and Mr. Abel Smith; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Cave, Mr. George Faber, and Mr. Gretton.

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Kearley, Mr. Idris, Mr. Hart-Davies, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Findlay, Mr. Duckworth, Mr. James Duncan, Mr. Paul, Sir Albert Spicer, Sir Philip Magnus, and Mr. Thornton; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Rowlands, Mr. Leif Jones, Mr. Essex, Mr. Nussey, Major Dunne, Mr. Montagu, Mr. Lane-Fox, and Mr. Bridgeman.

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had added to Standing Committee C the following Fifteen Members (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. Nicholls, Mr. George Roberts, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Courthope, Mr. Hicks Beach, Mr. Ernest Gardner, Mr. Burns, Mr. Lambert, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Dudley Ward, Mr. Winfrey, Sir John Dickson-Poynder, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Ellis Davies.

Sir William Brampton Gurdon further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills (added in respect of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill): Lord Willoughby de Eresby: and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill): Mr. Starkey.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

MONASTIC AND CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.) asked leave, under the ten minutes rule, to introduce a Bill to appoint a Commission to inquire as to the need for the inspection of monastic and conventual institutions.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH (Down, S.) rose to a point of order and asked whether the Motion of the hon. Member did not amount to an abuse of the rules of the House. A year ago the hon. Member brought forward the same Bill, and he wished to call attention to Mr. Speaker's ruling on the point then raised by the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool. Mr. Speaker, speaking on that occasion, said that the frequent repetition of the use of the form of introducing Bills would have a tendency to become an abuse, but so long as it was only put into use occasionally it could not amount to an abuse of the forms of the House.

*MR. SPEAKER: I do not think I can hold that a Member bringing in a Bill once a year amounts to an abuse of the rules of the House.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: But it is an abuse of the ten minutes rule.

*MR. SPEAKER: If the time of the House was constantly being occupied by private Members making speeches under cover of bringing in Bills under the ten minutes rule then it would be an abuse; but as far as I can recollect we have not yet had a speech from the hon. Member for North Down, and I think he is entitled to introduce his Bill.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: I regret to have to inform you we had to endure a speech from the hon. Member upon this subject twelve months ago.

MR. T. L. CORBETT said he had not made a speech on the subject before, because on the last occasion he was so interrupted by hon. Members below the gangway that he was unable to do so. He felt therefore that he was entitled to make another appeal to the House to reconsider the decision they then took, but he would not occupy even the narrow limits allowed under the ten minutes rule. First of all he wished the House to understand that the Bill was not a Party one, and he looked forward to, and, indeed, expected, as much support from the opposite side of the House as he would get from his own. He did not expect much support from the Front Benches on either side, because those in power on the Front Bench generally voted against the Bill, and those on the Opposition side abstained from voting altogether. The only Leader he could remember as having voted for him upon the issue was one whose absence he was sure they all deeply deplored, viz., the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. The Bill proposed that a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the need for inspection of conventual and monastic institutions. There were now, in connection with the Roman Catholic Church alone, twenty of these institutions for every one that existed fifty years ago. There were also, as recent events had proved, a very large number in connection with the Church of England. He had no desire to say one bitter or provocative word about the Roman Catholic Church or the Ritualistic section of the Church of England, nor did he wish to say anything against the idea of monastic or conventual life. He believed in absolute liberty being given to every man and woman to worship God according to his or her lights. What he did say was that no man or woman should be held in bondage against his or her will. That was a state of things which existed in no other country, except Spain, and even there there was a kind of partial instruction given. He trusted that no individual would be invested with power to keep in bondage young men and women who had entered such a state of living, without, perhaps, having fully considered what the circumstances of that life were. He appealed with confidence to that sense of justice and love of freedom which he believed were characteristics of the British race. He was quite sure, taking into account all the facts, which were well known to anyone who had studied the subject, that the Bill would be approved by the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to appoint a Commission to inquire as to the need for the inspection of Monastic and Conventual Institutions."—(*Mr. T. L. Corbett.*)

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) thought it would have occurred to most hon. Members that it was strange, to say the least of it, if the hon. Member for North Down was so anxious to have legislation passed on the subject dealt with by his Bill, that he had deferred its introduction until so late in the session. He could not have the slightest expectation that, under any circumstances whatever, the Bill could become law this year, even if it received the support of every Member of the House, which it did not. Therefore, he thought that many hon. Members would be forced to the conclusion that the hon. Member had introduced his Bill without any hope of its making progress or becoming law, but that it had been introduced rather in the nature of a demonstration which was now becoming to be regarded as an annual institution. Exactly twelve months ago the hon. Member introduced a similar measure, and his speech upon that occasion was somewhat similar to the statement they had just heard. Leave to introduce the Bill was then refused by an enormous majority. He had not the slightest doubt that a majority equally large would register the same opinion when a division was taken that afternoon. The hon. Member for North Down had appealed to hon. Members opposite on the ground that the Bill was not a Party measure nor intended to give offence to any section; on the contrary, he said it was a measure having for its purpose the prevention of the holding in bondage in convents or monastic institutions in this country. He thought he need hardly tell hon. Gentlemen opposite that these periodical attacks upon monastic and conventual institutions, in Ireland more particularly than in England, invariably emanated from the same quarter, which represented that narrow section of opinion known as "Orangism" in Ireland. The insinuation contained in the proposal of the hon. Gentleman carried with it the grossest offence and insult to the vast majority of not only the Catholic population of these islands, but of the population of all religions. If the hon. Member's Bill meant anything at all it meant that at the commencement of the 20th century things were being done in monastries, convents, and religious institutions which were unable to bear the light of day, and required the strictest investigation. He thought it was necessary, on behalf of the people of Ireland and England, to say that they resented that insinuation in the strongest possible manner. Everyone knew that the most magnificent work, educational and otherwise, was done by the inmates of those convents and schools; and it was altogether too late in the day to hope to succeed in arousing sentiments of bigotry and intolerance in that House, the Members of which, he was sure, would show by their votes that they believed there was nothing wrong or scandalous done in those institutions. Unfortunately for Ireland, however, there were always at this time of the year demonstrations to arouse intolerance and bigotry. Last year, in June, a similar Bill was introduced in view of the approach of the 12th of July in the North of Ireland. There could be no one in that House so ignorant of Irish affairs as not to know that, unfortunately, in the section of Ireland represented by the hon. Member for North Down, on the 12th July the bitterest feeling of sectarian animosity was aroused, with the result that men and women who lived in perfect peace together in their own country the great part of the year, when the month of July arrived were often seen to be in conflict, and crime and violence occurred. The direct result of bringing forward a Bill of this kind was to prepare the way for those miserable and wretched disturbances and riots, which in a greater or less degree marked the month of July in the North of Ireland. Speaking as a Catholic, like the majority of his colleagues, he believed that there was nothing they more earnestly desired in Ireland than that the dead past should be allowed to rest, and that Catholics and Protestants should be allowed to live side by side in their own country in a spirit of tolerance and good faith. An attempt was about to be made once more to blow into a flame in Ireland the embers of religious and sectarian strife, and he asked the House to give a vote which would show that they believed that Catholic and Protestant alike were entitled to respect, and that it did not lie with the House of Commons or any of its Members to sanction a measure which was considered an insult, and which in its effect could only have the worst possible results in Ireland.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 125; Noes, 121. (Division List, No. 240).

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Beauchamp, E.
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Black, Arthur W.
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Bowles, G. Stewart

Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Carlile, E. Hildred
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Clark,GeorgeSmith(Belfast,N.
Clough, William
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett,CH(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cory, Clifford John
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig,CharlesCurtis(Antrim,S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth
Craig,CaptainJames(Down,E.)
Crossley, William J.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Duncan,C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne,MajorE.Martin(Walsall
Everett, R. Lacey
Fell, Arthur
Ferens, T. R.
Fletcher, J. S.
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Gill, A. H.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Harvey,W.E.(Derbyshire,N.E
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Helmsley, Viscount
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Herbert,T.Arnold (Wycombe)
Hervey,F.W.F.(BuryS.Edm'ds
Higham, John Sharp
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury
Hills, J. W.
Hodge, John
Hope,W.Bateman(Somerset,N.
Idris, T. H. W.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Kekewich, Sir George
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.HonColW.
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Alfred John (Knutsford
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lamont, Norman
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Lockwood,Rt.Hn.Lt.-Col. A.R.
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Maclean, Donald
M'Micking, Major G.
Massie, J.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Nicholls, George
Parkes, Ebenezer
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Percy, Earl
Pirie, Duncan V.
Radford, G. H.
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson,JohnFrederickPeel
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Richards,T.F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roberts,S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sears, J. E.
Sheffield,SirBerkeley George D.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Steadman, W. C.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas,DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Thomson,W.Mitchell-(Lanark
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col.Sir C.E.Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Wardle, George J.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Whitbread, Howard
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson,HenryJ.(York, W.R.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. T. L. Corbett and Mr. Hugh Barrie.

NOES.

Abraham,William (Cork,N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Banbury, Sir FrederickGeorge
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L. (Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buxton,Rt.Hn.SydneyCharles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Coats,SirT.Glen(Renfrew,W.)
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Delany, William
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fenwick, Charles
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fullerton, Hugh
Glover,Thomas
Grant, Corrie
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon.RichardB.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Herbert,ColonelIvor(Mon.,S.)
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hogan, Michael
Hope, John Deans(Fife, West)
Horniman, Emslie John
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lea,Hugh Cecil(St. Pancras, E.
Leese,SirJosephF.(Accrington
Lever,W.H.(Cheshire,Wirral)
Long,Col.CharlesW.(Evesham
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill,John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh,Jeremiah(Down,S.
MacVeigh,Charles(Donegal,E.
M'Killop, W.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Patrick A.
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mooney, J. J.
Murray, James
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Connor,James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price,RobertJohn(Norfolk,E.
Pullar, Sir Robert
Raphael, Herbert H.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D,

Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Major J. B.
Sherwell, Arthur James
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim,S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanley,Hn.A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thorne, William
Ward,John(Stoke-upon-Trent
Waring, Walter
Wason, Eugene(Clackmannan)
White,J.D.(Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Patrick O'Brien and Captain Donelan.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. L. Corbett, Mr. Hugh Barrie, and Mr. Harmood-Banner.

While the hon. Gentleman was walking up the floor of the House to present the Bill to the Clerk at the Table—

Mr. JOYCE (Limerick): I hope that will be known in Jarrow. We will show you what Irishmen can do in Jarrow.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND: That puts an end anyhow to the Liberal alliance.

Mr. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): There is sixteen more years of Tory rule for you.

MONASTIC AND CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS BILL.

"To appoint a Commission to inquire as to the need for the inspection of Monastic and Conventual Institutions," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 249.]

TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES BILL.

As amended, further considered.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) moved the omission of Clause 16, which provides for the embodiment of the Territorial Force. He said that in previous discussions on this clause they had had no very satisfactory replies to the arguments put forward by both friends and opponents. He assumed that the right hon. Gentleman in drafting it had in mind not merely the pious expression of a principle, but intended in time of war to make an embodiment which should be really effective. If he did so intend, he accepted the principle that the theories of the "blue water" school were not sufficient, and that the Territorial Army was intended not only to protect the country against raids, not alone to take the place of the Regulars in time of emergency, but also to supply reinforcements in times of great crises. That was to say, the right hon. Gentleman assumed that in time of war in any part of the world, where we were arrayed against any Power or any combination of great Powers—he hoped that day would be very far off—he would have to rely not only upon the Reserve of his Army, but upon what he had himself called the strong manhood of the country whom he found under arms, and in order to create "a nation in arms" the right hon. Gentleman had provided a training which, as it seemed to them on that side of the House and to many on the other side, began at the wrong end. The right hon. Gentleman proposed with the assent of Parliament to embody the Territorial Army when war broke out. He had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman had thought the thing out very carefully, but if he admitted the right of the country to make a demand upon its manhood to serve it, he had no doubt he had also considered the point that there should be training not only at the time of a crisis, but at the time of enlistment. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to meet his hon. and gallant friend the Member for the Abercromby division, who had urged that the preliminary training should be prolonged. He would say that they should have three months' training, or even two months, and he thought the latter period would go a long way to give them what they wanted. But whatever the period of preliminary training was, whether it was two, three, or four months, it should in any case take place before the outbreak of war and the necessity for embodiment, so that the nation would not find itself unprepared. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted that he would not call on the Volunteers who belonged to Departments of State, and he bad rejected the reasonable Amendment of the hon. Member for Blackpool, that if Volunteers desired permanent training, and to form units to be ear-marked to go abroad in time of war, they should be allowed to do so. He never could understand why the right hon. Gentleman declined to accept an Amendment of that kind, which was honestly supported on that side of the House, and also on the other side. If the right hon. Gentleman did not accept some modification of the clause, he would, he thought, be taking risks which no Minister for War ought to take. If they accepted the principle that the manhood of the nation ought to be trained for war they should also accept the principle that it ought to be trained at the right time. He thought that there was no Labour Member who would not agree that it was quite impossible to call out men at a time of crisis and that it ought to be done at a time when training would be acceptable to the working classes of the country. He was one of those who believed that every man should be trained to arms, but the right hon. Gentleman held that he would not have men compelled to enlist under any circumstances. He understood that that was also the view of the hon. and gallant Member for the Abercromby division; but to his mind it was unsound to ask for the embodiment of the Territorial Force and for "a nation in arms," and not to train the Volunteer Forces at a time when the members could best afford to come out. That was the main point he wished to make. The man who enlisted with the knowledge that he was to have a long preliminary training was a willing Volunteer, knew he was exposed to the risk of embodiment, and was a valuable man in the force. On the other hand the vast majority of Volunteers would join and take their chance. They would join the Volunteers saying, "We have not had a war for a hundred years in which the Volunteers have been called out, and we shall not have such a war"; but when the time came for them to be called out, no matter how patriotic they might be they would find it a desperately inconvenient time. In time of panic, when the country was in great trouble and military organisation was worked to the highest pitch, and there was nervousness, not only in Army circles but throughout the whole country, it was important that there should be trained men ready to take the posts allotted to them. There would not be an opportunity for good training when war broke out, and in any case there would not be six months. He did not believe that the military experts, however wise they might be, were really of opinion that we should have six months in which to prepare our irregular troops; it was always the unexpected that happened in war. There had been wars in which practically no notification at all was given of the outbreak of hostilities. There might be disturbances between countries which although they looked like war did not involve it; but, on the other hand, there might be circumstances under which war broke out without there being sufficient opportunity for preparation given to one of or both the belligerents. He thought, therefore, the Secretary of State was wrong in thinking that he would have that calm six months in which to prepare his Territorial Army for the emergency. The right hon. Gentleman had made what he could not call a concession, although he had preserved the Militia in a form acceptable to hon. Members on that side of the House. It would be well if the right hon. Gentleman would give a long preliminary training, at least three months, upon enlistment, which would make him more secure in his position. If the right hon. Gentleman accepted the principle of "a nation in arms" he ought not to hesitate to impress upon every man in time of peace the absolute duty of adequately preparing himself to play his part in time of war. His hon. friends behind him who were prepared to accept the Bill would find themselves in peculiarly difficult circumstances if the right hon. Gentleman declined to accept this Amendment. He begged to move.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) in seconding the Amendment said that the question of whether the training should take place on the outbreak of war, or at what some considered the proper time, struck at the success of the whole scheme. After what the right hon. Gentleman had said, the whole effort of the House must be directed towards making the scheme a success, if possible, and he therefore hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to modify in some degree the expressions which fell from him on a former occasion. He understood that the Bill was so framed that if, on the advice of his advisers, the right hon. Gentleman desired to make this change he could do so without altering one word of the Bill, and in that respect the Bill was a good one. There were a great many men who were most desirous of doing their best in time of war, and those men, no matter what scheme the right hon. Gentleman produced, would come and give him a helping hand in time of need. But one thing was absolutely necessary, no matter where the men came from, and that was that before the outbreak of war some training must have been undergone, if they were to face the best trained troops in Europe. The right hon. Gentleman must undoubtedly see the gravity of the situation. He did not know whether it was possible to get any men to turn out for six months upon joining the Territorials, but it would certainly be impossible to get every man to do so. The beauty of any scheme dealing with a Territorial Force was its elasticity to suit the local conditions of different parts of the country. In Ireland, for instance, it would be extremely difficult for many of the Yeomanry to come down from their homesteads for any length of time. He thought it would be impossible for them to come down even for three months, and as those regiments had a very high standard of efficiency it would be a thousand pities if anything were done to lower it. If those men were asked to come down for three months training on embodiment three quarters of the best men would be lost. No doubt men would be got to join the Yeomanry on those conditions, but they would be men who had nothing to do and desired to earn a little money, and not the old-fashioned Yeomen who now joined. If the latter were to be retained there must be elasticity. The right hon. Gentleman must not restrict the recruiting of that class by making the conditions of service impossible for them. To the Militia which came from the large towns no doubt different conditions might apply. But whatever the right hon. Gentleman did, he hoped he would not have a hard and fast rule for every class of service. If he had, he feared that the scheme would be unworkable.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 13, line 6, to leave out Clause 16."—(*Sir Gilbert Parker.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out, to the word 'to' in line 8, stand part of the Bill."

MR. WYNDHAM (Dover) said that, as this Amendment gave the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity, if he cared to take it, to make some general remarks on the scope of the clause and the methods by which it would work in practice, he ventured to intervene before the right hon. Gentleman replied. Everyone was agreed that a long preliminary training was infinitely superior to the training for six months on embodiment when the time for action arrived. He observed that the right hon. Gentleman had taken power under Clause 14 to give a longer preliminary training in certain cases, if he thought fit. There was nothing in the Bill, as it now stood, to prevent the right hon. Gentleman from giving the Yeomanry a month's training, if he pleased, and the Yeomanry accepted the conditions. But there were two points to which he desired to draw attention. As he understood, the first part of that clause was permissive, and then came the mandatory provisos. He took it to mean that if any portion of the First-Class Army Reserve was called up, the right hon. Gentleman had these powers. That looked very well at the first glance. The right hon. Gentleman might call out 1,000 men, and so endow himself with all these powers. But if that was his intention, as he hoped it was, it should be more clearly stated in the Bill. If it was intended that after calling out 1,000 men the right hon. Gentleman was entitled to call out the whole of the Territorial Force, it certainly ought to be made clear that he had the power. Then they should bear in mind also Clause 31, under which a great addition had been made to the Section A of the Reserve, and although Clause 31 was not now under discussion it had some bearing on this clause. Previously there were 5,000 men in Section A who could be called to the colours without proclamation. The right hon. Gentleman had made that 5,000 into 6,000, and to those he had added the 4,000 special contingent, making 10,000 men that he could call out without proclamation. The House would see that that put a considerable limit to the discretion which the right hon. Gentleman took under the first part of the clause, because he would, or might, have to call out those 10,000 men without being in a position, under the permissive paragraph of the clause, to call out any part of his Territorial Force. If he wanted discretion to call out all or any of this force, the right hon. Gentleman should say so. He hoped, therefore, that as that part of the Bill debarred the right hon. Gentleman from using his permissive provisions he would deal with that point, if not by this Amendment by some other. There were 101 battalions of Militia to be put into the Reserve, and fourteen squadrons of Yeomary, and he desired to be informed whether all these would be called out in addition to the Reserve, as they understood it, before the Territorial Force could be embodied.

MR. HALDANE said it might be convenient if he explained Clause 16 a little more fully. The clause referred to the system under which the Army Reserve could be embodied. It was well known that the proclamation ordering the Army Reserve to be called out could only issue in the event of there being "imminent national danger or a great emergency." That was a *sine qua non*. The first step, if the Government of the day thought there was imminent national danger or a great emergency, was to issue a proclamation. That enabled the Army Reserve to be embodied forthwith, and put them under the hand of the Government of the day. Although the proclamation was issued, it did not follow that the whole of the Reserve would be called out at once. In 1882 only a comparatively small part of the Reserve was called out, and even in 1899 the Reserve was not all called out at once. Therefore, the proclamation was issued against the whole of the Reserve for the purpose of giving the powers, but the powers were put into operation by a subsequent step. Supposing the proclamation were issued—and it could only be issued in those two cases of imminent national danger or great emergency—then the position was this: that it was in the power of the Government of the day to order the Army Council to give directions for the embodiment of the Territorial Force. That having been done, and the Government having that discretionary power, then automatically the Army Council must issue directions for embodiment. As he had pointed out, that did not depend merely upon the proclamation, it also depended on the directions to be issued for calling out the whole of the Reserves, a contingency which had rarely occurred in recent times, and which could only occur in the case of imminent national danger or great emergency. Suppose that happened, and an order was issued by the Army Council for the embodiment of the entire Territorial Force, what then? Still, the whole of these people, in their civil occupations, need not be called out. The directions might be issued, but they might be suspended; that was to say, the whole of the men who were coming might remain where they were until they were actually wanted. That would give a very valuable power to the Army Council, because the men would be left to go on as they were at the time, but would be ready when wanted. That actually happened in the case of the South African war. Many Volunteers were directed to embody, but they were told to come up only for a day to receive instructions as to when and where they were to appear when wanted. That being so, the liability, which was a real one in case of imminent national danger or great emergency, was carefully safeguarded. There must be a general proclamation, there must be directions to call out the whole of the Reserves, and then, even so, the embodiment did not necessarily mean that all the men were to be brought away from their occupations, but merely that they could be summoned at the shortest notice. There was a further safeguard. If, in consequence of calling out the whole

Army Reserve, directions had to be given, then there must be a meeting of Parliament within ten days, if Parliament was not then sitting, so that the action of the Executive might be reviewed, and the orders and directions might be dealt with by an address presented by both Houses, which might decide that the number called out was to be limited, or that the order directing the embodiment was to be restricted to a certain number. Parliament might take that course, or take the shorter one of passing a vote of censure on the Government for calling out the Territorial Force unnecessarily, when, of course, the directions would lapse. He thought he had shown that all these powers, and the machinery for putting them in force, were carefully safeguarded. The force to be called out should not be one merely on paper, or one which could not be easily embodied, but there should be connected with it machinery by which it could be made automatically a reality in time of imminent national danger or great emergency, and that was the theory of the clause as it stood. It was obvious, of course, after what he had said, that the first Question of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover had been answered and the second Question also. By the second proviso of Section (1) of Clause 16, it was laid down that "where any such proclamation and directions have been issued for calling out all the men belonging to the first class of the Army Reserve," certain directions should be given. In regard to what the hon. Member for Gravesend had said he quite agreed that the preliminary training did not qualify men in the way one could wish for meeting foreign troops who had invaded these islands. But, in an emergency, they could only use all they could, in the best way they could. The very purpose of the embodiment, however, was to secure that the training of the Home force should be as good as they could make it before it was brought against the shock of the invader. It was not likely that the whole of the divisions would go abroad in a case such as the hon. Gentleman had described; but if they had gone abroad, there would have been an embodiment at the same time and a certain amount of preparation going on. But they would not send away the whole of the six divisions of the Regular force if they could avoid it. In a tremendous emergency such as occurred in the time of Napoleon they would do the very best they could, and all he could say was that they would be much better off in the future than they were at the present time.

SIR GILBERT PARKER was understood to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman, if any body of Volunteers desired to train for two or three months, would regard such a proposal sympathetically.

MR. HALDANE said he would, of course, be very sorry to discourage Volunteer corps, but he would not like to commit himself as to the future, though it was open under the clause to meet the point of which the hon. member had spoken.

*COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, Bootle) said he knew something of the training of Militia, and happening to meet the commanding officer of a Militia regiment the other day, he asked his view with reference to the proposed six months training. He replied that in his county there were two regiments of Militia which had experimentally received six months preliminary training, and so successful was the experiment in those battalions, that the other Militia battalions in the neighbourhood found it difficult to obtain recruits. An ounce of fact, it was said, was worth a pound of theory, and he had thought that perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would like to know the results of that experiment. In reference to the possibility of a serious attack upon these islands, he very much appreciated the way in which the right hon. Gentleman had constitutionally safeguarded the calling out of the different military bodies in the case of national danger. It prevented those great powers from being exercised without sufficient forethought by the Government of the day, and he thought it was very advisable that there should be those constitutional safeguards in respect of calling out the national forces other than the Regular Army. But another point to be kept in view was that they had not only to look to constitutional safeguards in calling out those necessary forces, but also to see in how short a time they could get the whole force together in the event of a serious invasion of this country. Supposing it was necessary to call them out, the whole of the forces should be ready at their lines for the defence of these islands in four days. Many authorities thought that limit of time to be really necessary to meet an emergency. They ought to have their military forces so much at hand that they could have a thoroughly complete Army, with its stores for all branches of the service, formed ready in its selected positions in four days at the latest. That was the utmost time that could be given, and however good the scheme might be in its details, in respect of constitutional safeguards and other matters, that essential point in the efficiency of the force should not be lost sight of in considering it in its practical, strategic form.

MAJOR SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby) thought that from practical experience it could be shown that some of the objections urged by the hon. Member for Gravesend were devoid of foundation. Of course, the longer the initial training the better, but what had taken place on the previous day should be considered in discussing the matter. His right hon. friend had said across the Table of the House that he proposed to give a longer initial training to the Irish Yeomanry, and suggested six months. The noble Lord opposite, who belonged to that corps, assured his right hon. friend with natural vehemence that if he attempted to do any such thing they would lose every single man in that force. That showed how difficult it was to obtain a long period for training, or to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Gravesend. Experience however, had shown that training after the emergency had arisen was enormously more valuable, at any rate with a people like ours, because when men knew the country to be in danger they made immense efforts. That was proved to be the case in the South African War. The men, when they realised the danger in which the country stood, learned in a week what in time of peace it would have taken them a month or two to acquire. That had been dwelt upon with great emphasis by many Japanese officers after their experience of the war against Russia. In their time of national emergency they had to fall back upon troops who had had only three months training. He had had many communications with Japanese officers, who stated that so great was the desire of the men to become efficient during the national emergency that they learned in the three months what would have taken them two years in time of peace. Therefore, so far from training after an emergency being the wrong thing to do, it was actually the most economical thing they could possibly desire. He thought it was proved, from what the noble Lord said on the previous day, that if they insisted on a long initial period of training, they might lose many recruits and thus be forced to the alternative of conscription, which none of them desired. It had been represented that six months embodiment would cause great hardships to a certain class of men, and especially to Volunteer officers in professional situations. He supposed his right hon. friend would meet the case by saying that when the men came up for training it would not be necessary to keep all the officers the whole time. If they took the Indian Army, which was more ready for service than any other part of our military forces, they always had a large number of officers on leave; and, on those lines, they might have an embodiment of the Territorial Force. He threw out that suggestion, coming as it did to him from a great many distinguished officers of the Auxiliary Forces; and if the right hon. Gentleman could, at a subsequent stage of the Bill, relieve officers in that way he would make the Territorial Force a success. Might he ask his right hon. friend to dispel the illusion which was created in another place, as to the value of the Territorial Force, by what seemed to be an extraordinary speech of the Under-Secretary for War, who must have been misinformed? He was asked whether the troops of the Territorial Army would ever be fit to meet the troops of a Continental Power, and his reply was, "No; they will not." He had never heard such an amazing statement from a responsible Minister. It might be that the troops of the Territorial Army would not have the amount of training received by the troops of the Regular Army, but to say that they would never be fit to meet Continental troops in a foreign war was equivalent to saying that they were bound to be defeated. He thought there must be a mistake. He hoped his right hon. friend would dispel that illusion.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon) confirmed his hon. and gallant friend's recollection of the curious remark made by the Under-Secretary in the other House, and said it had struck him in the same way. As to the present discussion, he had thought that the interest in it was exhausted, but, after what the right hon. Gentleman had said that night, that was not quite the case. He thought that if the right hon. Gentleman emphasised what he had said, it might be of some value. He had ventured from the beginning to maintain that the calling out of the forces need not be taken into consideration by the Volunteers. He had gone so far as to advise the Volunteers, who had been good enough to communicate with him, that they need not trouble themselves about it at all; it was never going to take place, and they could fashion their lives without any regard to its ever occurring. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman had gone so far as that. Of course the Secretary for War was in the difficult position of having at one time to rely on getting the six months training, and at another time to minimise the inconveniences of that training. He now understood that the position was very much changed since yesterday. In the first place the embodiment would never take place at all, until the first-class Army Reserve had been called out.

MR. HALDANE said the Volunteers were not to be called out, but they had the power.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he did not think that as far as individual Volunteers were concerned that would make much difference. In the first place the Volunteers had between them and their being called out, the First Class Army Reserve and the new First Class Reserve, and nobody anticipated that they would have to take such an extreme measure as to embody the whole of the Territorial Army. Standing between the Volunteers and the remote possibility of their embodiment they had the Regular Army, the whole of the Army Reserve, which now consisted of 115,000 men, the whole of the new First Class Reserve, which they hoped would consist of at least 100,000 men, and the whole of the contingent Reserve, which was going to include, he supposed, that portion of the Army which was with the Territorial Force in time of peace. Even when all those forces had been put into array, he understood that the provision was merely permissive, and the probability was that most of the Territorial Army would be allowed to stay in their homes. When they added to all those considerations, a consideration which had been very much in their minds after what was said by the Secretary of State some days ago, namely, that they were to eliminate from the Territorial Army all those men who were not able by reason of their callings and occupations to accept the terms in regard to the six months embodiment, it would be seen that the proposal which had to a certain extent alarmed some Volunteers was not one which need cause any uneasiness at all. He and his friends would support the proposal, and he must say that the assistance would be given without any great regret, because since what took place yesterday they had to contemplate that the Territorial Army now was not going to be that which had for some time been under discussion. It was going to be something different. It was to be made up of short service battalions of the Regular Army, and there was now between the Volunteers who enlisted under the present conditions and the whole of the Territorial Army, as he understood it, short service battalions of the Regular Army. That, at any rate, ought to allay the fears on the part of those Volunteers who had been in doubt whether they could retain their positions in their corps on account of the liability of which the right hon. Gentleman had spoken.

MR. ACLAND (Yorkshire, Richmond) said the contingency of calling out the Territorial Army for extra training did not appear to him to be quite so remote as the right hon. Gentleman opposite had represented. The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned a number of forces which he thought would be all called out before there would be an embodiment of the Territorial Army. He would remind the House that the Bill actually said that it should be possible, though not compulsory, to call out any part of the Territorial Army without embodying the whole of the forces which the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned. No doubt in a case of great emergency all those reserve forces would be embodied before the Territorial Army was embodied, but the power was definitely taken, and was intended to be used, to embody any part of the Territorial Army which it might be thought desirable to call out for extra training, even though all the Reserves were not called up to the colours for war purposes. He did not think that what was said yesterday by the Minister for War had made the position of the Territorial Army so very different from what it was before. He understood that the alteration announced yesterday amounted to this, that a certain number of English Militia battalions would be fourth battalions to be used primarily as units. In that way they would be differentiated from the third battalions, which were to be used primarily for drafting purposes. It would be a mistake to say that any great bulwark had been erected by yesterday's operations between the Regular Forces and the Territorial Army. The change was not so great as the right hon. Gentleman opposite had represented.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) said he had given notice of an Amendment which it would not be necessary to move, as that proposed by the hon. Member for Gravesend would afford him the opportunity he desired of calling attention to the stringent terms of the sixteenth section of the Bill. It was of the greatest importance that the country, and the Volunteer Force especially, should understand what the provisions of the Bill were in regard to liability to be called out for actual military service. The Volunteer Act of 1863 provided that they should be called into actual military service in the case of apprehended invasion of any part of the United Kingdom. He was one of the first in bygone years to call attention to the fact that that would be much too late to call out the Volunteer Force. An Act was passed in the nineties strengthening the position and making them liable to be called out in the event of "imminent national danger." He could not help thinking that in regard to the Volunteers that was a sufficiently wide provision. The provision in the sixteenth section of this Bill was an enormous extension of the principle, and might interfere seriously with the civil occupations of large numbers of the force. Though successive Secretaries of State had attempted to make the Volunteer Force more military, it should be remembered that, after all, their primary function was to get a livelihood by civil means. If a young man who was doing well in a civil vocation was taken away for six months training without sufficient ground, it would interrupt the course of his career. Parents might not allow their sons to join the force if they were to be prejudiced in their civil employment. During the South African War between 70,000 and 80,000 Volunteers offered their services, and of that number 30,000 were accepted and actually went to the front. The point he was anxious to bring before the Secretary of State was that the provision in the sixteenth section would have a material effect on the recruiting of the Territorial Force. A father would very much dread the calling out of his son for actual military service when there was no real and urgent danger, because it would interrupt the course of his civil vocation. In many cases those who went out to South Africa were not engaged actively in civil vocations, and their experience did them an enormous amount of good; but he knew a number of cases in which young men who had been doing extremely well in their civil life, and whose places were kept open for them, said when they came back, "We cannot stand this life any longer," meaning life behind the counter or in the office. In those cases the civil careers of the Volunteers had been interrupted, and the current of their lives diverted in a marked degree. The

Army Reserve was called out for the Egyptian crisis in 1882. He did not know whether there was any subsequent occasion.

*MR. HALDANE: In 1885 and 1899.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT asked whether in the serious crisis of 1882, though there was no imminent national danger in regard to the interests of the country, the Territorial Force would have been called out if it had been in existence.

*MR. HALDANE said that since 1900 the contingency in which the Volunteers could be called out was when there was any imminent national danger or great emergency.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT said he could hardly think that the condition of things in 1882 would have been regarded as a great emergency. There was nothing more necessary in the conduct of a Volunteer corps than to keep faith with the parents of the men. If they thought that their sons by joining the Volunteers would have their civil careers interfered with a stream of public opinion would set in which would be most injurious to the recruiting of the force. A good deal had been said as to the preliminary training being given previous to rather than on the occurrence of a national emergency. He thought that the Secretary for War might do a great deal in that direction if there were regiments, as in America, to which the Volunteers might be attached to enable them to get preliminary training at soldier's pay and expense. If that scheme were adopted he believed that a considerable number of Volunteers would join. At present there was no facility for that. The civil soldier could only be attached with great difficulty to a particular regiment. That training could not be done under six weeks or two months. A man might say that he was seriously anxious to learn the business of a soldier, and that, as he had a month to spare, he would like to be attached at Aldershot to such and such a regiment. By that means they would get efficient training; but it would be still more attractive if there were a permanent school at Aldershot for the Volunteer Forces—not only for the officers and non-commissioned officers. There should be no hard and fast rule as to attendance at it; it should be entirely voluntary. He was sure that a considerable number of Volunteers, certainly from London, would attend if they knew that they would be attached to particular regiments. The provisions in Clause 16 were entirely novel and changed the whole conditions of liability to service. An hon. Member had spoken of the difficulty professional men, like doctors and solicitors, going into a prolonged compulsory training. Doctors especially found it extremely difficult to get away. Their patients objected to their joining the Volunteers. If a young doctor was seen to go out of his house in uniform his practice was in considerable jeopardy. [Cries of "Oh."] He spoke of what he knew. He did not hesitate to say that the best officers in the Volunteer Force were not young men with money or of what was called good family, who joined the force simply as a pastime. He held that professional men made the very best officers for the Volunteer Force; and if any obstacle were placed, either by law, regulations or custom, in the way of their joining the Volunteers it would be most disastrous to the Territorial Army. He hoped the House would consider well before finally sanctioning that great extension of liability to military service.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said he could not understand the objection the hon. and gallant Gentleman had to Clause 16.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT said he did not object to it; he only wanted to call attention to it.

*MR. McCRAE said that anyone with a knowledge of the Auxiliary Forces, familiar with the provisions of the Act of 1863, as modified and extended by the Act of 1900, would approve of Clause 16 as it stood at present. He had always said that the Volunteers had no fear as to that clause, because at the present time they were under equally stringent regulations. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, who had always a Cassandra way of speaking when dealing with the Volunteer force, had tried to minimise the value of the Volunteers, and had said, or insinuated, that they would never be called out. He did not believe there was any justification for that statement. On any occasion when the country was in a position of danger or emergency he was sure that the Volunteers would come forward freely under the conditions of Clause 16. An hon. Gentleman had declared that there was a fear that something like conscription would be imposed under the clause; but he believed that the hon. Gentleman was not quite accurate in his estimate of its effect. He thought it was a very reasonable provision. He did not think that anyone knowing the conditions of Volunteer service would for one moment say that it was possible to get from the Volunteers an initial training of six months. That was outside the range of possibility, having regard to their occupations, although it might be possible with the class from which the Militia were drawn. But the Militia were to go into the first line, and therefore they must deal with the Territorial Army having regard to the conditions of their employment. He said emphatically that it was absurd to impose an annual training of six months in normal circumstances, but it was a very different thing when a national emergency arose. Then they would have men who had, for the most part, been through an annual fifteen days training for years. He maintained that a very little additional training would enable them to take the field. He had great pleasure in supporting Clause 16, because it did not make the conditions of service of the Volunteers any more onerous than at present, and also because it provided a definite provision for the perfection of the Auxiliary Forces.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport) said that what they wanted to know was what training would make the Territorial Army efficient. Other things being equal, he thought that they ought to have a long preliminary training. The Volunteer officers said that that was impossible, and therefore they left the country to understand that that force was not going to get a training which would make them efficient. He did not want to run down the force. He understood its value, even in the event of a war, but he contended that it was not efficient, and the country should understand that the force would not be efficient unless they had had a preliminary training previous to the outbreak of war. The hon. and gallant Member for the Abercromby Division had said that when the Auxiliary Forces were embodied the War Office could get over the difficulty by not calling up all the officers at the same time, and gave, as an illustration, the case of the Indian Army, when many of the officers were on leave. But the Indian Army was in a state of high training, and the officers on leave could be called in immediately. He knew that his hon. and gallant friend had his idiosyncracy, which was that the less a force was trained, the less it was disciplined, and the more insubordinate it was the better, and the more likely it would be to give efficient service. They could only hope that that would never be put to the test. The real point was whether the Volunteers were to have an efficient training or not. He agreed that after six months we should have an efficiently trained force, but he wished it to be understood that that training should not be postponed until the danger had arisen.

MR. WYNDHAM said he desired to ask one further question. They had, in discussing the clause, acquiesced in it with a good will, and from what he understood from the right hon. Gentleman to be his present attitude with regard to the Militia, there would be seventy-four battalions of 500 men each, and twenty-seven of 800 men each, making a total of 101 battalions in all, comprising 58,600 men. That number of men would all be in battalions, and he wished to know whether, after they had had their six months training, they would be drilled annually as battalions.

MR. HALDANE said the battalions of 800 men would, as far as possible, be called out as battalions. In regard to the battalions of 500 men, the details had not been worked out. All the men would certainly be called out at some period of the year for their yearly training, but he could not pledge himself at present that they would be embodied as entire battalions every year; they certainly would be in alternate years. He did not wish to commit himself on that point.

MR. WYNDHAM said they attached a great deal of importance to battalion training. He understood that the right hon. Gentleman was giving a complement of battalion officers to each of these battalions.

MR. HALDANE: Yes.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out, to the word 'to,' in line 8, stand part of the Bill," put and agreed to.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) said they had been discussing Clause 16 for some time, and they found that if the First-Class Army Reserve were called out it would be obligatory upon the Government to call out the Territorial Force or decree its embodiment. He moved an Amendment to Subsection 1 of the clause in order to provide that the embodiment of the Territorial Force should be "subject to the proviso that units consisting mainly of men whose service would be required in civil employment in time of war shall only be called out to repel invasion." They had discussed this question under different circumstances a fortnight ago, and then they discovered that certain Volunteers employed in certain professions or employments would not be eligible for service in the Territorial Army, because the right hon. Gentleman considered that their civil employment would prevent their coming out on the embodiment of the force. The matter, however, was left in a very vague and nebulous state, as it was discussed at ten o'clock at night when the guillotine was about to fall. The Secretary of State asked whether the right hon. Member for Croydon imagined that they intended to take and enlist into the force men whose service in civil life would be required when war broke out, and said that that would be a wholly crude proceeding which would be adopted at the cost of a good deal of efficiency. No doubt there was a great deal to be said for what the right hon. Gentleman then stated, but two days afterwards, on second thoughts, he considerably changed his attitude, because in answer to the right hon. Member for Newport he said—

> "I have never stated that any particular Volunteer units will be disbanded or reduced, or that any individual now serving must be discharged if the Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill becomes law."

But if the right hon. Gentleman adhered to what he said on the first occasion, he would surely have to take some steps in that direction.

MR. HALDANE said the hon. Member must not take it that the newspaper report represented what he said in the first instance. He made a fairly long speech, which was embodied in the printed report, but the particular point to which the hon. Member was referring was not present in the mind of the reporter, or probably he would have given it more fully. He said in the course of his original speech what he repeated subsequently in answer to a question by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newport.

MR. ASHLEY was glad that the right hon. Gentleman had made that explanation, because, after it, he could not see why he should not accept the Amendment. It was clearly impossible to embody all those 300,000 men. It was obvious they would not be able to embody men employed on railways and in dockyards and large manufacturing centres. Surely the right hon. Gentleman must have thought what a state of disorganisation must be created, say in the cotton industry in Lancashire, if the whole of the Volunteers were called out for six months training. He could not see why all the Volunteers should be called out in order to serve in the Territorial Force. There were two classes of war. There was the kind which involved the danger of invasion, and the kind where there was no such danger. The Amendment merely called upon the Government to recognise that there was those two classes of war, just as much as there were two classes of Volunteers, those who could come up for six months training, and those who could not. Of course if there was danger of invasion the whole of the force would have to come out, but there were many who could not otherwise do so. Why should the Government, for the sake of mere red tape, exclude the latter class of men from becoming Volunteers, and not allow them to continue in the Volunteer corps? The Amendment provided that that particular class of men were only to be embodied when invasion was imminent, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consider what would happen if it were not accepted. He would also like to know whether under Clause 2, subsection 1, a Member of the House who happened to be a member of the Territorial Force belonged to the class of men in civil employment who would not be called out.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT seconded the Amendment, the moving of which, he hoped, would afford the Secretary of State for War an opportunity of giving some further explanation of the statement which he made last week to the effect that it was only intended to allow men to enroll who would be able to fulfil all the conditions of the Bill, including embodiment. It was only natural that a statement such as that should cause considerable alarm among regiments which were by no means the least efficient in the Volunteer force—regiments which were recognised as being an example to the whole force, consisting of men of stronger intelligence than that of the average Volunteer, and whose coming forward was a great incentive to others to do likewise. He had raised the question the other day about the iron and steel workers and those who made clothing and saddlery. Everybody knew that in 1899 those who were engaged in manufacturing equipments for the Army were working night and day, and not a man could be spared, because the demands of the Government were so prodigious that it was quite impossible to satisfy them. The right hon. Member for Dover would, he was sure, corroborate him, because he was the very capable Under-Secretary of State for War into whose hands these matters fell. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman would describe the difficulty which would have been created if an order had gone out embodying the whole of the Volunteer Force. The Government were absolutely dependent upon the workers at Rushcliffe, Walsall, Birmingham, and other places, and the result would have been very serious indeed. Then as to the Civil Service Volunteers, it would be extremely inconvenient if they were called out in a body, but it would be a great disaster if the Civil Service Rifles were disbanded and the country deprived of their services. There were many corps in the same position—corps comprised of men in Government offices and men occupying superior positions in mercantile houses who in times of very great pressure could not be spared without great difficulty. If employers were faced with the fact that they would lose their men at the very time when they wanted them most they would not subject themselves to the risk. It was therefore absolutely necessary that there should be some official explanation from the right hon. Gentleman of his previous statement on the subject. There were a lot of these regiments—the Post Office Volunteers, the London Scottish, the Queen's Westminsters, and others. What was to be their fate under the Bill? They did not themselves desire any relaxation of the provisions of the Act, but nevertheless their civil vocations and the requirements of the persons by whom they were employed had to be borne in mind. It was not right to dwell only upon the effect in Government offices and large mercantile houses, because in commercial centres the same thing would be found everywhere. The most efficient Volunteer was generally the most efficient man in civil life. He was the most active member of his family and of the house by which he was employed. The House was indebted to the hon. Member for Blackpool for bringing the matter forward, because it could not be laid to his charge that he was anxious to obtain favours for one regiment as against the rest of the Volunteer Force.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 13, line 8, after the word 'Majesty' to insert the words 'subject to the proviso that units consisting mainly of men whose service would be required in civil employment in time of war shall only be called out to repel invasion.'"—(*Mr. Ashley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

MR. WYNDHAM said that the Amendment went to the root of the difficulty which underlay every voluntary system. Under a compulsory system all were trained at the most convenient age of their lives, and no advantage was given to one set of employers or employees over another. But we had not a compulsory system and it was not intended that we should have. That being the case the right hon. Gentleman was not in a position to dwell so constantly and so strongly on what he called efficiency. He was not entitled to say that no man should have training under a voluntary system unless at a particular time that man could be available on an appointed day for the purpose of fighting at any spot which the Government of the day directed. Under a compulsory system it might be done, and in such an Army they would not retain a man who was not available within those limits. In a voluntary Army something more was necessary than to have numbers of men told off and taken to the precise places they were to occupy in time of national emergency. The Volunteers created an environment within which the whole nation learnt something of the use of arms. The fact that a postman could not come out on a particular day because he was delivering letters did not prove that it was not useful that that man should be a Volunteer. In time of calamity he would come, but apart from that the fact that he was a Volunteer was important, because the chances were that his son who might not be a postman might become a Volunteer because his father had been one. It was a fact that for a considerable period after the outbreak of war there would be a number of men in this country whose services would not be available for the fighting line. Apart from those working in the arsenals whose whole energies would be there required, there were men employed in certain trades who could not be spared to come out within two or three months of the outbreak of war. He would instance the harness trade. After the outbreak of the South African war we went through a period, which he did not think could be avoided, of expanding the normal resources of the country in certain industries. The wages of the harness makers went up 6s. and 7s. a week during that war. It might be said that that was because the authorities did not make proper preparations, but that argument did not meet this case, because goods of certain descriptions perished in the store. It would not be wise to have saddles for 100,000 horses, and lock them up in a room, because at the end of ten or twenty years, when they were required, in all probability they would not be the kind required. A certain stock must, of course, be kept in reserve on a peace establishment, but even then they had to be passed out, and the store made up with new stock. What was true of leather goods was true of tinned meats, which might be kept for six months, but became dangerous in twelve. The whole tinned meat trade of the world went through great stress during the first few months of the war until the process of production was expanded. The whole tinned meat trade of the world could not be expected to support 300,000 men in the field until some seven or eight months had expired. What was true of the saddlery and tinned meat trades was also true of cartridges. As the right hon. Gentleman had stated recently, cordite very soon perished. It would not be wise to store up large quantities of cordite cartridges, because when the time came to use them they might be found to be useless owing to the powder having become disintegrated. It therefore followed that at the outbreak of war a large number of Volunteers would not be available to go to the front for some months, and that being so, why should the House set its face against the fact? If the right hon. Gentleman faced that difficulty, he would certainly modify in some degree the speech he made the other night, when he said that it would not be any good to train or have men in the Territorial Army who could not come out when called. Such a thing could not be done under a voluntary system. The Volunteers could not be tied down to a hide-bound plan which, however appropriate to a compulsory system, was not appropriate to a voluntary one.

Mr. HALDANE thought the controversy turned largely on a question of definition. He had stated the other day, and he now repeated, that there would be certain men whom it would be quite impossible to enlist in the Territorial Force—men whose services would be required in other capacities in time of war. For example, there were a certain number of men required at Woolwich to make cartridges. They could not take those men for filling cartridges in time of war, and also take them to form a part of the force. He had tried to lay down perfectly clearly that, if the Territorial Force was to exist, the men must be available when required. He did not think that men would care to serve with other men who they knew would not be available if an emergency arose. He did not mean to say that it was intended to disband any particular corps. It was perfectly plain that in order to provide for the defence of the country employers of labour as well as the Government would have to make sacrifices, and part with a proportion of their men. But the work of a great arsenal could not be carried on without men; therefore, the logical conclusion was, not that particular corps should be disbanded, but that they should be particular as to how many men they could allow to go from each department. They did not want to see the Elswick works dismantled; but he rather thought that they manned a battery which went to the Transvaal war. That would show that a certain proportion of men could be taken even from those occupations which would be most busy in time of war. The Government ought to be ready to part with as many men as possible for so necessary a need as that of securing the defences of the country. It was possible that under Clause 12, the men would be so free that they could be counted upon to do something more than that and undertake obligation for foreign service. That was a class which stood by itself. He did not think they ought to enlist those men whose services they knew would be required for other functions in time of war. What he wished to convey was that they needed to consider a great deal more carefully than it had hitherto been considered, the whole question of what proportion they could take from such employments. He did not believe it was desirable to take that class of men to train and put into units merely because training was a good thing for them, if they could not be called on to assist in fighting. That was a great deal too costly a process, and he could conceive nothing more demoralising to the Territorial Force than to have those men in it. Every man in that force should be under one liability, and expected to perform the same duties, and any differentiation should be guarded against. That was why he objected to the Amendment. He could not look with the least favour upon any proposal to bring in a further differentiation.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) contended that they ought not in time of peace to lay down exclusive and excluding regulations for the simple reason that they could not foresee what was the precise kind of need that would be felt. They ought not to say to a willing Volunteer, "We cannot permit you to have the opportunity like your fellow-citizens of enrolling yourself in the Volunteer Army, because, your trade being what it is, you will be required in some other capacity, and therefore the money spent on your training will be money thrown away." He did not know now exactly the principle the right hon. Gentleman wished to adopt with regard to the workmen at Woolwich. Undoubtedly they could imagine a war arising when their services would be required, not in the field, but at Woolwich; but they should not be excluded from training now because conceivably that training might be thrown away. They ought not to lay down principles excluding particular classes of the community from the privilege of serving their country under arms in case of a national emergency. His right hon. friend the Member for Dover had mentioned the case of the leather merchants and saddlery. It was certain that in case of a land war there would be a great strain upon the leather trade as well as upon the great arsenals and the manufacturers of cordite and small arms. One was quite as certain as the other. It might seem at first sight that the right hon. Gentleman ought to exclude all those engaged in the leather trade, but he did not think that would be at all wise. When the right hon. Gentleman simply laid down the principle that a man should not be counted as a soldier twice, then he was with him, because that was clear, precise, and definite, and it was commonsense. But the right. hon. Gentleman went further and entered the region of speculation as to whether a man would be more useful in the fighting line or in the workshop. That would be laying down a principle which would inflict great hardship and almost a slur on a large part of the population, and he ventured to hope the right hon. Gentleman would do something to depart from the rigidity of the principle he understood him to lay down. The problem had to be faced by other countries where service was obligatory, and they did not grudge the cost of training a man because he might not be required. That was the principle adopted by the great military powers under a system of conscription, and it ought to be imitated by this country. They ought under a voluntary system to give every opportunity to their young men to learn the use of arms and to obtain that preliminary training in the art of war which was imposed compulsorily upon every man in foreign countries. The scheme of the right hon. Gentleman was not only opposed to common-sense but also to the experience of foreign nations who worked under a wholly different system of recruitment but had nevertheless to face the same problem as faced the House of Commons to-day. He ventured to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that he should guard himself against too rigid an interpretation of the principle he had laid down.

MR. WEDGWOOD (Newcastle-under-Lyme) said the object of the Amendment seemed to be to set up two classes of Volunteers, those who would and those who would not fight. He did not think they could have anything more detrimental to the Territorial Force. In the first place, it would be bad from the point of view of the *camaraderie*, and, secondly, it would absolutely ruin the unit if certain members were withdrawn in time of war in order that they might follow their regular occupations. The reason for dividing the Volunteers into two sections was that so many civilians were thought to be necessary for certain work in time of war. He had risen to speak because he happened to be the captain of a battery which went out to South Africa, and he knew how very important certain individuals were for a certain class of work in time of war. Everybody thought their own particular work was essential to carry on a business, and yet when they came to deal with certain kinds of employment in time of war they found that the places of the men who joined the force were quickly filled up. In his opinion they were more quickly filled up in time of war because other people were only too anxious to do the work the troops had been doing. In the case of the regiment to which the Elswick Battery was attached every single officer volunteered for active service. About one-quarter of those officers worked at the Elswick Works, and they could all have been spared. As a matter of fact, five out of the seven officers came from the Elswick Works. During the South African War their naval resources were not taxed, and from every soldier who worked in the Elswick Works upon ships there were five who worked in the ordnance factory. Consequently more than half of those who went out to South Africa were drawn from the ordnance factory. Those men were all readily spared from the Elswick Works, and their places were easily filled, with the result that no serious injury was done to the trade of the country, and the preparations for war did not suffer in consequence. The right hon. Member for Dover had pointed to the saddlery trade as one that would require every man in time of war. The saddlery trade was very busy during the late war, but it should not be overlooked that saddlery employees were extremely valuable to the Volunteers. In the battery to which he had referred they had no difficulty in getting four collar-makers, and their work was absolutely essential. He understood the hon. Gentleman to state that certain men need not go out until actual invasion took place.

MR. ASHLEY: I said units.

MR. WEDGWOOD said they would want every single man to come out at the earliest possible moment to get as much training as was possible before the fighting took place. The hon. Member had instanced a war on the North-West Frontier of India which was not likely to entail an invasion of this country and would not necessitate the calling out of these men. Personally he would have thought that that would be an occasion when they ought to call out the Volunteers in case there might be some entangling alliance. It was necessary that the men should have as much training as possible before the invasion took place, and if they postponed the training the danger would be obvious, and they would run the risk of being placed at a great disadvantage.

The idea of setting up two different forms of Volunteers—namely, those who were to come out in the case of a national emergency and those who were only to come out in case of an actual invasion—would, in his opinion, as an old Volunteer, be absolutely fatal to the success of the Volunteer movement.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the arguments put forward by the hon. Member opposite seemed to be in favour of the Amendment. The hon. Member had pointed out that every man in his battery was taken from a great industry. The example of the collar-maker was very relevant not only to the artillery but to all the mounted branches of the force in which it was necessary that there should be collar-makers. He did not see what answer could be made to the contention advanced by the Leader of the Opposition that it would not be wise to exclude from the Volunteers in time of peace persons who might conceivably be required for other purposes in time of war. He did not think there was any real intention of carrying this exclusive provision into effect, and he did not imagine for a moment that any corps would have such men turned out. The objection to committing themselves to the theory which had been advanced by the right hon. Gentleman and enforced in the most practical way by the hon. Member opposite was unanswerable. They must train all these men, and when war broke out those who could be utilised with their regiments and battalions would be all the better for the training. He was aware that there were men in Woolwich who could not be spared, but they had no guarantee that they would be serving the Government at Woolwich when war broke out. Nobody could say that a man occupying a particular place in industry at the present time would be occupying that particular place one year or two or five years hence. A man who had been in the carriage department or the foundry at Woolwich for five years, and who had transferred his services to some bicycle or railway workshop later in life, would be a most valuable adjunct to any such unit as the hon. Member opposite took with him into the field in South Africa.

MR. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye) said he would like to remind his hon. friend opposite that the Elswick Battery did not go out immediately on the outbreak of war, and the country went through the period of urgent stress while those men were in civil employment.

MR. WEDGWOOD said the battery he referred to were embodied within three months of the beginning of the war.

MR. COURTHOPE said the stress was over in three weeks after the commencement of the war. [Cries of "No."] In the case of the men who went out people came forward eagerly to fill their places and learn the work, and thus a large number of men were released from their civil employment. It seemed to him that they were somewhat at cross purposes in regard to the Amendment, and the Secretary of State for War appeared to have overlooked one or two things which he had said at an earlier stage. If they were to refuse recruits employed in industries which were likely to be urgently required during war, what would happen? Some of the great industrial centres might be deprived of their power to repel a sudden raid. The great railway centres were well able to protect themselves against any sudden rush, but under the scheme before the House they would be absolutely at the mercy of a single troop of cavalry if the men at the great railway works were not allowed to join the Territorial Army. What was required in the scheme was greater elasticity. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would bear that fact in mind. Whether he accepted the exact form of words which his hon. friend had suggested or some other words to the same effect, it was, in his opinion, an urgent matter that they should not refuse to enlist a man in the Territorial Force simply because he might be required in civil employment during a war.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said he would like to have the opinion of the Secretary of State for War with regard to the permanency of the employment to which he had referred. It was just possible that a man who up to quite recently had been employed at Woolwich, and who would under this scheme be forbidden to join a local corps, might find after a month or two that his services would be dispensed with at Woolwich, and he would have no knowledge of the corps to which he would like to belong. Many young men belonging to cadet corps or some local association might find themselves at the age of seventeen or eighteen discharged from the postal service, and they would have no knowledge of drill or of the work required in the Territorial Force. A large number of eligible young men might in that way be debarred from joining. The Secretary of State for War was unconvincing in the answer he had given that afternoon. The other day the right hon. Gentleman asked the right hon. Member for Croydon if he thought it was intended to enlist men who would be required at their ordinary vocations when war occurred, and a few days afterwards he said he did not anticipate that any serious consequences would follow if this Bill became law. The question and the statement seemed to be rather opposed. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would make a clear and precise statement on the point, because, so far, it was shrouded in mystery. In the case of large works where war materials were made, such as ammunition, guns and carriages, it might happen that the men in a particular department would not be required at home at all. Those men would immediately become available for service abroad, but by the selection which he understood must take place under the Bill the recruiting officer might say that they could not be allowed to join a particular corps because in the event of war they would be required at home. That was a dangerous position to be in. It was more dangerous than if the men were allowed to join the most available corps under the scheme. If their services were required at home, they could be released at once. The experience in regard to the Elswick battery in the South African War was the best example that could be cited to prove the utility of having available for service abroad men with expert knowledge. The Secretary of State for War was incurring serious responsibility in picking and choosing the men who were willing to volunteer for service abroad. He sincerely hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not allow it to go forth that railway men who were willing to join were to be interfered with in any way under the Bill. Their services would be invaluable in the event of war breaking out in this country. Were or were not railway men to be allowed to join? He asked the right hon. Gentlemen to give a clear answer to that question in order that the House might know the views of the War Office.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he might be allowed to make a suggestion in order to bring both sides together on this matter. There did not seem to be a very wide difference of opinion on the most important aspect of the question. He did not think the words proposed by his hon. friend were very satisfactory. His hon. friend's idea would, he thought, be better carried out by inserting after the word "force" in line 11 the words "and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services are required in other than a military capacity." If those words were inserted the men at Woolwich would not be debarred from joining the Volunteer Force, but the Amendment would enable the Army Council for the time being to see that the public service did not suffer by their going under arms when they might be more usefully employed in looking after their own special business.

MR. ASHLEY asked leave to withdraw his Amendment in favour of the words suggested by the right hon. Gentleman.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR moved to amend the clause by inserting the words he had suggested.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 13, line 11, after the word 'Force' to insert the words 'and in particular to make such special arrangements as they may think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services are required in other than a military capacity.'"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

MR. HALDANE thought they were all agreed that there might come cases where, for example, for the defence of a great arsenal the workers should be trained to repel a raid upon it. That was the kind of case which he thought the right hon. Gentleman had in his mind. It was quite right that there should be elasticity sufficient to provide for that and other cases. He gathered from what the right hon. Gentleman had said that he did not think the words would add very much to what was already in the Bill, but that they would operate as a suggestion. On that footing he was glad that he could accept the Amendment. He did not think they were inconsistent with the rest of the clause.

*MR. CARLILE (Hertfordshire, St. Albans) did not think the definition of the right hon. Gentleman was comprehensive enough. He felt pretty sure that his right hon. friend did not wish the Amendment to be tied down to the case of arsenals. He himself did not wish that anybody should, because of any civil employment, be debarred from qualifying to act in the defence of the country. Very many of the persons to whom the right hon. Gentleman had referred were the *élite* of the classes to which they belonged. Hon. Members who had had experience of the Auxiliary Forces knew that men who were selected for positions as heads of departments in business concerns were frequently appointed because they were in the Volunteer Force. He remembered when it was his good fortune to be in command of a Volunteer battalion in an industrial district, a man at the head of a large industry, who was not himself a Volunteer, was asked by him why he selected men from the Volunteer Force as heads of his different departments, and his reply was that he did so because they were accustomed to receive words of command and to see that they were carried out. He found that that was a great advantage to both employers and employees. The same thing applied to men employed in the railway departments, and in the Post Office service. Why should such men be deprived of a privilege which they valued highly, as was clearly proved, because they undertook such duties? He could not understand why the right hon. Gentleman, who would have difficulty enough in securing sufficient recruits for his Territorial Force, should hesitate to accept those who would form perhaps the most valuable part of the force, and who, although they might not be available at the outbreak of war, would be available in a national emergency. He quite realised that for the sake of symmetry the right hon. Gentleman wanted a force which he could call out complete, but he and those beside him thought that the other side of the question was so important that they ventured to put it before him. If what the right hon. Gentleman proposed to do was carried out, it seemed to him that probably the hon. and gallant Members for Abercromby and East Edinburgh would be conspicuous by their absence from the very places where they would be bright and shining lights.

Question put and agreed to.

MR. WYNDHAM moved the addition of the words "excepting men enlisted under Clause 29," after the words "Army Reserve." Those who were present at an earlier hour of the sitting would, he thought, agree with him that those words would only carry out the meaning which the right hon. Gentleman attached to the position. If this automatic embodiment did not take place, and if all the Reserves were called out, that would not happen until the fourteen Yeomanry squadrons and the 101 ordinary battalions of Militia Infantry, and the third and fourth battalions, which were not in the First Class Army Reserve, were called out. From the point of view of creating an impression, he thought it would be an advantage to the Minister occupying the position of the right hon. Gentleman in a time of great national emergency to have his hands free, and be able to call out the Territorial Force, not waiting for the calling out of the Yeomanry and Militia battalions. He therefore hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 13, line 14, after the words 'Army Reserve' to insert the words 'excepting men enlisted under Clause 29.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

MR. HALDANE said that he had fully considered the matter, and he preferred the words of the clause as they stood. Under the first part of subsection (1), the Secretary for War had the power, though he was not under the obligation, to call out the Territorial Force. But if there was a contingency so serious as to require the expeditionary force to be set in motion, then he thought that the Territorial Force ought to be embodied. When the whole of the First Class Reserve was called out, then obligation arose.

Question put, and negatived.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone) moved an Amendment to substitute the words "or any part of," for the words "the men belonging to." He could not understand why the right hon. Gentleman did not reserve to himself the right to call out a small or large portion of, or all, the Territorial Force as circumstances might require. He thought that there was not sufficient elasticity in the Bill in that regard. Much of the success of the right hon. Gentleman's scheme would depend on the way in which it was received in the country, and he thought that the elasticity, on which the right hon. Gentleman laid stress, would be secured by adopting his Amendment, which left it to the discretion of the Army Council whether all or part of the Territorial Force should be called out. He knew that the words did not appear to indicate any very important change in the Bill, but he thought they would give to the Army Council a discretion which it was desirable they should have.

CAPTAIN CRAIG, in seconding the Amendment, said the clause as it stood would compel the Army Council to call out the whole of the Territorial Force, but the Amendment would give them an option to call out the whole or any portion of it. They might find it desirable not to call out certain portions of the force because they were engaged in manufacturing articles for the Government, such as munitions of war, clothing, saddlery, etc.

Amendment proposed to the Bill

"In page 13, line 16, to leave out the words 'the men belonging to' and insert the words 'or any part of.'"—(*Viscount Castlereagh.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. HALDANE said the clause they were discussing was one framed in order to meet a special emergency such as a great war, when the whole force of the country was to be put in motion. Power to call out "any part" of the Territorial Army was taken in another portion of the Bill. But when they came to this proviso, to insert the words "or any part of" and omit "the men belonging to" would defeat their object, because under this clause the whole of the Reserve Forces would be in motion, the object being to present before the enemy the impressive spectacle of the whole nation mobilised and under arms. He did not think that any case would arise in which the whole of the First-Class Army Reserve would be called out and mobilised at one time. Such a thing as that could only happen in times of extraordinary emergency. It was one thing to embody a Territorial Army and bring them under the War Office, and another thing to bring them out all together. They could tell portions of them to go on furlough and come up upon notice being given to them. For these reasons he thought it would detract from the scheme of the clause if they were to say that the embodiment should not extend to the whole of the Territorial Forces.

MR. WYNDHAM was curious to know why, if that was the view of the right hon. Gentleman, he did not give effect to the last Amendment. There was so little that made for progress in the clause that he did not think it mattered whether the right hon. Gentleman accepted the Amendment or not. They wanted to bring the clause up to the point they desired, but it was so hopeless that he did not think the Amendment would have any real effect.

MR. ASHLEY said the only reason the right hon. Gentleman could give against the Amendment was that it would prevent the embodiment of the whole Territorial Force. He could not see that that embodiment would win a battle, and a certain amount of elasticity being necessary in the clause, he failed to see why the right hon. Gentleman could not accept the Amendment.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 238; Noes, 71. (Division List No. 241.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.
Beale, W. P.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, R'mf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W.
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt. Hn. Sir J. T. (Ches.
Bryce, J. Annan
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, A. H.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Wals'l
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk Bg'hs)
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley, W. E. B. (Bradford, E.
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Br'df'rd
Robinson, S.
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Seddon, J.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)

Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thorne, William
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Waring, Walter
Watt, Henry A.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, H.
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carlile, E. Hildred
Cavendish, Rt. Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duncan, Robert (Lanark, G'v'n
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hon. Col. W.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour (Hull
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morpeth, Viscount
Nield, Herbert
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlingt'n
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Remnant, James Farquharson
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley George D.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Viscount Castlereagh and Captain Craig.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT moved an Amendment in Clause 17 (Disembodying of Territorial Forces) providing that it should be lawful for His Majesty by proclamation to order that the Territorial Force be disembodied, and thereupon the Army Council should give such directions as might seem necessary or proper for carrying it into effect "upon the expiration of thirty days notice." He argued that it would be very hard were the members of the Territorial Force to be disembodied suddenly and without adequate notice, during which those who had been in a civil occupation might have an opportunity of communicating with their former employers. An opportunity should be given to find civil employment at the end of their service. Nothing would be more unsatisfactory than that a large number of men should be disembodied without having had such an opportunity. Disembodiment should be as gradual a process as possible, in the interests both of the men themselves and of law and order. It would be a most serious thing to have large bodies of men wandering about the country without occupation. He begged to move.

MR. ASHLEY seconded the Amendment. He said it would not only be a great hardship to the men to be dismissed without adequate notice, but it might have a very serious effect on good order if they were suddenly turned adrift without an occupation to go to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 14, line 2, after the word 'effect' to insert the words 'upon the expiration of thirty days notice.'"—(*Sir Howard Vincent.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

*MR. HALDANE said that it had been the practice in modern times to give a man six weeks furlough so that he might receive six weeks pay; and in future that would no doubt continue to be the practice. He thought that this was one of those cases that had to be judged by circumstances, and the Amendment would not cover all the cases that were contemplated by the hon. Member. It would be preferable to leave the question to administrative freedom, with subsequent responsibility to Parliament.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH thought it would be a good thing if something definite could be put into the Bill. He quite agreed it was the practice to give a month's furlough, during which time the soldier did his best to obtain some kind of employment, but he could not see any reason why the Amendment should not be accepted.

*MR. ACLAND said that the whole of the point was covered by the Army Regulations. In 1902 the notice to be given to the men on demobilisation was a minimum of forty-two days.

CAPTAIN CRAIG admitted that there was a great deal in what the hon. Member said, but he thought it would be better to put a definite time in the Bill. He would suggest that the Amendment should be "upon the expiration of at least thirty days." His hon. friend would agree to that, and he thought it would meet the point of the right hon. Gentleman, who objected to the Amendment upon the ground that it did not cover the whole point. There was one important point and that was the payment of the men. In some cases that was most unsatisfactory. The Volunteers did not know definitely upon what terms they were engaged, whereas if a man joined the Regulars he knew from the day he signed his attestation papers what the terms would be. He submitted that the right hon. Gentleman ought to take as much precaution with the enlistment of the Volunteers as with the enlistment of the Regulars. It was upon such details as these that the success or otherwise of the Bill depended. What they wanted was that when the recruiting sergeant was sent to a district, he should be able to answer the questions of intending recruits, and tell them that they would be expected to do so many drills, and to train on enlistment for so many weeks; he ought to be able to inform recruits that when they were demobilised they would not be thrown on the country at short notice to pick up a livelihood. He thought the right hon. Gentleman might really accept the Amendment, which would, from the point of view of the Volunteers, be very much appreciated.

*MR. McCRAE said the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just sat down had confused two things. He had spoken about Volunteers coming back from war, and he had altogether omitted to observe that the clause did not refer to active service abroad, but only to embodiment for home defence.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said he understood from the Secretary of State for War himself that he expected a large number of the Territorial Force to go out and help in time of war.

*MR. McCRAE said that that was the very reason why the hands of the Secretary of State should be perfectly free, because if they laid down a hard and fast line under this clause, he was quite sure they would get into difficulty. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had said that he could speak for Volunteers, but for himself he would say that the view of Volunteers would be that, as soon as circumstances would allow of it, they should get back to their civil employment. Therefore, he thought it would be a mistake to stereotype the conditions under which disembodiment would take place. He would go further and say that of the many complaints they had against the War Office he had not come across one as to the treatment which the men had received when relieved from active service. He did not think the Amendment was really in the interests of the Auxiliary Forces. He should certainly say that the proper course to pursue was to leave the Secretary of State a free hand, and he was quite sure that the Auxiliary Forces would rely on getting fair and generous treatment as they had received in the past.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT asked leave to amend the Amendment by inserting the words suggested by his hon. and gallant friend, so that it would read—"at least" thirty days.

Proposed words inserted in the proposed Amendment.

MR. WYNDHAM said he understood that the Amendment as amended was now before the House, and if that was so he could not see the relevance of the hon. Gentleman's speech. The Amendment now said that there was to be at least thirty days, but the hon. Member opposite had said that they had better leave it to the sense and consideration of the Secretary of State. But let them remember that never had there been a war concluded without many complaints being raised. What they had to consider, however, was the question of recruiting. Conversations took place with recruiting officers, and those conversations were not under the guillotine. The candidates would ask as many questions as they pleased, and undoubtedly those who in future wanted to join the Territorial Force would desire to know when and how the six months training began and when and how it ended. The six months term, as the right hon. Gentleman had pointed out, was not in the Bill, but it was a period thrown out by way of suggestion. The period might be a much longer term; it might be as long as the emergency endured or as long as the Territorial Force was embodied. He took it that it would not be disembodied so long as it ought to be serving, and the period might be a year. If that were so, what became of the other point, that the service would in many cases be at home? A man who was withdrawn from his employment for six months or longer required a margin at the end of that time during which he should be paid as a soldier while he was picking up the thread of his civil occupation. Why should they not lighten the task of the recruiting officer and assist him to get the men of the Territorial Force by putting into his mouth the promise that, at any rate, if a man joined the force, he would have a month's pay after his military service, during which he could look after civil employment either in his old place or elsewhere? If they could make the period of pay longer so much the better, but a man wanted to know what was to be granted to him by the action of the House.

MR. HALDANE said he could not accept a hard and fast line. A man might only come up for one day, and perhaps not even that, and yet in such a case they proposed that at least thirty days should elapse before he was free from legal liability. And in the second place, would it be right to compensate such a man in the same way as they would the man who had been actually out for service? For that reason he thought the Amendment was about the worst that could be proposed.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 56; Noes, 222. (Division List No. 242.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Baring, Capt. Hn. G. (Winchester
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Carlile, E. Hildred
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craig, Captain James (Down, E.)
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duncan, Robert (Lanark, Govan
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hills, J. W.
Houston, Robert Paterson
King, Sir Henry Seymour (Hull)
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lowe, Sir Francis William
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Morpeth, Viscount
Nield, Herbert
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley George D.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Howard Vincent and Mr. Ashley.

NOES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)

Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romford
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T. (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, A. H.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Elibank, Master of
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Findlay, Alexander
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamont, Norman
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncaster
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley, W. E. B. (Bradford, E.)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverhampton
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradford
Robinson, S.
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Seddon, J.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Snowden, B.
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thorne, William
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Ure, Alexander
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Waring, Walter
Watt, Henry A.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarth'n
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Winfrey, R.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease

MR. ASHLEY moved to omit from Clause 19 (Punishment for failure to attend on embodiment) the words providing that any person who knowingly employs a deserter from the Territorial Force shall be deemed to aid him in concealing himself. Hon. Members would observe that in Section 19, subsection (2), it was provided that—

> "Sections 153 and 154 of the Army Act shall apply with respect to deserters and desertion within the meaning of this section."

He had no objection to that, but his contention was that the same punishment should be meted out to a man in the Territorial Force as to a man in the Regulars. He considered that a civilian ought not, as he apparently would be under the clause as it stood, treated more severely for an offence committed with regard to a member of the Territorial Force than for an offence committed with regard to a soldier of the Regular Forces. On page 15 of the Bill it was laid down that—

> "Any person who, knowing any man of the Territorial Force to be a deserter within the meaning of this section or of the Army Act, employs or continues to employ him, shall be deemed to aid him in concealing himself within the meaning of the first mentioned section."

He did not think it was right to have one law for a deserter in the Regular Force, and a more stringent law for the Territorial Force. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that employers should act as whippers-in for his force in case of embodiment. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would explain this provision more clearly.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH thought this portion of the clause should be deleted altogether. The right hon. Gentleman, he was sure, desired to make the Bill as much a reality as possible, and it was for the purpose of removing any difficulty or anything which might act as a deterrent to recruiting for the Territorial Army that he thought the words should be deleted. He begged to second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In page 15, line 1, to leave out from the word 'sections,' to end of subsection (2) of Clause 19."—(*Mr. Ashley.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. HALDANE said the hon. Member for Blackpool had not quite appreciated the point to which the clause was addressed. In the case of the ordinary soldier, he was in continuous employment in the Army, and if he deserted he deserted his occupation. This clause referred not to things of that kind, but simply to the man who knowingly and willingly and without lawful excuse did not come up on embodiment. That was the serious emergency dealt with in Clause 16, which provided in subsection (3) that—

> "every officer and man belonging to that part shall attend at the place and time fixed by those directions, and after that time shall be deemed to be embodied."

If hon. Members would turn to Clause 19 they would find that the first sub-clause provided that—

> "Any man of the Territorial Force who, without leave lawfully granted, or such sickness or other reasonable excuse as may be allowed in the prescribed manner, fails to appear at the time and place appointed for assembling on embodiment. . . ."

It was quite true that there were other cases provided for under Section 153 of the Army Act, but this particular clause was directed against the case of a man who knowing that one of his employees was a member of the Territorial Force "employs or continues to employ him." The hon. Member would see that the provision only referred to special cases of a very grave order—namely, cases in which men without reasonable excuse failed to come up on embodiment; that was to say, when the country was face to face with a serious emergency. It was proposed that measures should be taken to prevent a person who had committed that very serious offence from being employed.

VISCOUNT VALENTIA (Oxford) said they ought to be extremely careful not to do anything that would deter the would-be recruit from joining the Territorial Force. They had also to consider the employer of the would-be recruit. He was afraid that the proposals they were now discussing would have the effect of frightening employers and would deter them from allowing their employees to join the Territorial Force. At any rate he felt certain that the provision would give employers an excuse for refusing to allow their men to join the Territorial Army. When a man said that he thought of joining the Territorial

Force employers would be inclined to say, "If you are going to enlist I do not think I shall keep you on, because I find on looking through the Bill I might run the risk of being run in for concealing a deserter." An employer could not always remember which of his men were members of the force or which of them had served their time. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman would lose anything by taking out this subsection. Their experience in the past had been that when the Reserves were called out they had answered the call to a man. Some employers were ready enough to find any excuse to prevent their men from joining the Volunteers.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said he supported the Amendment most heartily. He thought the right hon. Gentleman failed to understand the responsibility he was putting on employers. Not only was he asking them to be in a sense recruiting officers, but he was using the very worst form of compulsion. If an employer and his workman were on the most friendly terms during the civil employment, it would be a pity to disturb that feeling. Any man who joined any of the forces under the territorial scheme would, under the proposal now before the House, have to be watched. If on embodiment he failed to join his corps, the employer would be liable to so heavy a penalty that he would say, "You must join because if I keep you here another day I shall fall under this severe penalty." He thought the country could very well do without those men who, instead of turning out voluntarily on embodiment, had to be frightened by their employers into doing their duty. What was required was more fully met by the Army Act.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): asked his right hon. friend if he really meant to send an employer to prison for six months if he employed a man who had been called out. To send middle-aged men to prison would in many cases kill them. The way in which the jails were managed was a disgrace to the Empire. If a man was called out and did not respond, that could be proved, and it could also be proved that he was at the time working for a certain employer. But how was the prosecution going to prove that the employer "knowingly" employed a man who had not responded to the call? If the employer went into the witness box, a clever counsel might be able to examine him in such a manner as to make him appear guilty, although he was ignorant of what the employee had done. On the other hand, if the accused did not go into the witness box to defend himself he would be assumed to be guilty.

MR. HALDANE replied that the employer would not be convicted unless full knowledge were brought home to him. If the man were punished, the master who had acted knowingly and without any excuse must be punished too. There could be no hardship in that. If the master did not act wilfully, he would not be convicted.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said the man had taken an oath and entered into obligations to the State, but the master had not. These penal clauses were indefensible. The second half of the Bill contained penal clauses which might be right or wrong in dealing with the previously enlisted soldier, but were most unwise when dealing with men who were willing to serve the country in the Territorial Force. He was not one of those who, like the hon. Member for Sleaford, took an extreme view in regard to the treatment of persons in British prisons. He believed British prisons were managed in a more humane manner than those in any other part of the world. It would be impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to find a more drastic deterrent to recruiting than the half-a-dozen penal clauses in this part of the Bill. The fines to which the members of a corps would be liable would not be compensated for by exempting them from service on juries. His opinion was that the five lines which his hon. friend proposed to omit were superfluous. It was a mistake to put an employer of labour, whose relations with workmen in the Territorial Force were purely casual, in the position of being responsible for the whipping up of his men at the time of embodiment. What was the meaning of "employer" in this section? A man who had been called out and did not respond might have five or six employers during the six months over which the embodiment was to extend. Were all those men to defend themselves in court against the charge of having knowingly employed that man who had failed to turn out when called? He deprecated the enactment of penal clauses which might have the effect of making employers hostile to their employees being connected with the Territorial Force. They had no business to make employers take the place of recruiting officers. He was convinced that those words should be excluded.

MR. J. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent) protested against the whole of the penal suggestions contained in the clause. He was extremely sorry that neither during the Committee nor on the Report Stage had any opportunity been given for the full consideration of those penal suggestions. He believed that if the clause had been thoroughly understood it would not have been accepted in the form in which it now appeared. Hon. Members would remember that on the First Reading of the Bill he called attention to this matter, and in view of the altered character of the Bill he thought it was time for the right hon. Gentleman to reconsider its penal clauses and if possible to mitigate the punishments. There was some reason for these clauses being applied to the Militia, which, to a certain extent, were under martial law when called up for training; but now that they were dealing with the purely voluntary element of the Territorial Force he saw no reason for retaining these penal clauses beyond what in practice had been found to be necessary. He would point out also that there was a general tendency to reduce the penalties attached to offences committed by men on military service and to approximate them as nearly as possible to the penalties imposed in civil life. That was so in the case of France, where in time of peace, the ordinary law was found to be quite effective. If these clauses were to be insisted upon, they might well consider that the Bill was introduced rather to bring the Volunteers under martial law than for any other purpose, and the effect would be most disastrous. There was a strong feeling in the House that to apply more stringent punishment to the Volunteers and Yeomanry was not to improve their general strength nor to adapt the Volunteer organisation to the wants and needs of the country.

MR. HALDANE said that they were not now discussing the case of the men but that of the employers.

MR. J. WARD said he understood that the case of the men had been decided, but he hoped not finally. It was a mere chance that the subject had not been thoroughly discussed on the Committee stage; and he believed that there was a general opinion that applying the penal clauses to the men was not a way to improve recruiting, or to meet the needs of the defence of the country.

*THE DEPUTY-SPEAKER (Mr. CALDWELL) said that the Amendment before the House dealt entirely with the employers. The clause in regard to the men had been passed.

MR. J. WARD said he quite understood, but was it not rather a novel kind of punishment to inflict on the employer? The clause lent itself to the suggestion that the main object of the Bill was to place the two branches of the Territorial Force under more severe regulations and punishments than hitherto. He would have thought that the last person to suggest such stringent military conditions was a Liberal Minister for War. Those who were in favour of conscription, and who thought that the patriotism of the people was not adequate to the defence of the country, might approve of these penal clauses, but he thought the last to suggest them should have been a Liberal Government. He, and those who agreed with him, did not want to place obstacles in the way of recruits joining the Territorial Force. He did not want to make the conditions so irksome that instead of getting twenty men offering their services, they would get only one.

MR. HALDANE said that he was sure his hon. friend did not wish to misrepresent him. This was a clause which only dealt with embodied Volunteers. In the case of the employer who engaged a man, knowing that he had deserted, then they insisted that the penalty should be applied to that employer. Of course, when the Volunteers were embodied the Army Act applied to them.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said he had referred to this question when the Annual

Army Bill was under discussion. In his opinion the position of the Volunteer was certainly changed by the present Bill. He could not be called out now in the case of civil disturbance. The Yeomanry under the Yeomanry Acts could be called on by the Lieutenant or Sheriff of the county, to act within the county or adjacent counties for the suppression of riot, and in so doing were subject to military law. The Volunteers would be assimilated to the Yeomanry in the Territorial Army. The sub-clause now before the House appeared to be an extension to the employers of Volunteers of the penalties for the grave military offence of harbouring a deserter. It seemed to him to be most unwise, and would have a detrimental effect on recruiting, because there would be a difficulty in getting employers to engage men who were Volunteers from the fear of the responsibilities and obligations they would incur under this section.

MR. THORNE (West Ham, S.) inquired whether a person charged with the offence of harbouring a deserter would be tried by a civil court or by a court martial.

MR. HALDANE said he would be tried by a civil court. It was not a military offence.

MR. GUY BARING (Winchester) pointed out that there might be people who on the outbreak of a war might object to it, and they might find themselves employing a man in the Territorial Army. They might object to the whole spirit of militarism, and they might induce the man to stop with them instead of joining the Territorial Army.

MR. HALDANE replied that a Quaker who now concealed a deserter of the Regular Army was, notwithstanding his creed, liable to the penalties of the law.

MR. W. T. WILSON (Lancashire, Westhoughton) appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to reconsider this portion of the clause. It was, doubtless, the intention of the right hon. Gentleman to punish an employer who wilfully concealed a deserter, but he would, in effect, be penalising a large number of working men, because employers would not be inclined to give work to those who were members of the Territorial Force if these conditions were attached to the service. Another point he would like the Secretary of State to make quite clear was, whom did he intend to proceed against in the case of a limited company giving employment to, and concealing a man who was a deserter? Speaking as an old Volunteer, he would not enlist in the Territorial Army under the conditions contained in the Bill, and he trusted that in the interests of the scheme itself the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to modify the penal clauses of the Bill.

MR. ACLAND said he would like to point out that under the old Volunteer Act there were infinitely more severe penal clauses than were provided for in this Bill. The liabilities under this Bill and under the old Volunteer Act were precisely the same, that they were to be called out to serve in times of national danger or of great emergency. The Territorial Force would not, under the Bill, be embodied until the Army Reserves had been called out, and that would not happen until a national danger or a great emergency had arisen. The words "great emergency" would remain in the one case as in the other. Under the Volunteer Act, at present, there was no possibility, as there was under this clause, of granting leave for any cause except serious illness. That was provided for under Section 17 of the Volunteer Act, but in this Bill a provision was inserted to the effect that leave could be granted upon "a reasonable excuse" being given. If the Bill were examined it would be found to be much more favourable to the Volunteer than the existing law.

*MR. LANE-FOX (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash) said that by this clause the right hon. Gentleman proposed to put before the employers of Volunteers far more clearly than before what his liability might be if he incurred a penalty. It put the case far more strongly, but the mere fact of bringing his liability to the notice of the employers of Volunteers would, he thought, make it more difficult to obtain recruits, and he wished to impress upon the right hon. Gentleman the enormous difficulty that at present existed of getting facilities for men who enlisted in the force. He would not belittle the great patriotism of the vast majority of the employers of the country; but still there must be a very grave tendency on the part of employers, especially if they increased their obligations, to consider whether it was worth their while to employ men who belonged to the Territorial Force. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consider whether he could not modify these provisions, or, at any rate, the wording of this clause.

*MR. McCRAE said that, dealing with the question from the employers' point of view, under present conditions by the provisions of the Act of 1863, officers, non-commissioned officers and men, who did not respond to the call if not incapacitated from active service, would be treated as deserters. The Act said they "shall" be so treated. This clause only dealt with the position of affairs after the force was embodied under certain definite terms of service, and therefore the position was improved by the present Bill which rather modified than accentuated, existing conditions.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 190; Noes, 74. (Divion List No. 243.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Barker, John
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, R'mf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W.
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bramsdon, A. T.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Corbett, C.H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, A. H.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Elibank, Master of
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N.E.)
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon. S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kekewich, Sir George
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamont, Norman
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W.H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J.M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley, W. E. B. (Bradford, E.)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)

Robinson, S.
Rowlands, J.
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas,Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds. S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Waring, Walter
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whiteley, John Henry(Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Williams,Llewelyn(Carmarthen
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn SirAlex.F.
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hon.SirH.
Balcarres, Lord
Baring,Capt.Hn.G(Winchester.
Barnes, G. N.
Barrie, H.T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Boyle, Sir Edward
Brace, William
Carlile, E. Hildred
Castlereagh, Viscount
Coates,E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Craig, Capt. James (Down, E.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness)
Duncan,Robert (Lanark,Govan
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Haddock, George R.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hodge, John
Houston, Robert Paterson
Jenkins, J.
King,Sir Henry Seymour(Hull)
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Nicholls, George
Nield, Herbert
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Richards,T.F.(Wolverhampton
Richardson, A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts,S.(Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Seddon, J.
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley George
Smith,F.E.(Liverpool,Walton)
Snowden, P.
Steadman, W. C.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Summerbell, T.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomson,W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thorne, William
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Walsh, Stephen
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson,A.Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Ashley and Mr. John Ward.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 15, line 5, at the end, to add the words, 'Where a man of the Territorial Force commits the offence of desertion under this section the time which elapsed between the time of his committing the offence and the time of his apprehension or voluntary surrender shall not be taken into account in reckoning his service for the purpose of discharge.'"—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 15, lines 13 and 14, to leave out the words 'less than twenty shillings and not more than' and insert 'exceeding.'"—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

LORD BALCARRES said he at this stage desired to renew the protest he had previously made. The Amendment moved did not affect the £5, but only the 20s. It would have been far more suitable if the Amendment had related to the £5 instead of the 20s. Upon this point the right hon. Gentleman had apparently given way to the criticisms in Committee, and was going to introduce a sliding scale. Upon what system was the scale to be graduated?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BUCHANAN, Perthshire, E.) was understood to say that the desire of his right hon. friend was to make the clause as elastic as possible.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said it was becoming increasingly evident that none of these provisions would be enforced. One by one they were being blotted out of the Bill. The time for which a man served did not matter. The penalty a man might incur was to be £5; now it might be only 6d. They might have been told at the beginning that the whole thing was a sham. They were going to call the Volunteers by a new name, but they would be under exactly the same regulations as now.

*MR. CARLILE said that many hon. Members would have preferred to have seen the £5 taken out altogether. Because the Volunteers devoted a large amount of time and money to qualifying themselves to serve their country, were they to be subject to this serious penalty, whilst those who had no public spirit and did not come forward got off scot free? If the right hon. Gentleman desired to amend the clause he should have done so by taking off the heavy liability on men who came forward in times of peace to qualify themselves to assist their country in time of war. If the right hon. Gentleman thought these penalties would help recruiting he was much mistaken. This Amendment might have been moved for the purpose of relieving the members of the Territorial Force of these liabilities, but if that was the intention it should be put down in black and white. He thought its effect would be to deter the best men from coming forward.

Question put, and negatived.

Proposed word there inserted in the Bill.

CAPTAIN CRAIG moved an Amendment to provide that the penalty should be recoverable by "his commanding officer," instead of by "the prescribed officer." He felt very strongly, he said, on the question of the prescribed officer having full jurisdiction in matters which should be under the control of the commanding officer. All matters pertaining to the control of the regiment should properly be in the hands of the commanding officer, and he thought that the Bill from first to last went in the direction of making the commanding officer feel that he had not full control of the men under his command. They could not possibly start a new scheme in a worse way than by making those responsible for the management of a number of men feel that they were not trusted, in the first instance by the War Office, and secondly by the County Associations. If the penalty of £5 was to be recoverable by somebody appointed by the County Associations they would strike at the root of the discipline of the force by weakening the hands of the commanding officer. That was a detail in one sense, but it was of great importance in another. The opportunity which a commanding officer would have of showing that he could be lenient sometimes while dealing with these penalties was taken away from him; but he hoped that now at the last moment the Government would accept the Amendment, and show that they were fully alive to the fact that a commanding officer could not be expected to control his men in the true sense of the word unless the Army Council were prepared to trust him with all the powers a commanding officer should have. Not only would the appointment of the prescribed officer have a bad effect on the men who would not know who their prescribed officer was, but it would militate against the influence of the commanding officer, who in ordinary circumstances was looked up to for guidance in all matters affecting the interests of the regiment. The Government were placing this scheme in the hands of officers to make the best of it by bringing in men to serve, and the moment they raised the regiment all the necessary attributes of the commanding officer were taken away, and the authorities were going to act through the adjutant in matters such as were described in Clause 20. He had urged in Committee that there should be less of this board of guardians or county council officer, or whoever was to be the functionary interfering between the commanding officer and the men under his control. The prescribed officer might be under the colonel of a regiment which competed in popularity with the corps of the colonel over whose head the prescribed officer would be set. It seemed to him to be one of those absurd and unnecessary propositions which were introduced by some busy-body at the War Office in order not only to make the Bill fail in essential details, but also to confuse the mind of the House in its consideration. The County Association was to be formed of commanding officers of units in the county, lords-lieutenant, and in some instances the higher officers of the county councils. These men together were to prescribe the officer who was to go to the colonel of perhaps a first-class Yeomanry regiment and say to him, "You are not the person who is to have this forfeit paid over to him." It was conceivable that it might be a sergeant-major who would have to say that. Many of the men felt strongly on the point, and he thought that the right hon. Gentleman ought to accept the Amendment. If he did so, he might be assured that those who were interested in the scheme would be prepared to back it up in a way which would leave the supreme control in the hands of the commanding officer.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, in seconding the Amendment, said he welcomed the opportunity of putting forward this principle, because on the Committee stage he was led to believe by the right hon. Gentleman that it was his intention to do something in this respect, in fact to give a little more power to the commanding officer; but he was sorry to say that on the Report stage the right hon. Gentleman had taken no notice of what he had put forward on the Committee stage. It was obvious that the right hon. Gentleman did not realise what the position of the commanding officer was. He imagined that the Secretary of State for War looked upon the commanding officer of a Yeomanry regiment or of a Volunteer corps as called upon to carry out certain duties, and with regard to other duties to be ignored altogether. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman must have taken his lines from some decayed Volunteer corps.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER (Mr. CALDWELL) said the Amendment simply proposed to leave out "the prescribed," in order to insert "his commanding." The discussion must be limited entirely to the question of who was to recover the penalty whether "the prescribed" or "his commanding" officer.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH said that while he believed that in a great many cases the prescribed officer would be the commanding officer, yet they had to remember that the prescribed officer was to be appointed by the County Association, who might nominate some junior officer to have a jurisdiction in this matter greater than that of the commanding officer. Instead of "prescribed" it was most important that the word "commanding" should be inserted. If the prescribed officer was appointed by the County Association it was obvious that the commanding officer must lose that sense of duty which would be his if he had all the duties connected with the regiment under his control; if that control were taken from him, obviously he was deprived of that which was a main factor in the command of a regiment. The ruling from the Chair had precluded a certain amount of argument on the point, which was perhaps unfortunate, because they had had very little opportunity in Committee to discuss the matter. He would, however, raise that question on the Third Reading.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 15, line 15, to leave out the words 'the prescribed,' and insert the words 'his commanding,'"—(*Captain Craig*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. BUCHANAN said the Amendment revived a question which they had discussed on various Amendments in Committee, and he could not agree with the noble Lord who supported the Amendment as to the want of discussion, for he thought that the position of the commanding officer had been debated at considerable length on different occasions during the Committee stage. His right hon. friend had endeavoured, at any rate in some degree, to meet the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, on Clause 14. In putting "prescribed officer" into the Bill they in no degree whatever intended to reflect on the authority or position of the commanding officer. It was perfectly true that, owing to the inclusion of County Associations in the Bill, the position of the commanding officer of a Volunteer corps did not remain quite the same under the new system as it was under the old. But with regard to this particular duty the hon. and gallant Gentleman was under the misapprehension that the prescribed officer was nominated by the County Association. That was not so. The prescribed officer was an officer "prescribed" by order or regulations drawn up by the Army Council. They had come to the conclusion that it was better to leave to the Army Council the discretion of nominating any officer they chose rather than impose that duty on the commanding officer only.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT said he was sorry that the hon. Member had not seen his way to accept the Amendment. The refusal was another indication of the tendency shown throughout the speeches of the Secretary for War to give the go-by to and to ignore the commanding officer. If the force was to be a success, it could only be by being administered with the good will and hearty co-operation of the commanding officers. The commanding officer was responsible for the efficiency of the unit, and the regiment ought to look up to him in regard to all matters affecting the regiment. If the Army Council was not going to place any confidence in the commanding officers the sooner it said so the better. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had moved a most reasonable Amendment in a reasonable and moderate speech. He could not understand why the Financial Secretary to the War Office was unwilling to accept it, because it must commend itself to anyone who had any practical experience in the administration of military affairs. Why should the term "prescribed officer" be inserted at all? Who was the prescribed officer? He hoped the hon. and gallant Member for Down would press his Amendment to a division.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER hoped the Amendment would be pressed. The hon. Gentleman had told them that commanding officers were such *fainéants* that they did not wish to have the unpopularity of enforcing certain duties on their men. Who had told him that? Was it some soldier? Was there any officer at the War Office who would like to have this slight put upon him? He had heard what the hon. Member for Central Sheffield and the hon. Member for East Down had said, and everybody knew that the person to deal with the men was the commanding officer, and why they should have introduced a person of whom nobody knew the name or the functions he was utterly at a loss to understand. He had taken out a collection of papers about half-an-inch thick of the things about which the Government had not been able to tell them anything in regard to this Bill. Why should they be left in this state of ignorance? As far as they could make out the Government did not know themselves. Surely the Government did not wish to pass the Bill in the dark. He complained of the inadequate information given by the Government about their Bill; they did not seem to know what the answers were to nine-tenths of the questions put by the Opposition. The Financial Secretary said he did not know, and it was a most unsatisfactory state of things. Who was the prescribed officer? Was he to be the commanding officer? If he was going to be a senior officer why not say so? Did the Financial Secretary to the War Office really mean that any soldier in the War Office had told him that he, as a soldier, would submit to a regulation of that kind? He did not think that any officer commanding a regiment in the Army would tolerate for a moment the substitution of another person to perform one of the elementary duties of a commanding officer. And yet the Financial Secretary refused to to give them a plain answer to these questions.

MR. BUCHANAN said that on the few occasions upon which he had intervened in the debates he had endeavoured, at any rate, not to imitate the discourteous tone of the speeches which had been delivered by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and particularly by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon. They had all heard the speech which the right hon. Gentleman had just delivered, not once but several times, and he had merely chosen a new text for an old sermon. He strongly repudiated the perversion of his remarks by the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman attributed to him the statement that commanding officers were afraid to undertake unpleasant duties. He had said not a syllable to warrant such a charge.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: You said they would be very glad to be relieved of a disagreeable duty.

MR. BUCHANAN said he made no such remark as that attributed to him by the right hon. Gentleman. The mover of the Amendment had suggested that a man might accept this position from a desire to become popular. Upon that he simply remarked that this was a duty which would not be particularly attractive or one likely to bring popularity to the man who discharged it.

MR. WYNDHAM said the hon. Gentleman in the course of his irregular intervention in debate had touched on many topics, the merits of the Bill, the skill of his chief in conducting it, and so on; but in the heat of the moment he had altogether forgotten to deal with the question, "Who is the prescribed officer?" The hon. Gentleman had referred the House to Clause 35, and there it appeared the expression meant "prescribed by orders or regulations." But who issued those orders and regulations? Was it the County Association?

MR. BUCHANAN: The Army Council.

MR. WYNDHAM asked whether they were requested to believe that the Army Council would concern itself with the penalty to be imposed upon a man in any battalion absent without leave? The hon. Gentleman must be misinformed; it was not credible. A man absent without leave granted by his commanding officer was liable to a penalty, and who was to enforce it? Who would know of the absence? Did the hon. Gentleman know what happened on parade? Yet they were told that it was not the commanding officer, but somebody else appointed by regulation issued by some unknown body, which the hon. Gentleman—singular in his belief—said was the Army Council.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) hoped the heat would die out of the discussion. There was a point here of some importance. It was clear that only the commanding officer could have the responsibility for inflicting punishment for absence without leave. He did not see how discipline could be maintained unless the commanding officer was the person made responsible. It seemed to him that there was another difficulty in the matter. If the Army Council had the privilege or power of appointing somebody else to perform this most important duty, he thought it would be very difficult for the commanding officer to remain in command. He did not know how it was going to work if some junior officer was to have the power of superseding the commanding officer. The clause either meant that the Army Council was to have power to do something underhand in the way of putting somebody over the commanding officer, or it meant that the power was to be given to a civilian. There were certain arguments which recommended a civilian authority for this purpose, but certainly there were very strong arguments against it. He hoped the Secretary of State for War would consider the point and see if something could not be done to leave the power in the hands of the commanding officers.

MR. STANLEY WILSON (Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness) said the Financial Secretary had made the most extraordinary speech delivered during the debate. He got up to answer a question and did not make the slightest reply, but simply lost his temper. It was not surprising that he was seldom allowed to take part in the debates. [Cries of "Oh, oh," "Order," and "Withdraw."] Now that the Secretary of State for War had returned to the House, perhaps he would state who was the prescribed officer. Who was to have the right to make the orders and regulations? When the Financial Secretary said it was the Army Council, he did not know whether the hon. Gentleman was speaking from his knowledge of the Bill or not.

He and his friends wished a straight answer from the Secretary of State for War.

Mr. HALDANE said that he entirely agreed with all that had been said by the Financial Secretary, as it had been reported to him. These units were units of which the commanding officers might be absent, and such contingencies must be provided for. It was necessary that the Army Council should have the power to make regulations as to who should exercise this authority. If the commanding officer were the right person, then the Army Council would prescribe him. If he were not, they would appoint someone else to take his place.

Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD (Somersetshire, Wellington) said that the right hon. Gentleman was introducing an extraordinary idea of discipline into the future Territorial Army. The Secretary of State had said that if the commanding officer was the right person, the Army Council would prescribe him. But if he were not the right person, why on earth was he made commanding officer?

Mr. HALDANE: He may be absent.

Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD said that in that case there would be a second in command.

Mr. HALDANE: Yes.

Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD asked whether the officer second in command was to be prescribed by the Army Council.

Mr. HALDANE: He may be.

Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD asked why, if he was not to be prescribed by the Army Council, was he put in the responsible position of second in command? Supposing he were absent, there would be a junior major or a senior captain. Were they to have no powers of discipline? No doubt we had been reduced to a democratic state of affairs, and perhaps discipline was to be enforced by the chairman of the education committee or the chairman of quarter sessions. If the subordinate officers were not fit to be trusted in the absence of the commanding officers, they were not fit to hold their commissions. In making that statement he was backed up by every man in the Yeomanry, Volunteers, and Militia.

Mr. LANE-FOX asked what complaints the Government had received as to the enforcement of discipline in the past to make it necessary to insert this provision in the Bill. Why should not the commanding officer have the right to delegate his powers to the next in command?

Mr. HALDANE said that the Amendment was wholly unworkable, and he could not assent to it.

Sir SAMUEL SCOTT (Marylebone, W.) said that what happened in the Regular Army when the commanding officer went on leave was that he delegated to the second in command his powers to administer the regiment. Why should not that system be carried out in the Territorial Forces?

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs) said it seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman had forgotten the military law, written and unwritten, that throughout the service there was a chain of responsibility. The commanding officer was appointed, and he was responsible for the whole of the discipline of his regiment. Supposing he disappeared the duty devolved on the next officer in rank, and so on, down to the junior corporal. The word "prescribed" was unnecessary, unless there was mistrust of the officers, in which case they should be superseded.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 260; Noes, 102. (Division List No. 244.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen,A.Acland (Christchurch)
Armitage, R.
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Barker, John
Barlow,JohnEmmott(Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barry,Redmond J.(Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,Sir J.Williams(Devonp'rt
Benn,W.(T'w'rHamlets, S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell,SirJ.H.(Essex,Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W.
Boulton, A. C. F.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner,RtHn.SirJ.T(Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt.Hn Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats,Sir T.Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,Sir Wm.J. (S.PancrasW
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H.(Sussex,EGrinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson,W.H.(St. Pancras,N.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harmsworth,R.L.(Caithn'ss-sh.
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harvey,W.E.(Derbyshire, N.E.
Harwood, George
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert,Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope,W.Bateman(Somerset,N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lea,Hugh Cecil (St. Pancras,E.
Leese,Sir JosephF.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy(Essex, Harwich
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks,G.Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts., Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps,J.Wynford(Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price,C.E. (Edinburgh,Central)
Price,Robert John (Norfolk,E.)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley,W.E.B. (Bradford,E.)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea,Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)

Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, Sir C.E. (Manchester)
Seaverns, J. H.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw,Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph(Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset, E
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Waring, Walter
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Waterlow, D. S.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley,John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,Rt.Hn.Sir Alex.T.
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring,Capt.Hn G.(Winchester
Barnes, G. N.
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry,N.)
Beach,Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish,Rt.Hon.Victor C.W.
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Clark,George Smith(Belfast,N.)
Coates,E.Feetham (Lewisham)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Viscount
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duncan,C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan,Robert(Lanark, Govan
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants,W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Hills, J. W.
Hodge, John
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Jowett, F. W.
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.Hon.Col.W
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King,Sir Henry Seymour (Hull)
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Law,Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lockwood,Rt.Hn.Lt.-Col. A.R.
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Dublin, S)
Lowe, Sir Francis William
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Morpeth, Viscount
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Nield, Herbert
O'Grady, J.
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seddon, J.
Sheffield,Sir Berkeley George D.
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith,F.E. (Liverpool,Walton)
Snowden, P.
Stanley,Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Starkey, John R.
Sutherland, J. E.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Thomson,W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thorne, William
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walker,Col. W. H. (Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Walsh, Stephen
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Watt, Henry A.
Wilson,A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Captain Craig and Viscount Castlereagh.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT moved to omit from Clause 23 (Trial of Offences and Application of Penalties) sub-section (1), which provides that any offence under that part of the Act or under the Army Act, if committed by a man of the Territorial Force when not embodied, which is cognisable by a Court-martial shall also be cognisable by a Court of summary jurisdiction, and punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, or a fine not exceeding £20, or both. He said that the clause dealt with the penal provisions of the measure, and it looked as if a poor unfortunate member of the Territorial Force might not only be punished by his commanding officer, but be dragged off by police before a magistrate and fined £20. He was to be punished by both fine and imprisonment, and that indignity was to be inflicted upon him for some very trifling offence, perhaps for being a few minutes late on parade. Why such an indignity should be put on the Territorial Force he could not understand. Upon what ground were these penal provisions put into the Bill? The Labour Party had protested against them in Committee, and hon. Members would remember the words of the hon. Member for Merthyr, that if a Conservative Government had introduced such a measure there was not a man sitting on that side of the House who would not have denounced it in the most unmeasured terms. He would take care that the matter was ventilated on the platforms where greater interest was taken in these penal provisions than by hon. Gentlemen opposite. He begged to move.

MR. ASHLEY seconded the Amendment. It was quite right that a man should be taken into military custody when he was on active service or under military discipline, but he objected to the power given to arrest a man and take him into military custody after he had ceased to be under military law.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 16, line 9, to leave out sub-section (1) of Clause 23."—(*Sir Howard Vincent.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. HALDANE explained that the sub-section had been framed with the object of giving an alternative to trial by court-martial when the Territorial Army was not embodied. To see what was the kind of offence they must turn to Clause 10, in which were set out the offences which might be tried by court-martial, and this clause was introduced to give the man an opportunity of being tried by a civil Court. Yet the hon. Member moved to reject it.

MR WARD utterly failed to understand why these punishments should be inflicted upon men who volunteered for home defence. "Nothing in this section shall affect the liability of a person charged with any such offence." The man might have been charged and tried before a Court of summary jurisdiction, but that was not to save him from military arrest. [Cries of "No."] What did the words mean if they did not mean that? Under these circumstances they were entitled to protest against the clause. It seemed to him now that the Militia had been taken out that the measure was merely a Bill to include and bring under the military law the Yeomanry and Volunteer Forces of the country.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 270; Noes, 123. (Division List No. 245.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Anstruther-Gray, Major

Armitage, R.
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, John Emmott (Somers.
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt)
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W.
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T. (Cheshire
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Corbett, C H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Craik, Sir Henry
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc.)
Harmsworth, R. L. (Caithn'ss-sh
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N. E.
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hemmerde, Edward George
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson, E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, Philip
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncas'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley, W E. B (Bradford, E.)
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monmth
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seaverns, J. H.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Steadman, W. C.

Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,DavidAlfred (Merthyr
Thompson,J.W.H (Somerset,E.
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Waring, Walter
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmart'n
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,RtHn.SirAlex.F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring,Capt.Hn.G.(Winchester
Barnes, G. N.
Barrie,H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowerman, C. W.
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Brace, William
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Bull, Sir William James
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Byles, William Pollard
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish,Rt. Hn. Victor C.W.
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Clark,GeorgeSmith(Belfast,N.)
Coates,E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig,Charles Curtis (Antrim,S.
Craig,CaptainJames (Down,E.)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duncan,C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Duncan,Robert(Lanark, Govan
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Harwood, George
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Hervey,F.W.F.(BuryS.Edm'ds
Hill,SirClement (Shrewsbury)
Hodge, John
Hope,John Deans (Fife, West)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Jenkins, J.
Jowett, F. W.
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.Hn. Col. W.
King,SirHenry Seymour (Hull)
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Lea,HughCecil(St.Pancras, E.)
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Lockwood,Rt.Hn.Lt.-Col.A.R.
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Dublin,S.
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
M'Callum, John M.
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,HerbertPike(Darlington
Percy, Earl
Radford, G. H.
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Richards,T.F.(Wolverhampt'n)
Richardson, A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts,S.(Sheffield,Ecclesall)
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Seddon, S.
Sheffield,SirBerkeleyGeorge D.
Smith,Abel H. (Hereford, East)
Smith,F.E.(Liverpool, Walton)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Snowden, P.
Starkey, John R.
Summerbell, T.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomson,W.Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thorne, William
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Walker,Col.W.H.(Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Walsh, Stephen
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wilson,A.Stanley(York,E.R.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Howard Vincent and Mr. John Ward.

And, it being after half-past Ten of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded, in pursuance of the Order of the House of 6th May, successively to put forthwith the Questions on any Amendments moved by the Government, of which notice had been given.

Amendments—

"In Clause 24, page 17, lines 10 and 11, to leave out the words 'tried by both of those courts,' and insert the words 'liable to be tried both by a court-martial and by a court of summary jurisdiction.'"

"In Clause 27, page 18, line 25, after the word 'defence,' to insert the words 'and shall be liable to dismissal as a punishment.'"

"In Schedule 1, page 25, line 42, at the end, to insert, 'S. 181 (6).' After the word 'Volunteers' there shall be inserted the words 'or the Territorial Force.'"—

Agreed to.

Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS AND PESTS BILL.

Considered in Committee.

[Mr. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) in chair.]

Clause 1 :—

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) said this was a protectionist Bill, and therefore he did not oppose it.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.) said the Bill gave protection against disease. It gave power to the Board of Agriculture to make orders to enable county councils to take steps to prevent gooseberry mildew. There was a serious outbreak in Worcestershire.

SIR. HOWARD VINCENT asked if they could have some information as to how this disease arose. Did it arise from foreign insects and foreign pests? If so he was heartily in favour of the Bill.

SIR F. BANBURY asked whether he was right in saying that the Bill provided for the prohibition of the importation of foreign fruit if such prohibition was considered desirable.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY said the Bill was intended to prevent the introduction of insect pests by means of fruit imported from abroad. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, to insert the words, 'Provided that the Board shall not make an order directing the payment of compensation by any local authority for the removal or destruction of any crop or any trees or bushes unless the local authority consent to make the payment."—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. STANLEY WILSON expressed the hope that the Government, while adopting precautions against the introduction of insect pests, would not interfere with the foreign fruit trade at the present time.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said he did not think it was very clear what the Government had asked the House to do.

Question put and agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, was agreed to.

Clause 2 was agreed to.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

EDUCATION ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Mr. Whiteley*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at four minutes before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 19*th June*, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill.—As amended, to be considered Tomorrow.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP H).

Sir JOSEPH LEESE reported from the Committee on Group H of Private Bills; That the parties promoting the Selsey Water Bill [Lords] had stated that the evidence of William Parker Cogan, of 5, South Street, Chichester, Solicitor, was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he had been instructed to move that the said William Parker Cogan do attend the said Committee during the proceedings on the Selsey Water Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the said William Parker Cogan do attend the Committee on Group H of Private Bills during the proceedings on the Selsey Water Bill [Lords].

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).

Sir HENRY KIMBER reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, one of the Members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table.

STANDING COMMITTEES (CHAIRMEN'S PANEL).

Mr. STUART WORTLEY reported from the Chairmen's Panel; That they had appointed Mr. Stuart Wortley to act as Chairman of Standing Committee C, in the place of Mr. Laurence Hardy.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords].—Reported from the Select Committee on Divorce Bills, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time.

Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords].—Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence and Proceedings in the House of Lords on the Second Reading of Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords], together with the Documents deposited in the case, be returned to the House of Lords: And that the Clerk do carry the same.—(*Mr. Attorney-General.*)

PETITIONS.

CONVENTUAL AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

Petitions for inquiry: From Perth; and, Aberdeen; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented,—of the Building Regulations of the Board of Education for Public Elementary Schools [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Regulations for Flying the Scottish Standard.

MR. J. D. WHITE (Dumbartonshire): To ask the Secretary for Scotland what are the regulations governing the flying of the Scottish Standard.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) My hon. friend will find the information he desires in a Circular now issued to the police authorities of which the following is a copy—

"Adverting to Police Circular No. 512, issued from this office on the 16th March, 1907, I am directed by the Secretary for Scotland to inform you that numerous inquiries continue to be made as to the practice to be observed in regard to the display of the flag variously described as the 'Scottish Standard' or the 'Scottish Lion Flag,' meaning the flag displaying the red lion rampant upon a yellow ground within a double tressure. Mr. Sinclair accordingly thinks it desirable to take this means of intimating that, although the flag in question represents one quartering of the Royal Standard, the consideration referred to in the above-mentioned circular does not apply with equal force, and that there is therefore no necessity to discourage the display of this flag.

"I am to add that the full Royal Standard is the personal flag of the Sovereign, in Scotland as in England, and that the flying of this flag by unauthorised persons constitutes an informality of which the police, as already indicated, should take cognisance by drawing the attention of the responsible persons to the irregularity, but without challenging it in any more formal manner.

"I am to explain that the foregoing observations apply solely to the case of hoisting the Royal Standard on a flagstaff, etc., and there is no objection to the use of this or any other flag when 'slung' or otherwise employed for decorative purposes."

Promotion of Majors of Marines.

Mr. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, in view of the fact that for twenty-four years majors of marines have automatically received promotion to brevet lieutenant-colonel on the completion of seven years' service, irrespective of any qualifying examination for the substantive rank, and that this has been done under an Order in Council, whether the Board will take into consideration the hardship inflicted by the Memorandum issued by the Marine Office in January being brought into force immediately on issue, so that one officer who had assumed the higher rank before the receipt of the Memorandum on the Cape station had again to revert to the lower rank.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) It is not desirable that an officer of the Royal Marines, who is not qualified for higher rank in his own corps, should be given that higher rank in the Army. If, however, an officer has not had proper opportunities for passing, his case would be specially considered. Nothing is known of an officer on the Cape station having assumed a higher rank and having had to revert to a lower rank. No officer would be justified in assuming a rank which is not conferred on him by proper authority.

Mr. BELLAIRS: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty why the Order in Council of 1883 governing the promotion of majors of the Royal Marines has not been carried out in the case of two officers now serving; and whether any Order in Council amending the regulations for promotion has been promulgated.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The Order in Council indicated is that of 19th March, 1883, which provides that majors shall be "eligible" for promotion by brevet after certain specified length of service. Two officers now serving who have the qualifying length of service have not been recommended for this promotion by brevet, because they have not passed the examination for the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The Order in Council in question has not been amended.

Chambers of Commerce and Sugar Bounties.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any representations have reached the Colonial Office from various chambers of commerce in the Colonies and India as to the importance of preventing the reimposition of sugar bounties and the formation of cartels; and, if so, from what chambers of commerce.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) Representations on the subject of the Sugar Convention have been received from the following chambers of commerce and similar bodies in the Colonies, as well as one from the Legislatures of Barbados and St. Kitts:—

Agriculture and Commercial Society, Antigua.

Westmoreland Sugar Planters' Association, Jamaica.

Northside Sugar Planters' Association, Jamaica.

Montreal Board of Trade.

British Guiana Planters' Association.

Chamber of Commerce, Georgetown, British Guiana.

Chamber of Commerce of the Orange River Colony.

Chamber of Commerce of Pietermaritzburg.

Barbados Committee of Commerce.

Barbados Agricultural Society.

Chamber of Commerce, Singapore.

Vancouver Board of Trade.

British Guiana Board of Agriculture.

Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce.

Chamber of Commerce, Geelong, Victoria.

Charters Towers Chamber of Commerce, Queensland.

Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto.

Chamber of Agriculture, Mauritius.

Chamber of Commerce and Agricultural Society, Trinidad.

As regards India I must refer the hon. Member to the India Office.

Naval Mechanicians on Sea-going Ships.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can state the number of mechanicians who have been sent to each of the ships of the Channel and Atlantic fleets, with the number of engine-room artificers who have thus been displaced, and the economy in expenditure of money thereby represented.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) Orders were given in March last for mechanicians who had recently been confirmed in that rating to be drafted to ships of the sea-going fleets. Under these orders forty-four mechanicians have been drafted to Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean fleets in the proportion of four to each ship, displacing twenty-two engine-room artificers. No economy in expenditure either in pay or victualling has been effected by this change.

Engine-Room Artificers at Gunnery and Torpedo Establishments.

MR. BOWERMAN: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can state the complement of engine-room artificers allowed to each of the gunnery and torpedo establishments for tenders, etc.; to the boy artificers training establishments as instructors, and to the submarine services, respectively; what are the numbers now borne; and how, and when, it is proposed to fill the existing vacancies.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) Out of the total number of 248 engine-room artificers allowed to the ships and establishments enumerated in the hon. Member's Question all are borne except eleven, and these vacancies will be filled as men become available in the ordinary course from foreign service leave, training, etc.

Engine-Room Artificers required to complete Nucleus Crews for Home Fleet.

MR. BOWERMAN: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can state the number of engine-room artificers who are now at the depots of each home port above those required to complete the nucleus crews of ships in the Home Fleet, and the specific duties they are employed upon.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) As already stated, in reply to the hon. Member's Question of 5th June, the number of engine-room artificers now borne is sufficient to man the war fleet, but the numbers required to complete are not necessarily borne in the depots.

Construction of Pier at Reenard, County Kerry.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the plans for the construction of a pier at Reenard, county Kerry, are now complete; and whether regard has been had to the necessity of providing for the landing of fish in large quantities and for the requirements of a steam ferry which formed part of the original scheme.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The plans of the proposed works at Reenard Point are complete, but further progress cannot be made in the matter until the county council have replied to the letters addressed to them as to the fulfilment on their part of the requirements of the Marine Works Act. As I indicated in my reply to the hon. Member's Question on 14th February last, the original proposal to include a steam ferry in the scheme had to be abandoned because necessary local assistance was not forthcoming. The present scheme includes the widening and lengthening of the existing boat slip, and the erection of a wall of shelter.

British Railway Rates for Farm Produce.

MR. MONTAGU (Cambridgeshire, Chesterton): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he has undertaken his promised inquiry into the grievances suffered by British traders and farmers at the hands of British railway companies; whether the inquiry is approaching completion; and whether he can yet make any announcement as to the remedial action he contemplates.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) Inquiries on this subject are in progress, but the Board of Trade cannot at present say when they will be completed or what action it may subsequently be desirable to take.

Loss on Irish Land Purchase.

MR. GINNELL (Westmeath, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will ascertain and state the entire financial loss under all heads in connection with land purchase in Ireland from 1st November, 1903, to the latest date for which figures are available, the amount of this directly connected with tenanted and with untenanted land, respectively, so far as ascertainable, and where not ascertainable, the respective proportional or estimated amounts.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) As regards the first part of the Question I must refer the hon. Member to the Answer given him on the 2nd ultimo by my hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury.† To the total there shown must be added the sum of £102,000 drawn from the Ireland Development Grant to make good the deficiencies on the income account of the Irish Land Purchase Fund up to 31st March, 1906, as shown in another Answer of my hon. friend's of the same date to the hon. Member for Newry.‡ In the opinion of the Estates Commissioners and the Irish Government it would be quite impracticable to apportion the losses as between tenanted and untenanted land.

Meetings of the Irish Local Government Board.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, how many meetings of the Local Government Board for Ireland took place for the year preceding the 1st instant; what were the dates of such meetings; and who were the members present at each.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Members of the Local Government Board met on eighty-seven days from 1st January till 1st June of this year. All the permanent members were present except those absent owing to sickness, holidays, or other official duties elsewhere.

Mallaranny and Belmullet Railway.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the proposed meeting has yet taken place between the engineer to the Board of Works and the engineer to the Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland with regard to the cost of construction of the proposed line from Mallaranny to Belmullet; and, if so, what was the result of the meeting.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The meeting in question has taken place, and the Board of Works are about to furnish a Report to the Irish Government relative to the proposals made by the railway company's engineer.

Untenanted Land on Colonel Brown Estate, County Limerick.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mrs. O'Grady and T. Ahern, tenants of uneconomic holdings on the estate of the representatives of Colonel Brown, at Mount Brown, or Dromard, near Croagh, in the county of Limerick, want to get some of the untenanted land on the estate, which has been sold to the Estates Commissioners under the Land Act, 1903; and whether he will direct the Commissioners to inquire into their cases before these lands have been distributed.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxiii., 1041-2.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, clxxiii., 1043.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners are unable to identify, from the particulars given, the estate referred to in the Question. They inform me, however, that it is their practice, when distributing untenanted land, to give full consideration to all applications for a share of such land which they may receive from persons residing in the neighbourhood.

Evicted Tenants—Application of Representative of late Lawrence M'Evoy.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether an application for reinstatement has been received by the Estates Commissioners from the representative of the late Lawrence M'Evoy, who was evicted from a holding on the Sheane estate at Johnsgrove, near Rosenallis, Queen's County, in 1882; and, if so, can he say whether the claim will be recognised in the forthcoming Bill of the Government.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have received from Lawrence M'Evoy an application for reinstatement in a holding from which his father was evicted. This holding was sold to the tenant in occupation prior to the Act of 1903. The Commissioners will consider the application in connection with the allotment of any untenanted land which they may acquire.

Sale of Salmon Fisheries in Scotland.

MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he can state the situation of the salmon fishings sold by the Woods and Forests Department in Scotland, the extent of such fishings, the price of each, and to whom sold.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) Particulars of the sales in question down to January, 1886, will be found in a Parliamentary Return, dated 31st May, 1886, House of Commons, No. 175. The particulars of subsequent sales cannot conveniently be given in the form of an Answer to a Question, but if the hon. Member will apply to the Commissioners of Woods they will be furnished to him.

Construction Department, Ordnance and Dockyards Inspection Staff.

MR. BELLAIRS: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the construction department, the ordnance, and the dockyards each have their own staff for inspection; and whether, under these circumstances, there is a danger both of overlapping and of wasteful expenditure.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) There is no danger of overlapping and no wasteful expenditure.

Metropolitan Police—One Day's rest in Seven.

MR. REMNANT (Finsbury, Holborn): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will now give the details of the £150,000 which he estimates would be the cost of giving the members of the Metropolitan Police Force one day's rest in every seven days.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I gave the figures yesterday in the form of a printed Answer to a Question by my hon. friend the Member for Bethnal Green, and they were circulated with the Votes this morning.†

Compensation for Wrongful Imprisonment.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD (Lincolnshire, Brigg): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will lay Papers showing the sentences passed upon and the periods of imprisonment undergone by all persons who have received compensation in respect of such sentences and imprisonment in the last twenty years.

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† See page 295.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The particulars which I yesterday undertook to give the hon. Member in the shape of a printed Answer are as follows :—

	Sentence.	Time served.	Compensation given.
1	Life - - - -	9 years	£800 each
2			
3	10 years penal servitude	6 months	£6
4	12 months - -	3 months	£16 each
5	6 months - -		
6	5 years penal servitude, and 7 years police supervision - -	3 months	£10
7	20*s.* or 14 days - -	14 days	£10
8	18 months - - -	7 months	£40 (£20 in 1899) (£20 in 1904)
9	6 months - - -	2 months	£30
10	5 years penal servitude	2 months	£3
11	3 years penal servitude		£2
12	12 months - - -	6 months	£20
13	7 years penal servitude	5 years 5 months (+ time at large, on licence)	£5,000
14	21 days - - -	3 days	£1
15	2 months - - -	All	£50

Food Regulation Bill—Facilities for Passing.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): To ask the President of the Local Government Board, in view of the delay in proceeding with the Food Regulation Bill and the importance of that measure, if he will ask for Government time in order to facilitate its passage into law.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The Bill is now awaiting Second Reading. I cannot at present say when this stage will be taken, but I shall, of course, be very glad if time can be found for this purpose.

Reclamation of Land at the Estuary of the Crouch.

MR. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in view of the approaching completion of the repair of the sea-wall at North Fambridge by the unemployed, any steps are being or will be taken to continue their employment by extending the scheme of work, reclaiming further submerged land in the estuary of the Crouch and strengthening the sea-walls.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I am informed that a sub-committee of the

Central (Unemployed) Body for London are about to consider the possibilities of a scheme for reclaiming a further area of land in the neighbourhood of Brandy Hole, Hockley, but that, unless the local residents are willing to assist, there is very little prospect of the work being taken in hand. I may add that I understand that, owing to a slip in the bank wall at Fambridge, further work there may have to be undertaken.

Rejection of Woolwich-made Lyddite Shells.

Mr. BELLAIRS : To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is yet in a position to state the number of lyddite shells of Woolwich manufacture that have recently been rejected ; whether there is reason to believe that a large quantity of these defective shells have found their way into both services ; and whether he can now state how a Government arsenal came to use large quantities of defective material, although the prices charged for shells by the arsenal are considerably higher than those quoted by the trade.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The number of shells so rejected is 152. There is no reason to believe that any defective shells have found their way into the service. As I have already explained to my hon. friend some material used for the manufacture of lyddite shells developed flaws, which could only be found during manufacture or by cutting up the material.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

General Owen's Committee.

Viscount CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone) : I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he will state the names of His Majesty's ships commanded at different times by the naval members of General Owen's Committee, and the dates on which such commands began and ended.

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Edmund Robertson, Dundee) : I am informed that the only naval member of the Committee who has held a command is Captain G. A. Ballard, who has commanded the following ships : — "Janus" (destroyer), as lieut.-commander, 12th December, 1895, to 26th May, 1896 ; "Renard" (torpedo gunboat, Coast Guard duties), as lieut.-commander, 27th May, 1896, to 19th January, 1898 ; "Euryalus," as captain, 15th January, 1906, to 14th May, 1906 ; "Royal Arthur," as captain, 15th May, 1906, to 8th July, 1906 ; "Terrible," as captain, 9th July, 1906, to present time.

Sir Frederick Richards.

Mr. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, with reference to the Order in Council of 8th January, 1906, providing that an Admiral of the Fleet holding the office of First Sea Lord who has rendered exceptional and special service may have half or retired pay of £2,000 a year, whether the Board propose to confer this reward on Admiral of the Fleet Sir Frederick Richards, who served continuously at the Admiralty from 1892 to 1899, and who was First Sea Lord when the Spencer programme was introduced in 1894, and at the time of the Fashoda crisis.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON : There can be no doubt about the exceptional services rendered by Sir Frederick Richards to the Navy and the nation ; but I regret the use which the hon. Gentleman has thought fit to make of his distinguished name on this occasion. The Order in Council is not retrospective.

Navy Ammunition.

Sir BERKELEY SHEFFIELD (Lincolnshire, Brigg) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if the allowance of ammunition for gun practice in the Nore division of the Home Fleet is the same as that allowed to the Channel, Mediterranean, and Atlantic Fleets.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON : The Answer is in the affirmative, as has already been stated by my hon. friend the Civil Lord, in reply to a previous Question from the hon. Member on Monday last.

Mr. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham) : Has there been any change of policy since the First Lord announced that the ships of the Home Fleet would be put on an allowance of thirteen-sixteenths of the ammunition issued to the ships on the Mediterranean and Atlantic stations ?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I should like notice of that Question.

CAPTAIN HERVEY (Bury St. Edmunds): Does this include the ammunition usually allotted for prize firing and ordinary target practice?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I should think so, but I had better have notice.

Messrs. Whitehead's Works.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that, following on the change of Admiralty policy, by which three times as many orders for torpedoes have been given to Woolwich as compared with Messrs. Whitehead's works at Weymouth, over 30 per cent. of the men employed by Messrs. Whitehead have been discharged since the beginning of this year and more are to follow; and whether he can state why so large a proportion of orders have been allotted to Woolwich, whereas formerly the orders were equally divided.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The Admiralty have no information as to any discharges from Messrs. Whitehead's works, either present or prospective. As regards the second part of the Question, it was considered that the existing situation justified the allocation to Woolwich of a larger proportion of orders than has been usual in previous years.

MR. BELLAIRS: Then had the allocation nothing to do with the merits of the work? Seeing that the torpedoes manufactured by this firm are 1¼ knots faster on the 2,000 yards range than the Woolwich torpedoes, ought not the efficiency of the Service to be the first consideration?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON repeated the first part of his Answer.

War Pensions.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that many widows and orphans of soldiers who have died after lingering illnesses, as the result of wounds or disease contracted during the war in South Africa, and who are ineligible for State pensions under the existing regulations, are in distressed circumstances; and whether, seeing that the funds of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation are insufficient to relieve these cases, he can make any provision whereby these persons may not be driven to seek the refuge of the workhouse.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): I am not aware that there are many widows in distressed circumstances on account of the inability of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation to relieve them. The Army Regulations provide pensions for the widows and orphans of men who die, within two years, of wounds or disease contracted on active service. For the rest I would refer the hon. Member to the reply given by my hon. friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury to a Question put on the 13th June by my hon. friend the Member for North Salford.†

MR. LONSDALE: But how about the men who died after two years? Cannot any provision be made for the widows and orphans in those cases?

MR. HALDANE: I have said we only deal with cases in which death occurs before two years have passed.

MR. LONSDALE: Is not State assistance given to widows and orphans of soldiers who died of wounds or disease two years after the Crimean war?

MR. HALDANE asked for notice of the Question.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): How many of these soldiers are in Irish workhouses?

MR. HALDANE: I cannot say.

MR. FLAVIN: Thousands of them are on our rates.

MR. BYLES (Salford, N.) asked if the Patriotic Commissioners had not funds stored away in the bank which would provide for these cases.

MR. HALDANE: I have no control over that body.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 1594.

MR. BYLES: Has any member of the Government control?

[No Answer was returned.]

MR. LONSDALE: Having regard to the generous treatment accorded to the Boers, will not the right hon. Gentleman induce the Treasury to find the £50,000 required to keep from the workhouse the widows and children of those who gave their lives to keep the British flag waving in the Transvaal?

[No Answer was returned.]

Heath Camp, Queen's County.

MR. MEEHAN (Queen's County, Leix): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has received a copy of a resolution adopted by the Mountmellick District Council in reference to damage to the public roads leading to the Heath Camp, Queen's County; whether he is aware that an application was made to the War Office in 1906 for the cost of repairing the damage done in that year; will he state what was the amount claimed, and whether it was certified by the county surveyor and the military authorities at the Curragh; and, if so, can he say what are the grounds on which payment is delayed.

MR. HALDANE: No copy of a resolution has been received from this council, but some letters from them and the county council have been received on the question of compensation for damage to roads; the claim amounted to £121. The War Office has carefully considered the case and can admit no liability for damage. It is, however, a matter for further consideration whether a contribution can be granted as an act of grace.

Soldiers' Punishment Drill.

MR. LEA (St. Pancras, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether soldiers are still subjected to shot drill in any military prisons or detention barracks either at home or abroad; and if so, considering the consensus of medical opinion that exists as to the injury this form of punishment does to the physique of the soldier, whether he will abolish it forthwith.

MR. HALDANE: Shot drill is no longer carried out in military prisons or detention barracks either at Home or abroad, although the consensus of medical opinion is not against this form of punishment, provided that it is under proper supervision. In fact, its abolition was not based on medical advice, but on the substitution of drill, gymnastics, musketry, etc., for "hard labour."

Army Service Extensions.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state the employments in civil life the holding of which is held to prevent a member of the first-class Army Reserve from being permitted to extend his service in the Reserve to complete twenty-one years of Army service.

MR. HALDANE: It is not clear from the Question what information the hon. Member desires to obtain. If, however, he is alluding to re-engagements in Section D, he will find in paragraph 18 of the Army Reserve Regulations, a list of the classes of men who are permitted to re-engage therein for a second or further term of service up to the age of fifty. No one, however, is permitted to extend his service in the Reserve to complete twenty-one years Army service, Reserve service not counting as Army service.

India and Sugar Bounties.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether any representations against the imposition of sugar bounties and the formation of cartels have been received from chambers of commerce in India; and, if so, from what chambers.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): Representations in favour of the continuance of the Brussels Sugar Convention have been made by the Madras, Karachi, and Punjab Chambers.

Colonial Conference—Preferential Trade.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any Papers on preferential trade were laid before the Conference by the Colonial Premiers; and, if so, why these Papers have not been included in the volume of Papers [Cd. 3524] just issued.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): No Papers relative to preferential trade were laid before the Conference other than those included in Cd. 3524.

Colonial Export Statistics.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the figures used by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer at the Colonial Conference respecting the exports from the Colonies to the United Kingdom were taken from a Paper laid before the Conference; and, if so, why this Paper has not been included in the volume of papers [Cd. 3524] just issued.

MR. CHURCHILL: The figures referred to were not taken from a Paper laid before the Conference, but my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer desires me to say that he will be very glad to place them at the disposal of the House in the form of a Parliamentary Paper.

British Indian Grievances in Natal.

DR. RUTHERFORD (Middlesex, Brentford): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been drawn to the cases of E. M. Hafeejee, M. H. Vowda, Ismail Suleman, Amod Heffeejee, and A. E. Patel, five British Indian residents of long standing in Natal, whose recent applications to have their names placed upon the town roll of the Estcourt Local Board have been refused, despite the fact that they possessed the necessary property qualification; and whether, in view of the fact that the Municipal Corporations Bill of Natal has not yet received the sanction of His Majesty's Government, he is acquainted with any law in that Colony which empowers magistrates or other officers to deny British Indians possessed of the necessary property qualification the right to be so enrolled.

MR. CHURCHILL: I have seen a newspaper report of the cases referred to. I understand that the Indians are appealing to the Supreme Court against the magistrates' interpretation of the law.

Great Britain, France, and Spain.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is able to give any information respecting the terms and scope of the agreement concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury; for Sir EDWARD GREY): The notes exchanged with the Spanish Ambassador, and which contain the terms of the agreement between Great Britain and Spain, will be laid before Parliament as soon as possible.

British Trade in Bagdad.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state the general character and extent of the preference enjoyed by German over British traders in Bagdad by reason of freights; and whether any steps are being taken to remove the disabilities under which British traders labour.

MR. RUNCIMAN: The extension of the Hamburg-American line to the Persian Gulf has brought down the rate of freights to Europe during the past year, but my right hon. friend is not aware of any preference against British traders. If the hon. Member will give some further particulars as to what preference is referred to, inquiries will be made regarding it.

State Pensions and Income-tax.

MR. H. H. MARKS (Kent, Thanet): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, for the purposes of the income-tax in the current year, the pensions of civil servants and of naval and military officers are being treated as earned or as unearned income.

MR. RUNCIMAN: No distinction will or can be made between "earned" and "unearned" incomes for the purposes of the income-tax until the Finance Bill now before Parliament has become law.

Public Trustee Act.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General when the rules of the Trustee Act, which will come into operation 1st January, 1908, will be laid, *THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir JOHN WALTON, Leeds, S.): I am informed that the rules have been drafted and are under consideration, but I cannot say when they are likely to be ready to be laid on the Table.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): Will an estimate of the cost of administering this Act be submitted to the House this session?

*SIR JOHN WALTON: I should like notice of that Question.

London Police Commission.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can say when the Police Commission is likely to make its Report.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): The Royal Commission informed me a few days ago that they do not expect that it will be necessary for them to hold more than a few further meetings for the taking of evidence. I hope that they will be able to present their Report shortly.

"Drum" Publichouse, Southall.

DR. RUTHERFORD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been drawn to the grant of a new licence to the "Drum" publichouse, Southall, Middlesex, in face of opposition from the district council of the area affected, and from local residents and property owners, who protested both by giving evidence in the licensing court and by resolution at public meetings, and by a numerously signed petition against the grant of the licence; and whether he will take steps in connection with the Licensing Bill to provide machinery to prevent publichouses being dumped down in localities contrary to the declared wishes of the inhabitants concerned.

MR. GLADSTONE: My attention has not been drawn to this case, but I will make inquiry into it.

Manufacture of Explosives.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in view of the fact that Kynoch, Limited, at the recent trials contended, in opposition to the evidence of Sir Frederick Nathan, that the addition of mercuric chloride to explosives renders them more stable, whether the firm at any time prior to the action of the Home Office in seizing explosives in England and Ireland which contained this illegal ingredient made any representations with a view to getting the specifications of the explosives amended; and whether he is aware that the regulations of the American Army Ordnance Department expressly prohibit the introduction of mercuric chloride or any other substances which may in any way mask the heat test.

MR. GLADSTONE: Messrs. Kynoch have never at any time applied to the Home Office for an Amendment of the definition of any of their explosives so as to allow of mercuric chloride being added as an ingredient. I believe it is the case that the United States Army Ordnance Department expressly prohibit the use of mercuric chloride or any other masking agent in explosives supplied to them.

MR. MOONEY (Newry): Has the right hon. Gentleman seen the evidence of Sir Frederick Nathan?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not.

Hammersmith Workhouse.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board what was the amount expended by the Hammersmith guardians at the opening ceremony of their new workhouse at Wormwood Scrubbs; whether this amount was charged in the capital expenditure on the buildings; whether the architect, the clerk of the works, and the engineer each drew percentage on this amount, and, if so, what was the amount so paid to them, and were these amounts passed by the auditors of the Local Government Board.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): The clerk to the guardians informs me that no sum was expended by the guardians themselves in this matter, that whatever expenditure was incurred was met by the contractor, and that no particulars have been furnished to the guardians of any expenditure which has been charged against them in the contractor's accounts, as all payments were made upon the architect's certificates for total sums. He adds that everything included in the architect's certificates has been charged to capital. I learn from the inspectors who held the recent inquiry that the expenses of the opening ceremony have not been divided from those connected with the laying of the foundation stone, and that the detailed quantity accounts contain items for these purposes amounting to £826 3s. 3d. The architect's commission is 4 per cent. on the sums certified by him, but it has not yet all been paid. The clerk of the works is paid by salary, and there was no engineer concerned. The sum above mentioned includes a commission of 10 per cent. to the builders on most of the items. There are also percentages payable to the quantity surveyor, but some of these are in dispute. I do not understand that percentages to the quantity surveyor are included in the sum above mentioned. So far as I am aware, no amount payable as commission on the expenses of the opening ceremony has been passed by the auditor. I understand that the matter has not yet come before him.

MR. LEA: Am I to understand that the expenses of this luncheon did fall, directly or indirectly, on the ratepayers?

MR. JOHN BURNS: Ultimately, the £826 3s. 3d. was intended to fall upon the ratepayers.

MR. LEA: May I ask if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin was present on the occasion?

*THE SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is now proposing to ask part of the Question which he knows perfectly well was struck out by my direction.

Wheat Prices.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: To ask the President of the Board of Trade what was the price per quarter of Manitoba No. 1 wheat at Liverpool and Hamburg on 1st June last, and the price of British wheat and Prussian wheat on the same date in those markets.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. KEARLEY, Devonport): The price quoted for Manitoba No. 1 wheat at Liverpool on 1st June was 36s. per quarter. Liverpool is not a returning market under the Corn Returns Act, and there is consequently no quotation for British wheat at that place. We have no recorded quotations for either Manitoba No. 1 or for Prussian wheat at Hamburg on the date mentioned.

The Wreck of the "Jebba."

MR. MILDMAY (Devonshire, Totnes): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he has come to any decision with regard to the awards for services rendered by fishermen and others at the wreck of the "Jebba."

MR. KEARLEY: Yes, sir. The following awards have been granted:—To the ten coastguard employed, £16 2s. each. To the nineteen assistants continuously employed and to Henry Hurrell, £2 each. To the fourteen assistants employed from 6.30 a.m., £1 each. To T. Thornton and F. Hurrell an extra award of 10s. each, making a total of £2 10s. each. It is also proposed to recommend E. Purslow and R. Hayter, coastguards; I. Jarvis and J. Argeat, assistants; and Mr. W. S. Day, Customs officer, to His Majesty the King for the grant of the bronze medal for gallantry in saving life at sea. With the grant of this medal Jarvis and Argeat will also be given £3 each, making their total remuneration £5 each.

School Rifle Corps—Hartlepool Accident.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been drawn to the accident which happened at a school rifle corps drill in Hartlepool, and by reason of which a teacher was shot through the knee; and whether he will take steps to prevent the use of loaded rifles on school premises in future.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. McKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): My attention has not been called to the incident referred to. Without doubt it took place out of school hours, and in that case it is not a matter in which the Board of Education have power to intervene.

MR. FENWICK : But did it not take place on school premises ?

MR. MCKENNA : I will inquire as to that.

*MR. BYLES (Salford, N.) : Could not the Government prohibit the use of ammunition by children ?

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs) : Does not this deplorable occurrence rather show the absolute necessity of teaching people how to handle a rifle ?

MR. LEA : Is not this the second accident of the kind lately ? Did not the son of the hon. Member for North Camberwell nearly lose his life through a similar accident arising from this tomfoolery ?

MR. MCKENNA was understood to say he had no information on that point.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich) : Is it not fortunate that the shooting was bad ? He might have been shot through the head otherwise.

Land Purchase Act Rules.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if new rules have been prepared for the working of the Purchase Acts by the Estates Commissioners ; and, if so, will they be laid upon the Table before the prorogation of Parliament.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.) : New rules are in course of preparation as provisional rules, and as soon as they have been made final they will be laid before Parliament pursuant to the provisions of the Irish Land Act, 1903 (sec. 23 (13) and (14)).

MR. CHARLES CRAIG asked whether the House would have an opportunity of discussing the whole policy of the Estates Commissioners, more especially with reference to estates in the west of Ireland.

*MR. SPEAKER said that was travelling very far from the Question on the Paper.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG : But, Sir, I understand that these rules embody the whole policy of the Government ?

*MR. SPEAKER : If the hon. Member wishes to know if any opportunity will be given for discussing them he must put down a Question to that effect.

Tyrrellspass Evicted Tenant.

SIR WALTER NUGENT (Westmeath, S.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will advise the Land Commissioners for Ireland to reconsider the case of Joseph Geoghegan, of Tyrrellspass, an evicted tenant whose reinstatement has been refused on the grounds that his eviction did not take place within twenty-five years before the passing of the Irish Land Act of 1903, although the said tenant was not evicted for the non-payment of rent but only because the landord wanted the land, and subsequently had the house levelled ; and if, now that the same lands are in the hands of the Estates Commissioners for distribution, he will advise them to give the preference to the said Joseph Geoghegan as against other evicted tenants brought from a distance.

MR. BIRRELL : The lands in question have not yet come into the hands of the Estates Commissioners for distribution. If the Commissioners should acquire the lands, they will consider the Question of assigning a portion to the evicted tenant mentioned in the Question.

Lord Longford's Westmeath Estate.

MR. GINNELL (Westmeath, N.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how much of the losses charged against the Westmeath County Council on account of land purchase arises in connection with Lord Longford's estate in that county ; is he aware that the Estates Commissioners have, as part of the sale of that estate, passed agreements obtained by rent-office pressure at prices based upon fictitious judicial rents invented to exclude inspection, and have advanced to the vendor price and bonus ascertained by this device, and that some of the purchasers are now more embarrassed than when they were tenants ; and does he intend, on the statutory rearrangement of the bonus next year, to relieve local authorities from liability for transactions of this character, of which they disapprove.

MR. BIRRELL: The total deduction from county Westmeath in respect of arrears of annuities was £262. The total amount of annuities payable on 1st December last by the 263 purchasers of the estate of Lord Longford was £6,086, and the whole of this amount has been paid except an arrear in one case of £1 9s. 3d. As regards the suggestion that prices advanced in the case of this estate were based on fictitious judicial rents, the Estates Commissioners inform me that in several cases in which the judicial rents had been fixed since the Act of 1903 was passed, they had the holdings inspected before sanctioning the advances. I am not at present in a position to make any state ment in answer to the concluding part of the Question.

Irish Land Purchase and Scottish Practice.

MR. GINNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, in view of the practice of the Estates Commissioners in sanctioning sales without any immediate inspection at five years purchase more than would have been allowed under the Purchase Acts which required inspection, he will have the practice and experience of the Congested Districts Board for Scotland brought under the notice of the Commissioners and their inspectors, especially the facts that land is bought in Scotland with State aid at from seventeen and a half to twenty years purchase of what is ascertained at the time of sale to be a fair rent; that no bonus is paid with these prices; and that out of eighty-seven purchasers the annuities of eighty-two are in arrear.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners inform me that they have already made a note of the practice and experience of the Congested Districts Board for Scotland. The Commissioners' administration, however, is in accordance with the provisions of the Irish Land Act, 1903, which, needless to say, does not apply to Scotland.

The Drainage of the Barrow.

MR. MEEHAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the evidence given before the Barrow Drainage Commission, 1885, by Sir Francis McCabe, M.D., F.R.C.S., and Local Government Board inspector, to the effect that the result of the flooding over an estimated area of 3,400 square miles was most injurious to the public health of the country, developed constitutional diseases, pulmonary phthisis, bronchial and catarrhal affections, acute and chronic rheumatism, predisposed to lunacy, enteric and typhus fever, bog lameness and chronic rheumatism in cattle, and liver rot in sheep; whether he is aware that, during the twenty-two years since this evidence was given, nothing has been done to provide a remedy, and that the flooded area has enormously increased, causing more widespread destruction to the health and property of the people; and what steps will now be taken to provide a remedy.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the evidence given before the Barrow Drainage Commission, 1885, by William Neale, M.D., medical officer, Mountmellick dispensary district, who stated that houses were annually rendered unfit for habitation, that whole families had to leave in flood time and huddled together in most insanitary houses, public health was seriously injured, malaria and typhoid fever and diphtheria prevalent in consequence of the floods, no adequate sewerage for the town was possible, and the water supply was contaminated; and whether, seeing that the population of Mountmellick town is 2,400, he will say whether he proposes to take any steps to secure that the people shall not still be compelled to live in a hotbed of disease, with a contaminated water supply and no possibility of proper sewerage.

I beg further to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the evidence given before the Barrow Drainage Commission, 1885, by J. M. Tabuteau, M.D., medical officer, Portarlington dispensary district, who stated that fifty houses or more were continuously flooded with from three to five inches of water on the floors; that he had to attend the sick standing on a chair by the bedside, with four inches of water on the floor; that there have been epidemics, principally scarlatina and typhoid, of a virulent type; that the water supply was polluted, and no proper system of drainage was possible until the floods were prevented; and whether, seeing that Dr. Tabuteau stated this year before Sir Alexander Binnie's Commission that the evils he then described still existed in a more aggravated and extensive form, he will say whether this town of 2,000 population is still compelled to use polluted water.

I wish also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the evidence given before the Barrow Drainage Commission, 1885, by M. Hanlon, M.D., Portarlington, who stated that eighty years ago barges could come up the river to Portarlington, while a skiff could not then come up; that public health was seriously injured, the results of the flooding being fevers, inflammation of the lungs, scarlatina, chest affections, asthma; that he had kept a register of diseases since 1843, and for the last twenty years diseases had greatly increased; whether he is aware that the condition described by Dr. Hanlon still exists; and what action, if any, he proposes to take in the matter.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attenhas been called to the evidence given before the Barrow Drainage Commission, 1885, by M. J. Darby, M.D., medical officer, Monasterevin, who stated that in consequence of the flooding from the river Barrow public health was injured, illness increasing, especially lung disease, that there could be no proper sewerage, the water supply was polluted, that the floods and high water in the river drove back the sewerage into the houses, and that he had counted 158 houses flooded; whether he is aware that the condition of the town with close on 1,000 population is far worse at present; and whether any remedy will be provided.

I beg further to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the evidence given before the Barrow Drainage Commission, 1885, by Dr. James Kilbride, medical officer, Athy dispensary district, who stated that part of his district ran seven miles towards Monasterevin, was subject to flooding by the Barrow, and that chronic rheumatism, diphtheria, and typhoid fever of a very virulent type were prevalent; that the water supply was contaminated, and no system of sewerage possible under present conditions; and to the evidence of Dr. O'Neill, medical officer, Athy Union Workhouse, that people were suffering from chronic rheumatism, chronic heart disease, chronic effusion of the chest, malaria fever, that he lived in the flooded end of the Barrow, and had seen seven cases of heart disease arising from rheumatism by malaria, caused by the action of the sun on the wet surface when the floods went down; whether he is aware that these conditions existing over twenty years ago have enormously increased, affecting a population of over 6,000 people; and what steps he proposes to take to provide a remedy.

MR. BIRRELL: I will answer all these Questions together. I understand that the Barrow Drainage Commission of 1885 received evidence to the effect stated in the hon. Member for Leix, four Questions and in the two succeeding Questions of the hon. Member for South Kildare. I have already answered a number of similar Questions put by the hon. Member. I have fully explained to him that legislation is necessary before any large drainage schemes can be undertaken, and that no such legislation can be introduced until very full consideration has been given to the recommendations of the Arterial Drainage Commission whose Report has recently been received. The question of arterial drainage in Ireland is one of considerable magnitude, and I understand that the expenditure of some millions of public money would be necessary to give full effect to the recommendations of the Arterial Drainage Commission. It must be obvious that I cannot give any undertaking this session as to the introduction of legislation on the subject.

MR. MEEHAN: May I ask is it not possible for the Government to deal with this great evil, which affects the lives and property of the people, by some temporary measure of partial drainage, such as in the case of the river Bann?

Mr. BIRRELL: We are considering that, but really it is a difficult question.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that similar evidence has been given to half-a-dozen special Commissions and Committees and other bodies who have inquired into the subject any time for the past 100 years; whether any money has been spent on certain rivers I need not name in all that time; and, I desire further to know whether this Government will allow the matter to pass, as other Governments have done, and whether this state of things is to go on for ever under a beneficent English Government?

Mr. BIRRELL: I trust not, but the Commission has indicated a great number of reforms to be carried out, all of which require very large advances of public money, and, as we have to consider that the money should be devoted to the best purposes, that must take some little time.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Alport Commission made all these recommendations before, and the right hon. Gentleman the present Leader of the Opposition in 1888 introduced three Bills that did not involve the expenditure of millions of pounds, and in the opinion of experts not even of £100,000.

*Mr. SPEAKER: This series of Questions seems to be in the nature of an argument, rather than seeking for information.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR: With all respect I am asking the right hon. Gentleman if he is informed upon a certain point that affects this question very seriously. Hundreds of thousands of acres have been flooded, year by year, and nothing has been done.

Mr. BIRRELL: I am quite aware of that, and also that some suggestions have been made to the effect that the expenditure of something like £100,000 might procure good results, and that is the question that is at present under our consideration.

Mr. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory). The Barrow is the most urgent of all.

Mr. BIRRELL: I do not deny the urgency of this at all.

Mr. MEEHAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the fact that the county councils of the district concerned have agreed to a temporary scheme of drainage, and that that scheme was approved of by Sir Alexander Binnie.

*Mr. SPEAKER: That Question is designed for the purpose of going further than seeking information.

Mr. MEEHAN: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, may I point out that a portion of the Question No. 8 on the Paper was omitted, a portion quoting from evidence given twenty-two years ago, that "the poor died young in numerous cases, leaving their children, who have to be supported by the workhouses." I desire to ask the Chief Secretary is he aware of the fact that the matter so described twenty-two years ago is now in existence in a more aggravated form, and it is possible that the poor must still be permitted to die young, and leave their children as a burden to the ratepayers of the district?

Mr. BIRRELL: I cannot, of course, deny for a moment that the matter has again and again been reported upon, and that the evil consequences of the present position are of a most grievous character. All I can say is that any scheme which could be expected to do good would cost a great deal of money. That is what is being considered. I cannot promise this session to introduce legislation.

Non-residential Grass Farms.

Mr. GINNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Irish Land Commission are willing, with the concurrence of a purchaser under one of the Purchase Acts prior to 1903, to buy up his interest in a non-residential grass farm, subject to a balance of annuities, with a view to immediately selling the farm to the Estates Commissioners for distribution among neighbouring people in need of land; and will the Irish Executive facilitate this project, in order to satisfy the needs of those people and check the further depopulation of the country.

MR. BIRRELL: The Land Commission have no power to purchase a holding which is subject to the payment of annuities under the Land Purchase Acts.

Neptune Blood Estate, Clare.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will say what is the cause of the delay in the sale of the Neptune Blood estate, county Clare.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners inform me that there has been no undue delay in this case. Since the hon. Member's former Question on the subject the Commissioners have had the estate inspected and have recently received their inspector's report. They intend to make an offer to the Land Judge for the purchase of the estate.

Sir J. Gore Booth's Ballymote Estate.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether Sir Jocelyn Gore Booth, whose Ballymote, County Sligo, estate, has recently been sold to the tenants under the Act of 1903, is now anxious to come to an arrangement with his town tenants of Ballymote for the purchase of their town holdings situate on the same estate; and whether the Estates Commissioners will be instructed to co-operate with the landlord and tenants and facilitate this sale in every way.

MR. BIRRELL: The holdings of the town tenants on this estate were not included in the sale which has already been completed. The Estates Commissioners are prepared to consider any application which may be made to them in connection with the suggested sale to town tenants.

Queen's County Agriculture Committee.

MR. MEEHAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that one of the Local Government Board auditors, when auditing the accounts of the County Committee of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Queen's County, in October last, surcharged three of the members with the sum of £3 7s. 10d., which amount the committee had unanimously ordered to be paid for the necessary repairs and cleaning of premises which had been used for a course of lectures and demonstrations under the scheme of instruction adopted by the committee with the approval of the Department; whether the auditor made the surcharge under Section 51, Sub-section 7, of the Local Government Act, 1898; whether he is aware that the delay in furnishing the account arose through the illness and subsequent death of the person who gave the use of the premises to the committee; and whether, under these circumstances, he will remit the surcharge, so that members of the committee shall not be punished for discharging a debt incurred in the public interests.

MR. BIRRELL: The statements contained in the Question are substantially correct, so far as they go. It is, however, also the fact that the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction declined to give their sanction to the payment referred to, and in the absence of this sanction the payment is illegal. The amount of the surcharge has been paid, and the Local Government Board have now no power to remit it.

Mr. George Keogh's Geevagh Estate.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that eighty per cent. of the tenants on Mr. George Keogh's estate, situate in the parish of Geevagh, near Riverstown, in the county of Sligo, reside on uneconomic holdings of reclaimed mountain land; whether, owing to the fact of these rack-rented tenants being hopelessly in arrears, they were unable to take advantage of the rent-fixing clauses of the Act of 1881; whether this estate contains 500 acres of grazing land from which tenants were formerly evicted; whether he is aware that on the neighbouring estate, owned by Ughtred A. Knox, of Ballina, county Mayo, a similar set of conditions exists; and whether, under these circumstances, the Estates Commissioners will be instructed to open negotiations with the view of purchasing these estates from the owners.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners inform me that no proceedings for the sale of either of the estates mentioned in the Question have been instituted before them, and they have no knowledge of the facts alleged in the Question. The Commissioners will doubtless consider any representations in the matter which may be made to them. So far, they have received none.

Cattle Maiming at Lecarrow.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at Lecarrow, county Roscommon, on Wednesday last, upon the hearing of a charge against sixteen men of ill-treating cattle and sheep the property of two graziers, the Court consisting of two magistrates, one a resident magistrate and the other a local justice, was divided on the question of registering a conviction, and the local justice who refused to convict was cheered by the crowd which had assembled; and what action he intends to take to ensure the due punishment of the offenders in this case.

MR. BIRRELL: The charge in this case was for unlawful assembly. It is the fact that the two magistrates who composed the Court on the 12th instant were divided in opinion as to whether accused should be sent for trial. The case was adjourned till the next petty sessions, and it is therefore still *sub judice*.

Carrick-on-Shannon District Council Chairman.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Carrick-on-Shannon No. 2 District Council have elected as their chairman Mr. J. J. Doyle, who is at present in Sligo Prison on a charge of intimidation; and whether he will be permitted in virtue of his office to sit as a magistrate at petty sessions.

MR. BIRRELL: I understand that the rural district council named have elected Mr. Doyle to be their chairman. Mr. Doyle is at present in prison in default of finding sureties for good behaviour. If he accepts office as chairman of the district council he will, under the provisions of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, be a justice of the peace during the term of and by virtue of his office.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: Does the right hon. Gentleman intend to lay the facts before the Lord Chancellor that this Gentleman has been imprisoned for intimidation?

MR. BIRRELL: That is not so; he is in prison because he does not find sureties for good behaviour.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the charge against Mr. Doyle was one of unlawful assembly, and is it right that a man so charged should act as a justice of the peace?

MR. BIRRELL: No doubt the Lord Chancellor will do his duty in the matter, but I must point out that Mr. Doyle holds office *ex-officio*.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: Will the right hon. Gentleman bring the facts before the Lord Chancellor?

MR. BIRRELL: I see no occasion to do so.

Defence of Grazing Lands.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether owners and tenants of grazing lands in Ireland will be permitted to organise and offer armed resistance to lawless mobs endeavouring to drive off their cattle.

MR. BIRRELL: I have nothing to add to the Answer which I gave to the same Question when put by the hon. Member for North Armagh on Monday last.†

MR. LONSDALE: Does the right hon. Gentleman not consider that the police are deterred from doing their duty by the belief that in doing so they will receive no sympathy from the Executive?

MR. BIRRELL: No, Sir. I know exactly to the contrary.

Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland).

MR. WOLFF (Belfast, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has yet received the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction; and, if so, whether, in view of the fact that the House was informed that the Report was expected to be in the hands of Members as early as the month of April, he can see to its immediate publication and circulation.

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† See page 126.

Mr. BIRRELL: I have already explained, in answer to Questions, that the delay in presenting the Report in question has been due to the fact that a minority Report was also to be submitted. Both Reports have now been laid on the Table. They are already in type, and I understand that the Stationery Office will circulate copies as soon as possible.

Irish Evicted Tenants Return.

Mr. LIDDELL (Down, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, having regard to the fact that the Parliamentary Blue-book, Cd. 6935 (1893), set out the names and particulars of every evicted tenant then in Ireland, the Government will grant a Return in continuation of the above showing which of them and how many of them have since been reinstated, and which of them are now to be reinstated.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Parliamentary Blue-book referred to gives the names of the evicted tenants on the seventeen Plan-of-Campaign estates, but the hon. Member will find that it does not give the names of the 2,755 tenants then reported to have been evicted from other estates in Ireland. The Estates Commissioners' Report on evicted tenants, which was recently laid on the Table, shows the present position of the Plan-of-Campaign estates referred to. It is not considered feasible or desirable to give a Return such as the hon. Member asks for.

Captain CRAIG: In view of the Bill that the Government are about to introduce, does the right hon. Gentleman not think this information would be most valuable to the House to enable it to judge of the merits of the measure?

Mr. BIRRELL: I do not think so.

Captain CRAIG: We do.

Irish Fishery Rights.

Mr. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in the case of a landlord selling his property with sporting rights, and where such rights include any fishery for which a body of fishermen have paid a rental for such fishery from time immemorial, the Commissioners having carriage of sale will grant the same right of purchase to the fishermen for those waters as they will to the farmers for the land.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners inform me that if any such fishery as is mentioned in the Question should become vested in the Land Commission, the Commissioners would be prepared to consider any applications from fishermen who may have paid rent for such fishery.

Teachers in Irish Model Schools.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that teachers now appointed to model schools are obliged to work two hours every Saturday more than teachers in ordinary schools and only receive the same salary; and whether, in view of this fact, he will make representations to the Commissioners of National Education to grant model school teachers relief from this extra work on Saturdays, or pay them for the special services they render.

Mr. BIRRELL: I would refer the hon. Member to my Answer to his previous Question on this subject on 30th May.† The Commissioners of National Education inform me that they are not prepared to make the change suggested in the Question.

Roscommon Extra Police Rates.

Sir F. BANBURY (City of London): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a resolution of the Roscommon District Council, held on Saturday, 8th June, requesting their county council to place every possible obstacle in the way of any effort to place any portion of the extra police on the rates of the county; whether he is aware that the Roscommon County Council has refused to pay the amount claimed for sending extra police to Elphin; and what steps he proposes to take in the matter.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 57.

Mr. BIRRELL: I understand that the Roscommon District Council have passed a resolution protesting against the charge for extra police. The statutory certificate which is necessary for the recovery of the charge has not yet been issued. The Government possesses full powers to recover the charge if it should become necessary to put them in force.

Lahiff Estate, County Galway.

Mr. JOHN ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners are negotiating for the purchase of the Lahiff estate at New Inn, county Galway; and, if so, will he see that the sale is not sanctioned unless the grazing lands upon the estate are included in the purchase.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners are negotiating for the purchase of the estate referred to. The question of including the grazing lands in the purchase will be duly considered by the Commissioners.

Bullaun Post Office Defaced.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, on the morning of Sunday, the 9th instant, the letters E.R. on the post office at Bullaun were defaced and the letters U.I.L., indicating the United Irish League, were painted in green in their stead; and whether the police have any information with reference to the matter.

Mr. BIRRELL: The police have received information that early on the morning of Sunday, the 9th instant, the sign-board of the post office mentioned was daubed with green paint, but it is not the case that the letters U.I.L. were painted on the board or any part of the post office. The paint was at once removed by the postmaster. The police have no knowledge of the offender.

Mr. J. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): Is not the objection of the Unionist Member for Ulster to the fact that the paint was green and not orange?

[No Answer was returned.]

Evicted Tenants—Cost of Reinstatement.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the estimated cost of reinstating those evicted tenants whom it is proposed to restore to their holdings, or for whom it is proposed to supply new holdings.

Mr. BIRRELL: I cannot make any statement on this subject to-day.

Loughrea Cattle Driving.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether on Saturday, 8th instant, the farm of John Kennedy, at Carrowcreerenagh, the farm of James Sammons, at Clooney Castle, and the farm of Pat Coomer, at Marble Hill, all near Loughrea, were raided by a crowd of men and the cattle driven off; whether this was done in the presence of the police; and whether any of the persons engaged in the proceedings have been arrested or been prosecuted.

Mr. BIRRELL: A prosecution has been directed in this case, and I must therefore decline to enter into the details of the offence.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: But two cases are mentioned in the Question?

Mr. BIRRELL: The prosecution applies to both.

Cattle Driving at Raruddy.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Persse's farm at Raruddy has been for the third time unlawfully entered upon and cleared of cattle; and whether the Government intend to take any more effectual steps to protect Mr. Persse's property than they have done in the past.

Mr. BIRRELL: It is the fact that Mr. Persse's farm at Raruddy has been entered for the third time, and that the cattle have been driven off. On the two previous occasions sheep which Mr. Persse had brought temporarily from another farm were driven off, but the cattle were not molested, and the local police therefore did not anticipate that the cattle would be interfered with. The police authorities have now made arrangements for constant patrolling in the locality. Proceedings are being instituted against five persons who have been identified in connection with the first of the offences.

Service of Writs in Ireland.

SIR GEORGE FARDELL (Paddington, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to two cases heard in the King's Bench Division last week in Dublin, in which the civil bill officers declared that they were unable to serve any writs in their respective districts, owing to the fact that writs were forcibly taken from them and that they had been subject to violence; whether his attention has been called to the orders made by Mr. Justice Johnson and Mr. Justice Wright allowing service to be effected by letter; and whether, having had experience of the illtreatment received by postmen in the same district in the past, he will afford full police protection to these postmen upon whom the duty will devolve of delivering the letters containing those writs.

MR. BIRRELL: The reply to each part of the Question is in the affirmative.

Cost of Restoring Evicted Tenants.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what moneys of the sum devoted to land purchase under the Act of 1903 have been applied or ear-marked for the restoration of evicted tenants up to 1st May, 1907.

MR. BIRRELL: Up to 31st May last the total amount advanced under the provisions of Section 2 (1) (*d*) of the Irish Land Act, 1903, was £98,950.

Irish Default Prisoners.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state how many persons are at present confined to gaol in Ireland for refusing to find securities to be of good behaviour.

MR. BIRRELL: One hundred and fourteen persons are at present confined in Irish prisons in default of finding sureties for their good behaviour. The Government have no information as to the number of these cases in which the default arose from deliberate refusal to find sureties as distinguished from inability to do so.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: How many of these cases are connected with agrarian disorder?

MR. BIRRELL: I must have notice of that.

Connaught Prosecutions.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many persons are at present returned for trial at the forthcoming assizes on the Connaught Circuit for offences arising out of the agrarian troubles.

MR. BIRRELL: Sixty-one persons have been returned for trial at the forthcoming assizes on the Connaught Circuit for offences arising out of agrarian matters. The number of separate cases in which these sixty-one persons are concerned is six.

Mr. A. M. Sullivan's "Story of Ireland."

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware of the resolution passed at the last meeting of the central council of Catholic school managers in Ireland regretting the refusal of the Board of National Education to admit the "Story of Ireland," by A. M. Sullivan, as an historical reader for use in national schools; can he say on what grounds the Commissioners declined to sanction the use of this book; and whether the Commissioners intend to continue the policy of keeping Irish children ignorant of the history of their own country.

MR. BIRRELL: I have seen a copy of the resolution referred to. The Commissioners of National Education inform me that after careful consideration of the book in question they decided that it would not be suitable for use in national schools. They deny that there is any foundation for the suggestion contained in the concluding part of the Question.

MR. FLYNN: Is not the right hon. Gentleman personally aware that this book is a well-informed and most impartial synopsis of Irish history, and is generally recognised as such ?

MR. BIRRELL: I believe the book is a very good one. But, unfortunately, I have nothing to do with deciding this matter.

Sligo County Councillor's Vote.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board have yet instituted proceedings against Mr. Cawley for illegally acting and voting as a county councillor on the Sligo County Council; and, if so, with what result.

MR. BIRRELL: The reply is in the negative. The Sligo County Council have full power to exclude Mr. Cawley from participation in their proceedings, and if they should fail to do so it is open to any ratepayer to take action in the matter.

Croghan and Rooskey United Irish League.

SIR GEORGE FARDELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proceedings of the Croghan and Rooskey (county Roscommon) branches of the United Irish League, which indicated persons who would meet with the displeasure of the League if they refused to obey their instructions; and whether, considering the disturbed state of the country, he will take immediate action to prevent the public circulation of such resolutions.

MR. BIRRELL: I have nothing to add to the Answer which I gave on the 6th instant to a similar Question put by the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London.†

Mayo County Council Chairmanship.

CAPTAIN FABER (Hampshire, Andover): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board have received a memorial from certain members of the Mayo County Council, stating that on 11th June two chairmen were duly elected to preside over that county council for the ensuing year, and urging that the Local Government Board should hold that Mr. Mark Henry was duly elected; and whether he can state what decision has been arrived at by the Board and the grounds for that decision.

MR. BIRRELL: The Local Government Board have received a memorial to the effect stated in the Question. The Board have no power to decide the question raised in the memorial, and have so informed the memorialists.

Poisoned Sporting Lands.

CAPTAIN FABER: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the offer of a £2 reward for the discovery of persons who laid poison all over Mr. McTernan's land at Lyonstown, with the effect that all his dogs, some cats, and ducks, were killed; whether the police have reported any reason for this outrage; and whether any persons have been arrested in connection therewith.

MR. BIRRELL: The hon. Member has been misinformed. No reward has been publicly offered in this case. Captain McTernan recently poisoned his lands which are used for sporting purposes, and gave the usual statutory notice of the fact. Certain domestic animals belonging to persons in the locality were poisoned on the lands, but none of them belonged to Captain McTernan. No outrage was committed, and consequently no arrests have been made.

Kildysart Stack Fire.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any arrest has yet been made or any prosecution instituted against the person or persons who set fire to and destroyed a rick of hay at Kildysart, county Clare, on 1st May.

MR. BIRRELL: No, Sir.

MR. J. MACVEAGH: Did not the culprit in this case—to use the words of Mr. Justice Grantham—"escape by the skin of his teeth"?

[No Answer was returned.]

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 813.

Muckland Farm, Ballimore Bridge, Dispute.

Mr. HADDOCK (Lancashire, North Lonsdale): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, after the promised inquiry, he can now inform the House what was the nature of the amicable arrangement entered into between the owner and the local tenants of the Muckland farm, near Ballimore Bridge, which prevented arrests being made in connection with the cattle-driving incident on 1st May.

Mr. BIRRELL: I am informed that Messrs. Hughes gave a promise in writing to surrender the farms in November next, provided that they should receive compensation when the estate should be sold, and that their sons should each be given a holding when the farms should be divided.

Birr Sessions Police Arrangement.

Mr. HADDOCK: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the proceedings at the petty sessions at Birr, on Friday, 14th June, when Mr. Shannon had to appeal to the county inspector for order and severely criticised the police arrangements; and whether he can state why the police force was not present in sufficient numbers to preserve public order during the hearing of a serious case.

Mr. BIRRELL: A force of 100 police was assembled at Birr to preserve order on the occasion referred to. Complete order was preserved in Court, but in the course of the proceedings Mr. Shannon, resident magistrate, complained of noise outside the Court. The noise proceeded from a crowd which was fifty yards from the Court-house. The police kept the crowd back from the immediate vicinity of the Court.

Attacks on Irish Postmen.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is now in a position to inform the House whether the police have yet succeeded in arresting, and whether any sentences have been passed upon, any persons connected with the following criminal cases to which his attention has already been drawn: the assault and robbery against a postman at Ballinagree, near Macroom, in December; the firing into Mrs. Ryan's house at Craughwell on 8th February; the assault upon two rural postmen in the Ballinagleragh district on 19th February; the issue of a threatening notice to Mr. Burns, on Ryan's estate, county Galway, purporting to come from the Mullagh branch of the United Irish League, in March last; the destruction of property belonging to Mr. Raftery at Knockrow, Kilchreest, on 8th March; the firing into the house of Mr. Tierney, near Athenry, on 13th March; the firing into Colman's town house on 17th March; robbery committed against a postman at Inchigeela on 18th March; the firing at and wounding of Mr. O'Connor on 21st March; the attack with firearms upon the house of Mr. Boland, near Newmarket-on-Fergus, on 21st April; the moonlighting affray at Mr. Ford's house, near Brosna, on 24th April; the firing into the house of Patrick Burke at Oranmore on 27th April; the dispersal of Mr. Raftery's stock from Cuskeydally farm on 30th April; the unlawful wounding of Mr. John Murphy, of Rineen, in April; the moonlighting attack upon the houses of Messrs. Glyn, Egan, and Earkins, in Coorheen, on 9th May; the firing into the house of Thomas Duddy at Athenry on 15th May; and the destruction of property and the dispersal of stock belonging to Mr. Corboy, of Birr, in the same month.

Mr. BIRRELL said that no persons had been arrested in the cases referred to.

Captain CRAIG: Have adequate attempts been made to secure arrests?

Mr. BIRRELL: Certainly.

Case of John Dolan at Ballinasloe Court.

Mr. JOHN ROCHE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the proceedings before a special Court held in Ballinasloe on the 21st May; can he state the reason why this Court was set up on the occasion; whether he is aware that John Dolan, of New Inn, was brought before that Court, and was it specially constituted to try his case; can he say by what authority, or under whose warrant, the sergeant in charge of the Royal Irish Constabulary barracks at

New Inn, county Galway, arrested John Dolan of that place, and brought him eighteen miles to a special Court before the resident magistrate; was he acting under orders from Lord Ashtown or at his instigation; whether the alleged cause of arrest was Dolan's refusal to allow Lord Ashtown's workmen to interfere with his boundary fence; and whether Dolan offered violence or used intimidatory language towards anyone, and what was the result of the prosecution.

Mr. BIRRELL: On 21st May Thomas Dolan went with a hatchet to a farm in Lord Ashtown's occupation and proceeded to destroy a wire fence which was being erected by Lord Ashtown's workmen, saying that he would allow no one to make a fence there. A police sergeant who was present remonstrated with Dolan, and pointed out that if he had a grievance a legal remedy was open to him. Dolan, however, persisted in destroying the fence, and as a breach of the peace was imminent, the sergeant arrested him and took him before the resident magistrate at Ballinasloe (thirteen miles distant) in the usual course. No special Court was constituted. The sergeant acted under his general authority as a peace officer, and did not act under orders from Lord Ashtown, or at his instigation. Dolan used no actual violence beyond breaking down the fence. The resident magistrate discharged the accused, as he raised a question of title.

Mr. MOONEY asked if it was not a fact that the possession of this land was in dispute between Lord Ashtown and Mr. Dolan, and if the latter did not take the ordinary steps to assert his rights? Was not a special tribunal set up to deal with the case, and was it not the fact that before anything occurred on the day in question the police sergeant told Dolan that he had an order in his pocket to arrest him? If so, from whom did he get that order?

Mr. BIRRELL said the case was dismissed because the question of title was raised. He knew nothing as to the order for arrest.

Irish Board of Works.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether any appointments have been made to the offices of counsel for the Board of Works in Ireland, and for the Irish Valuation Department; and, if not, will he explain why.

Mr. BIRRELL: No appointment has been made of counsel to either of the Departments mentioned in the Question, nor is it intended that any permanent appointment should be made. For the future, as occasion requires the advice of counsel will be taken by each Department through their solicitor, and when it becomes necessary that either Department should be represented in Court, briefs will be sent to such counsel as may be selected, according to the varying circumstances of each case.

Gortnahoctee Postman.

Sir F. BANBURY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether the police have yet ascertained how the assailants of the postman at Gortnahoctee on 19th March became aware that the letters of which they robbed him contained writs; and whether any arrests have been made in connection with this robbery.

Mr. BIRRELL: My right hon. friend has asked me to answer this Question. The robbery in question took place on 18th March. Six letters were taken; three of them contained writs and the other three contained processes for rent. Copies of the processes had been posted up at Macroon Courthouse on 15th March. The letters containing the processes were posted on 16th March, and the next day being Sunday, the 18th was the first day on which they could be delivered. The postman's assailants had probably become aware that copies of the processes had been posted up at the Courthouse, and they may have inferred that the processes would be delivered by the next post, namely, on 18th March, the date of the offence. This is a possible explanation, but in the nature of the case the police can obtain no positive proof. No arrests have been made in connection with the robbery.

Distribution of Non-Residential Grass Lands.

Mr. GINNELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if he can see his way to suggesting to the Irish

Land Commission and Estates Commissioners any method whereby a non-residential grass farm for sale, subject to a balance of annuities under one of the Purchase Acts prior to 1903, may be made available for distribution under the Land Act of 1903 among neighbouring people in great need of land.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. CHERRY, Liverpool, Exchange): No, Sir, the Land Commission have no legal power to purchase a holding which is subject to the payment of annuities under the Land Purchase Acts.

Tullamore Low Wine Still.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if samples of the materials added to the low wines still at Tullamore were analysed at any time by the principal of the Government laboratory or his assistants; if so, when; whether prohibited materials were discovered therein; what purpose did the use of the prohibited materials serve, or what purpose were they supposed to serve; was any penalty incurred through the use of such prohibited materials; and was any fine imposed on this account by the Board of Inland Revenue.

MR. RUNCIMAN: The distillers of Tullamore have, in common with some other distillers, been allowed as an indulgence to add a small quantity of phenyl-hydrazine sulphonate of calcium to the spirits in the low wine stills for the purpose of eliminating certain objectionable bye-products arising during the process of distillation. The material referred to and the spirits produced are examined from time to time at the Government laboratory. No prohibited materials have been discovered on such examination, nor any fine imposed in connection with the indulgence.

Irish Potato Crop.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether the attention of the Department has been called to the unpromising condition of the crops in Ireland, especially the potato, owing to the long continuance of wet ungenial weather; and what steps the Department is taking towards making more general the use of the spraying process, more especially in the poorer parts of the country.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR IRELAND (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.): The Department are well aware of the present condition of the potato crop in Ireland and the influences of the wet and uncongenial weather on this crop. The steps taken towards the more general use of spraying are as follows:—1. One hundred and fifty thousand copies of a leaflet giving full instructions for the preparation and use of spraying mixtures are being distributed throughout the country. 2. A large placard to remind farmers of the necessity for spraying and giving details of the method has been posted at every police barracks. Copies of this placard have also been sent to the national schools. Altogether over 10,500 of these posters have been issued; 3. It having come to the knowledge of the Department that there are on the market in Ireland samples of useless and even harmful spraying mixtures, a special placard is being issued warning farmers against the use of such materials. All farmers may have a sample of sulphate of copper or washing soda reported on as to purity by the Department for a nominal sum. 4. The Instructors in Agriculture, one of whom is now attached to every county in Ireland, have been asked to give special attention to this subject during this season. 5. In the better off counties where horse tillage is common the Department are issuing loans for the purchase of horse spraying machines to persons selected by the county committees and who are prepared to spray their neighbours' potatoes at charges fixed by the county committee. 6. In many of the western districts the Department have for some time employed overseers, twenty-two in all, among whose duties are the following:—(*a*) to repair spraying machines which are out of order; (*b*) to sell spraying machines at cost price, viz., 27s. 6d., to farmers the valuation of whose land is between £5 and £10, and whose house valuation does not exceed £3; to sell the same machines for 24s. to persons the valuation of whose land is under £5 and house under £3; (*c*) to sell to the same persons spraying materials at cost price; and (*d*) generally to give demonstrations in spraying as well as instruction and advice on the subject to persons requiring such in their district so far as time will permit.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR: Is there any use whatever in posting these notices at the police stations, seeing that the people never go near them?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I am not so sure as to that. It is the usual place for posting all official notices, but in this case they have also been sent to the national schools. We have done our best, and our instructors are at work in the country.

Income-Tax Commissioners' Qualifications.

MR. HENRY (Shropshire, Wellington): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he will take into consideration the advisability of modifying the existing qualifications of Income-Tax Commissioners so that the income now necessary to qualify a Commissioner may be from other sources besides property.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): My hon. friend's suggestion will be considered.

Sugar Convention.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, before deciding on their present course of action with regard to the Sugar Convention, His Majesty's Government received representations from any person or persons, trader or body of traders, with regard to the desirability of denouncing, modifying, or continuing the Convention; and, if so, will he lay such representations before the House.

SIR H. CAMPBELL BANNERMAN: Various representations on the subject have been received by different Departments from time to time. The question of laying Papers before the House will be carefully considered.

Education Acts (Amendment) Bill.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether the Government intends to afford facilities for the Third Reading of the Education Acts (Amendment) Bill in order to secure, as far as practicable, the passing of the Bill in the course of the present session.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Government share what I believe to be the desire of the hon. Baronet, and I will consider the question of facilities. I cannot say anything further at present.

Irish Land Finance.

MR. MOONEY: On behalf of the hon. Member for Waterford, I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he can now state whether he is in a position to fix the day promised for the discussion of the Irish Land Act finance.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I hope Friday, the 5th of July, but it is not possible to pledge myself at the moment.

Evicted Tenants Bill.

MR. MOONEY: On behalf of the hon. Member for Waterford I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he can now state on what day it is intended to introduce the Evicted Tenants Bill.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN Probably on Thursday next week.

Indian Defence.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if it is proposed that General Owen's Committee shall proceed to India in order to advise upon the adaptation of Indian defences to the requirements of modern strategy.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The defences of the Indian ports are subject to the control of the Government of India, and General Owen's Committee has been dissolved.

Grand Committees.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) asked if the Government had decided to take any action with a view of having the proceedings in Grand Committees reported.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That is a matter in which, if we take any action at all, it ought to be taken with great deliberation and caution. Hitherto the reporting of the Grand Committees has answered very well. It seems to me the reports in the newspapers are quite sufficient to inform Members of the House of what is proceeding. If we have a more elaborate report, or anything approaching the Hansard report—not necessarily *verbatim*, but a full report—I am very much afraid that the proceedings in Grand Committee will alter their character. At present they are conducted on an almost conversational scale; many members even making speeches without rising from their places The proceedings are on a different footing altogether from proceedings in this House. They are none the less effective, perhaps more effective, for the purpose of considering the details of Bills. Therefore we are not disposed to take any steps now to extend the system of reporting.

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman's attention had been called to the fact that great inconvenience arose from the absence of any record of the statements made by the Minister in charge of a Bill during its progress through Committee.

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) asked the Prime Minister whether he did not think it would be in the general interests of the nation that the proceedings on the Scottish Committee yesterday should be made public.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know what the particular proceedings yesterday were to which the hon. Member refers, but I think the proceedings on the Scottish Committee generally, since it began, would be a lesson for the public. There may be occasions when some inconvenience is caused by what the right hon. Gentleman refers to, but I doubt if that occurs often, because the report which is furnished through the papers is usually well and carefully done, and may always be counted upon as including any important statement of that kind.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman had said, I think justly, that if what goes on in the Scottish Committee were known it would be a lesson to the public; but how can it be known if the right hon. Gentleman refuses to give us that report which he says is unnecessary?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know that it is necessary to give a lesson to the public. It would convey a lesson to the public, but that is not the purpose for which the Committee is set up. The Committees have been appointed, not that members should air their eloquence, or that any effect should be created on the public mind by their proceedings, but that Bills may be carefully considered in the interests of good legislation.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: May I ask, leaving the public altogether out of account, as the right hon. Gentleman desires to do, whether it is not really of the greatest importance that the House, when it comes to consider and review the work of the Committee, should have some means of knowing what it is they are reviewing? Will not the right hon. Gentleman reconsider his decision, not from the point of view of the public, but from the point of view of the labours of this House when on the Report Stage it has to survey the work of the Committee?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The right hon. Gentleman speaks of it as if it were an entirely new thing, and that there had never been a Grand Committee before which was not reported. We have had the experience many years, and we find that the present degree of report is adequate for the real purposes for which the Committees are constituted. Therefore, until experience leads us to another conclusion, we think it is quite sufficient to continue the present practice.

MR. WALTER LONG asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had in mind that under the changes for which he had been responsible not only were Bills of great importance and of a very controversial character sent to these Committees, but also, for the first time in the history of Parliament, chairmen who were not officers of the House in the ordinary sense were charged with the very difficult and delicate duty of the use of the closure. Was not that a complete change, and was it not right that the closure, if its use were granted, should be exercised in the light of day?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In the first place, it is not quite the fact that no important and controversial Bills have hitherto been dealt with in this way. Mr. Ritchie's Licensing Bill was dealt with by a Grand Committee, and with success. As to the closure, I think I have mentioned more than once that I myself was the first chairman of a Grand Committee who off his own bat, without any rule or regulation to justify him, applied the closure, and with great success. That was a good many years ago. It would, however, have been an irregular practice if it had been often done. We have regularised it by giving the chairman the power of closure, which is inherent in the position of chairman in those circumstances.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR asked whether for the last twenty years, during the existence of Grand Committees, there had been any expression of a desire on the part of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen now in Opposition for the publication of the proceedings of Grand Committees.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I never heard of it.

*MR. MENZIES (Lanarkshire, S.) asked the right hon. Gentleman whether it was not the fact that a report of the proceedings of the Scottish Committee, of the length of two columns a day, appeared in the Scottish newspapers.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The Prime Minister cannot be responsible for what appears in the Scottish newspapers.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Leeds (South Parade Chapel) Charity, the Kingswood (Whitfield Tabernacle, Schoolroom, etc.) Charity, the Longton (Caroline Street Chapel) Charity, and the Board of Education (Hulme Trust Estates Educational) Confirmation Bills): Mr. Secretary Gladstone and Mr. Herbert Samuel; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the said Bills): Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Lough.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee B (in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Bridgeman; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Salter.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon): We are now asked to read this Bill a third time, although it has really never been before the House. I think it ought to be realised that only nine of the thirty-eight clauses have been considered, and, as my right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean has said—and it is absolutely the truth—the Committee stage is to be held in the House of Lords. Under ordinary circumstances this would have been matter for very grave regret. If the Bill were of first-rate importance, it would be very detrimental to the prestige of the House of Commons that the decision of important points in it should be relegated to the other House, but I cannot pretend that much injury will be done in this case. Little of the original Bill is left except the introductory words; almost the entire substance of the Bill has vanished during the debates. What is left is so insignificant in character, and, if I may say so, so unworthy of the attention of Parliament, that I really think it is unfortunate in some respects that we have devoted ten days of Parliamentary time to its discussion. Most of that time might have been saved had we known at the beginning what we know now. There were three points in the Bill specially repugnant to Members on this side—the destruction of the Militia, the institution of the special contingent, and the interference with the Yeomanry. Mercifully, at the last moment the Militia has been allowed to live, and naturally our objections based on the score of its destruction have vanished.

As a consequence of their retention that portion of the special contingent which was to be composed of the substance of the Militia is never to be brought into existence. Our objection on that ground has also passed away. The injury which was to be inflicted on the Yeomanry, by an astute arrangement, has been relegated to a period three years hence. It is true that three years hence the Yeomanry are to be deprived of 2s. of their daily pay, but that is a remote contingency, and the changes and chances of this transitory life may so materially affect the operation of this provision that I do not think we need concern ourselves very much about it. There is not very much left save certain administrative regulations with regard to the Volunteers. At the outset I bade my Volunteer friends possess their souls in patience, because I thought a good deal of what was proposed in reference to them might be regarded as *brutum fulmen*, and that before the Bill left the House it would have vanished. That anticipation has been realised. The penalties have been whittled down to 6d.; ineeed I understand the minimum is to be nothing at all. The embodiment for six months, which undoubtedly caused some alarm among the Volunteers, has undergone the change which I foresaw, and those who do not want to be will not be embodied, and allowance will be made for anybody who is inconvenienced. By a wise concession, too, the statement has been withdrawn that those men who by reason of their present occupation would not be able to accept embodiment are to be excluded from the Volunteer Force, and these men will have the chance of getting that military training which will be useful if the time comes when they are wanted. Therefore I think the case stands that, as far as the main issues of the Bill go, we need not trouble our heads about them at all, and that with regard to the minor problems, they have been reduced to very small proportions indeed. So far as the Volunteers are concerned, we may say that their position, with one exception, is "as you were."

There is one exception which may alter what I say. We are to have County Associations. I do not know whether these County Associations are going to come into being, but I think it is extremly doubtful that they will. I do not know whether they are to be merely experimental or whether they are to be established universally. Personally I attach very little importance to the matter, and I do not think the Associations will do much to alter the state of things which the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa reported upon. The Royal Commission reported that the Volunteers were not fit to face foreign troops. They did not report that the Volunteers wanted to be called by another name, or that they wanted to be placed under new masters. I am not sure that the state of things will be improved by calling them by another name and placing them under these County Associations. We may benefit by these proposals to some extent, but I do not think we have very great grounds for being sanguine in regard to this method of administering an army. An army ought to be administered in such a way that the members of it become and remain the members of a uniform body which is capable of concentration. An army which is to be a fighting army must be embodied under those conditions. The only precedents I can call to mind where a similar course was resorted to occurred at the time of our war with France in North America, and the same policy was also pursued in the Peninsular when Spain was engaged with the same enemy, and when the Provincial Juntas administered her divided Armies. Those are the only precedents I can recall, because no other country in the world, so far as I am aware, has come to the strange conclusion that it can facilitate the expansion and concentration of its army by dividing it for purposes of administration into eighty or ninety small sections, each of them acting independently of the others. But I do not attach much importance to this proposal, and, as I have said, it is not a matter of much consequence. If, however these County Associations ever come into existence at all their proceedings will be watched with sympathy and a certain amount of curiosity.

But there is a serious side to this Bill, although the whole substance of it as originally introduced has been so altered and withdrawn that we need not concern ourselves over it now. But the Bill is a part, was intended to be a part, and was brought in as a part, of a much wider scheme, and

I should like to see how far this measure fulfils the promise with which it was brought in. We were told that one of the great needs of the Army, and this was a more important question, was to have a reservoir of men upon which you can draw in time of war, and when this Bill was brought in we heard a good deal about this reservoir, but the day has gone by for that now, and I think no one seriously advances the contention that we are adding to the power of the Regular Army in time of war abroad by calling the Volunteers by another name. The right hon. Gentleman has spoken many times with great eloquence in the country of the great value and importance of patriotic and national feeling, which he said would induce the nation to spring to arms if the necessity arose. That is a very inspiring sentiment, but we have to consider what actually happens in time of war, and what the right hon. Gentleman speaks of has not happened and will never happen. We have to think of this country fighting the kind of war which it has fought before and which it may have to fight again, when the Regular Army will be in need of officers and men in the field. We are told that we may rely upon the patriotic feeling of the nation to supply that need. It is no disparagement of our people to say that they do not do what no other people in the world do. Officers and men do not come forward to undertake a duty that they have never undertaken to fulfil and are under no obligation to discharge. During the Crimean War, in which we fought for two and a half years, we were full of patriotism. We sang patriotic songs about the war and the people called their little children after its battles. Songs were written about the battles and everything was done to show our patriotism, but when all was said and done we could not put 40,000 men in the field, and we never had 40,000 men in line in the Crimea. We were offering bounties of £10 to induce men to enlist in the Regular Army, but that was so notoriously and entirely insufficient that 15,000 foreigners were encamped close to London and drawing pay as British soldiers. The right hon. Gentleman says that all that has been changed by Lord Cardwell's system; but I say that that is not so, and the idea that it has is an hallucination. The fact is that those who are engaged to come out and go to war come out, but those who are not engaged do not come. It may be that we have a larger number of men under engagement, but we have no reason to suppose that those who are not under engagement will join to fight in an unpopular war or to go to an unpopular place. The right hon. Gentleman has spoken of a great national war. If there ever was a democratic and national war—a war in which men were fighting on their own soil for their hearths and homes—it was the American Civil War of Secession, but in that case the Volunteers who went to the front before the Battle of Bull Run went back to their homes after that battle. I do not blame them, because they were under no obligation to stay at the front, although I believe some of their officers threatened to shoot them if they did not. The fact is in that case that the Volunteers at the end of their engagement went home in such large numbers to their wives and children that President Lincoln had to apply compulsion, and Congress had to pass a most stringent law to make them return to the front. We deceive ourselves if we think we can rely solely upon the patriotic feeling of the people in time of war. During the South African War it is true many Volunteers were anxious enough to go to the front, but there is no evidence that they could have been relied upon for service elsewhere. We cannot allow men to pick and choose in that manner. It is here that the value of the Militia comes in. The Militia went to Malta and St. Helena and other places during the war, and they went because they were under an obligation to go, and you cannot rely upon the men in this or any other country to go abroad unless they are under an engagement to do so. The vast majority of those who engage do their duty, but we must not rely, we cannot rely, upon this Territorial Force to provide that great power of expansion of the Army which on all hands it is admitted we ought to have.

Then we have the necessity for an increase of officers. The right hon. Gentleman dwelt upon that need, but this Bill does nothing to increase the number of officers. Last night we learned, or I at least learned, that even the small hope that we had in our breasts in regard to this subject were destined to disappointment. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War informed me last night in reply to an unstarred Question that so far from the Bill making the much-needed addition to the Regular officers of the Army by the creation of the new short-service battalions, the Regular staff of the existing depot barracks are not only to take charge of the short-service battalions, but to undertake the training of the recruits for the line battalions as well. If that is so, we are not going to add by this Bill one single officer to the Regular Army, and we are simply calling old things by new names. I will not talk about the difficulties which arise in connection with the Militia officers, because I have done so before. I understand, however, that we are going to try to persuade a certain number of young men from the Universities to join. We probably shall persuade a few, but the point is that the men whom we persuade to undertake these positions will be dissuaded in consequence from going into the Regular Army, because you may take it that the man who is keen enough or interested enough to undertake this limited liability belongs to that class of men to whom we must look for our supply of officers for the Army. But whether we are sanguine or not, after eighteen months of making speeches, and after introducing a Bill, the fact remains that not a single officer has been introduced into the Army, and some 500 have been struck off the Army list.

We hoped and we were told that the Government were going to make provision for a striking force. No such provision has, however, in fact been made. It is a crying need to have a striking force to move rapidly before mobilisation, but we are not one whit nearer that force than we were when the Bill was introduced. As far as I can make out, the total addition to the striking force is only 1,000 men, and this is to a great extent an imaginary addition.

Now I want to say a word or two about the Expeditionary Force. Great play has been made with statements about an Expeditionary Force of 167,000 men, and I should like to analyse this and see how far this Bill provides for such a force. That force is an absolute myth. There is not anything in the least like it in existence. Two years ago I caused a Return to be prepared showing the numbers and possible distribution of the whole Army in case a force had to be sent across the sea, and the result was so different from that which the right hon. Gentleman now asks the House to accept that I must ask what has happened since. The right hon. Gentleman has not added a man, a horse, or a corporal's guard to the Army, but on the contrary claims credit for a reduction—I will take his own figure—of 20,000 men. I give him credit for that reduction, though I believe the actual reduction will be much greater. How such a reduction can bring about a larger Expeditionary Force I cannot understand. The right hon. Gentleman will tell me that he has grappled with this subject and that he has issued certain Returns. Returns have been issued showing units and brigades and so on, and the simple-minded public are supposed to take them as representing good coin. But they are not good coin, and tens of thousands of the men included have no military existence. It all depends on imagination and the realisation of some untried hypotheses, upon experiments not yet made, and upon expectations that cannot in any circumstances be fulfilled for years to come. Credit is taken for tens of thousands of Militiamen and infantry when there is not a single Militiaman, Artilleryman, or Infantry soldier who is under any liability to serve abroad at all. Then credit is taken for a large number of trained civilians, but the civilians do not exist and are not trained. I confess that I am sceptical about this and a good many other things in this Bill, and I venture to tell the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean that he need not be alarmed about these 167,000 men whom I agree with him in thinking we shall never want at the outbreak of war. The right hon. Gentleman and myself come to the same conclusion by different roads. We come to the conclusion that this force does not exist, and I do not think there is the slightest chance of its coming into existence.

But I will not talk any more about what we have been accomplishing, because nothing has been accomplished. But I should like to deal with what has been undone, and that is far more serious than anything which the right hon. Gentleman has done. In eighteen months absolutely nothing has been done to make the Army more fit for war and a great deal to make it less fit. There has been a large reduction of artillery, and I have never been able to understand the puzzle how by reduction the artillery has been made more efficient. Of garrison gunners 3,400 have been wiped out. They are men of the highest proficiency whom common sense and experience would suggest it would be well to preserve until there is a force to replace them. Military opinion, so far as I know, is opposed to the creation of a large number of Volunteer batteries, and it is unfortunate that the change should be made at the expense of the Regular Artillery. I have done my best to get at the facts, and it appears to me that the Field Artillery has already been diminished by over 800 men. But what is much more important is that there is a positive pledge that 3,700 men of the Horse Artillery, with sixty officers, are to be wiped out of the Army. I hope that that will not be done, for it will be nothing less than calamitous. I wish for further information upon this matter. The position has been slightly ameliorated in regard to the infantry by the retention of the Militia, but by striking off nine battalions the right hon. Gentleman has deprived the Army of the Reserves those battalions are calculated to produce, and of a supply of short-service recruits. I was amazed when the right hon. Gentleman the other night spoke with scorn of the utilisation as Reservists of men recruited at eighteen and having served two years; for what are we now doing? We are relying for an enormous proportion of the Army Reserves upon men enlisted at seventeen and who are to serve six months. What does the right hon Gentleman say to the reserve of Guards in South Africa? I will undertake to say that in the view of every officer who was in South Africa, the Guards retained their soldierly spirit in a way that was an example to every other battalion in South Africa. Who were these Guards Reservists? They were men 80 per cent. of whom were enlisted at the age of eighteen to serve two years with the colours and to pass to the Reserve at twenty-one. It is trifling with the House when statements of this kind are made on responsible authority. It is nothing less than a calamity that the right hon. Gentleman should have stopped a most fortunate and successful experiment destined to create very large reserves for the Army.

The Volunteers are to remain, and are to be trained for fifteen days, or less, if they cannot give fifteen days. What is the military authority which justifies the right hon. Gentleman in saying that troops with that amount of training are capable of serving as units with the Regular Army in time of war? I recollect well the unanimous advice given to me by the highest military authorities as to the term of service. I proposed that the short-service troops should be enlisted for fifteen months. But, with one exception, every one of the distinguished officers whom I consulted declared that that was an impossible period, and that two years was the minimum period of training for men who were to go into action with Regular troops. What information has reached the War Office since 1905 to cause this *volte-face*? We have had a red herring trailed across the scent by references to the Swiss army; but enough has been said to show that all these references are beside the mark. There is no analogy between the Swiss conditions and our own.

But when I come to the new conditions created by the right hon. Gentleman the night before last, then I think what I have said is very relevant indeed. We are now asked to add 101 battalions to the Regular Army. These battalions are liable to go into action as units, under their own officers, and they will have had six months training only. When was it that this great change of opinion took place? If it be true that the officers who now advise the right hon. Gentleman were of opinion, in 1905, that two years was the minimum period that could be allowed for training, what has caused a change to be made in that view in 1907? When did the change take place and why has it become advisable now to trust boys enlisted at seventeen, with six months training, if, in 1905, it was impossible to trust boys of eighteen with less than two years training?

I do not want to detain the House longer, but there is one personal aspect of the question to which I should like to allude. The Financial Secretary accused me last night of having attacked all that has been proposed by the right hon. Gentleman; but I can say, with a perfectly clear conscience, that nothing would have given me greater satisfaction than to be able to support him, if possible, in all he proposed. I have been fifteen years in this House, and never once has any one been able to accuse me of allowing Party considerations to influence my conduct in regard to the Army or Navy. I have always worked with one ideal in regard to the Army; I have always worked in the belief that there is only one solution, a solution that might require modification one way or the other in regard to details, but that practically there is only one satisfactory solution to be found of this problem. During two years of my life it was my privilege to take some responsible part in applying in practice the principle which I advocated, and it is too much to be asked to ignore those circumstances and to hail with satisfaction a policy which in every single particular involves a direct reversal of everything I have attempted to do, and a direct challenge of everything that I believe to be right. I approach this question in no factious spirit, because the very moment the right hon. Gentleman abandons his destructive policy, the very moment he indicates that he will accept any of the ideas to which I have referred, then I shall be the first to support him, and I should give him the most cordial support. What happened? I trust that this amount of justice will be done to me. I have supported what I can; but I cannot support a destructive policy which I believe to be detrimental to the welfare of the British Army. I have seen the havoc inflicted by war on a defeated nation in more than one part of the world; and it is because I have pictured the infliction of that penalty on my own country that I have sometimes spoken strongly, perhaps too strongly, though I trust not, on matters on which I feel strongly. My only ambition is that somehow we should produce an Army which, when engaged in battle, will win. I ask that the lessons of experience in this and other countries should be applied to our own case; and I have opposed the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman where I have found it drafted regardless of this tremendous test of battle. But I hope and believe that one feature of the Bill will be outside the gloomy outlook which I have presented. By accepting the suggestion of the Leader of the Opposition, the Secretary of State has taken an immense step in advance, and has laid the foundations of a real Territorial Army. I will not dilate on that subject now, but I am confident that the laying of these foundations will involve, as a matter of logical necessity, the creation of a building of a certain pattern and dimensions upon it. I know very well that when the military authorities find they have to rely in time of war on the Militia as now to be constituted they will find that they are resting on a broken reed, and their first duty will be to improve the Militia battalions and bring them up to war efficiency. Two years ago I was laughed at for proposing as part of the solution of this thorny question, the institution of a Territorial Army formed of short-service battalions taken from the Militia. I was told that they were "sham Regulars," unfit to be called soldiers, and that the Militia were being destroyed without anything being put in their place. But through good report and ill report I have maintained that that solution is the only possible one. I have said, all through the various speeches I have made on the subject, that force of circumstances must eventually bring you to that solution as the only possible one. What has happened now? We have now, with cordial agreement on both sides of the House, the institution of 101 battalions of short-service Territorial Infantry serving at home in time of peace and abroad in time of war; and that is entirely taken from the Militia, which is not to be destroyed but is to be recuperated, to live a long, and, I hope, a prosperous, life under the new conditions. I venture to make the prophecy that the good work which the right hon. Gentleman has done, and the happy departure which he has taken, will compel him to arrive at a point when he will have to choose either the reduction of more battalions of the Regular Army or abandoning the linked-battalion system. I believe that is the certain outcome of what has occurred to-day. I hope that when the time comes the right hon.

Gentleman will choose the latter alternative. I must not be taken as expressing the belief, at this stage, that this plan in itself will suffice to give us a real army; I do not believe it will; it will only start us in the right direction, and it will have to be followed by consequential stages. With regard to the Bill, personally I do not care how soon it goes out of this House. It seems to me like the famous curse of the Archbishop of Rheims—nobody will be a penny the worse for it, and I wish I could think that anyone would be a penny the better. As far as I can see, the Bill as it stands is a matter which principally concerns the Volunteer commanding officers. If it is agreeable to them, so much the better, and I sincerely trust that the effect of the Bill will be to assist them in doing the good work in which they are engaged. I myself have some doubts on that subject, though, as far as that goes, I am only too glad that they are to have the opportunity of carrying out what is desired; still, I must regret that the House has had to spend ten days in arriving at the decision which it has now reached.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was in the difficult position of having to reconcile his strong and well-known views with the favourable reception accorded the other night to the suggestion of the Leader of the Opposition. That reception was a curious illustration of the position in which the House stood in regard to the whole matter. In Committee they had not had the advantage of the presence of those who filled the division lobbies whenever a division was taken. So much had that been the case that it was well known to all of them that many Members, after one division, on learning what they had voted for, expressed the deepest regret for the vote they had given, and some of them had carried their Parliamentary conscientiousness so far as to vote against the Government in a later division when the Government happened to be perfectly right. The House generally had not followed the details of the Bill with much care; and one reason was that few of the subjects which they had been discussing were to be found in the Bill. One hon. and gallant Gentleman who had taken a great and a useful part in the proceedings in Committee had constantly been seen by friends hunting rapidly in the Bill for what he had heard described in the speeches, and it was difficult to persuade him that it was not there, for he attributed his inability to find what he sought to his own stupidity. In that way they had seen the Nucleus Regular battalions, the new Yeomanry or divisional cavalry, and the proposals with regard to the artillery all hunted for in the Bill, though it was obvious that they were only in the speeches. But the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had put on a high level the change which had been accomplished in the particular provision which had converted him from an opponent into one who acquiesced in the passing of the Bill. On the whole, he, too, was favourable to the proposed change, and he believed it to be a wise one, especially on the ground of sentiment and public acquiescence, rather than upon mere military grounds. The right hon. Gentleman had said that by the original proposals the Militia were extinguished, but that now the Militia were not destroyed. Was there, in fact, so much difference between the proposals? Personally, he only found fifteen battalions of the Militia in the change, and as regarded the great bulk of the 101 battalions that were supposed to be continued, they were not Militia, but the Nucleus Regular battalions as originally proposed. Every man in the Militia was to be enlisted as a Regular, and whether that was good or not was a doubtful matter. But the point was that they started afresh, and the experiment was to be made as in its original form. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman in viewing the creation of those battalions as the triumph, the inevitable and necessary triumph, of the short-service system in another form, perhaps a more difficult, a more experimental form, than that in which it had been previously proposed, but still with the inevitable result of a short-service system. How far had been met the doubts which many of them had expressed about the scheme as described in the speeches far more than in the actual provisions of the Bill? Those provisions were vague, they did not contain the proposals of the scheme, and, in fact, they were not necessary at all. The main ground of doubt—given the fact that the first line of the Regular Army was not affected at all by the provisions of the Bill—was whether the civil character of the Volunteer Force was affected or destroyed. We held the belief, which was shared by our fellow-subjects in the Colonies and elsewhere in the Empire, that in the Volunteer spirit we had a great national asset, and that Volunteer spirit could be only retained by the civilian character of the Volunteer Force being maintained. On the whole the Volunteers had not been understood by the War Office, and he did not know whether they would resist the attempt to place them more closely under the thumb of the Department, but he knew that none were more anxious than the Volunteers to accept the best advice and aid from it. The civil character of the Volunteers had been left in doubt; and another doubt had reference to financial control and cost. That was a two-fold question. There was the cost of any particular proposals with regard to the Territorial Army, a small matter, though of great importance. Then there was the larger question of the cost of the whole military service, including the Regular Army. Again, there were the arrangements for the Nucleus Regular battalions, and the very difficult point not cleared up as yet, because it was still in the experimental stage, of the divisional cavalry or the new Yeomanry, the new Regular short service cavalry, and the arrangement of the new field artillery, also in a nebulous condition. There were doubts expressed also as to the enormous size of the expeditionary force of 167,000 men, and as to the ability of the country to bear the cost, in addition to a predominant Fleet and an Indian Army, of a Regular expeditionary force on so large a scale, and also the Territorial Force behind. As regards the financial control, he differed from some of his hon. friends who had taken up the matter. He thought on that question they had been met; they had been met as far as it was possible to meet them under the Bill. But the measure was so vague that all the House could do was to obtain a strong promise from the Government that the views of the Committee on Public Accounts and of the Treasury would not be allowed to go under in favour of the new War Office view which had been put before them. The promise to consider they had got as a result of the debates, and the Amendment which his right hon. friend had put into the Bill he thought satisfactory, though some of his hon. friends did not think so. Financial control and economy in finance were, of course, two separate things. But with regard to the civilian character of the Volunteers he confessed that many hon. Members continued to have the gravest doubts, and many distinguished Volunteers had sent in memoranda on the subject to the Secretary for War. The right hon. Gentleman had received from a distinguished Volunteer officer, whose name he was not at liberty to mention—he was not a Member of that House—a document from which he would venture to quote these words—

> "It is essential to the success of the Territorial Force as a national army that a strong and independent branch shall be established at the War Office—the head of this department to have equal status with the other members on the Army Council."

In the discussion at the Royal United Service Institution on the Swiss Army, to which allusion had been made in the debate—the Secretary of State being in the chair—the lecturer, Major Johnson, used these words—

> "It would, I think, be inconceivable to the Swiss people that our proposed County Associations, which, as we understand, are to perform almost exactly the same duties as do the Swiss Cantonal councils in connection with the Territorial Army, could act smoothly under the orders of a central War Office composed entirely of professional soldiers, or that of all the innumerable rooms in our new War Office only six should be allotted to the representative of the Territorial Army. They would probably consider the creation of a special civil or military department in the War Office essential, as an intermediary between the military chiefs on the one hand, and the civilian county authorities on the other. Above all, it would puzzle them sorely to find a place in their system of a Territorial Army for our administrative generals of the Esher scheme."

These views were sound, and he thought would be received by Volunteers. But the House must take the proposals of the Government scheme collectively on this subject, and it could not be wondered at that the Volunteers still felt a certain amount of alarm in regard to their future treatment in spite of the self-denying promise made by the Secretary of State. The present Director of the Auxiliary Forces in the War Office had no real power. He was unable to act in the manner in which he would act if he were his own master, and that he could only be if he were a member of the Army Council. It was essential that he should be a man who heartily believed in the Volunteers, and did not share the doubt or prejudice against them in a military sense, which was to be found in the minds of soldiers who had not been connected with them. In the memorandum which he had already quoted the distinguished and experienced colonel said that the future head must, like General Mackinnon—

> "believe whole heartedly in the potentialities of the Territorial Army, while not forgetting the limitations involved by the civil occupation of its members."

That was the essential point. The Government began by offering Lord Portsmouth as the head of the Territorial Force organisation, but with all respect they declined to have him. The Secretary of State for War made a much more favourable offer of himself. With that offer he would have been quite satisfied as a temporary measure were it not for the consideration that the Secretary of State was the head of the Regular Army, that his advisers were Regular soldiers with the Regular bias on these questions, and, therefore, when there was any difference between Volunteer opinion and Regular opinion of the War Office type, his right hon. friend must be advised and must almost of necessity go in the Regular direction and not in the direction desired by the Volunteers. Representation by the right hon. Gentleman, though personally satisfactory, was not satisfactory from the point of view of the civil character of the Volunteers. This was a matter of great importance to the Territorial Forces, because there could be no doubt that it affected the question of military finance. The Regular soldier had learned to put up with the expenditure on the Fleet, but he grudged every penny which was spent on everything except the Regulars; he regarded every penny spent on the Territorial Army as so much subtracted from the amount that might be spent on the Regular troops. What were called the penal clauses of the Bill were really almost the only effective portions of the measure. The other portions of the Bill referred to matters which could be treated outside of legislation. The whole of the Territorial Army now became a force which could be called out in aid of the civil power. That was a new departure in this country, and it was one which would not have been taken some years ago. It was unwise, and although he believed it was never intended to act up to it, it was one which not only damaged the recruiting but damaged the civil character of the Territorial Army. He saw no reason for its being put in the Bill. He did not believe that the Volunteers were likely to be embodied under the provisions of the Bill. It was only from the point of view of the recruiting of that Force, which was civil in its character, that he was dealing with the matter. Was the Bill worth its place as the principal measure of the second, or critical, session of a new Parliament? Was it worth while sacrificing the chance of their great Budget by putting forward this Bill unless the Government could show some reason for believing that there was anything in the provisions of the Bill which was in any degree necessary? What was there in the Bill which they could not have done without? That was a question which he had repeatedly put in the course of the debates. It had been suggested that the County Associations could never have been set up without the Bill. Even that he was disposed to deny, because there were many cases where Treasury memoranda had been issued as the basis of Votes of Parliament, and they had been held by Parliament to be sufficient authority for handing over public moneys to be dispensed through committees of commanding officers. The Secretary of State told the House the other day that he required the power under Part III. The really effective power in Part III. was contained in the first few lines, which were in the following terms—

> "The power of enlisting men into the first class of the army reserve under the Reserve Forces Act, 1882, shall extend to the enlistment of men who have not served in His Majesty's

regular forces, and men so enlisted who have not served in the regular forces are in this part of this Act referred to as special reservists."

That power had been exercised to a large extent already. The Post Office telegraphists and the railway men in the service of the London and North-Western Railway at Crewe who went to South Africa during the late war were enlisted nominally for a day in the Regular Army, but they never served even that single day. It was true that the process was a double one to save time. They were enlisted in the Regular Army, and then they were nominally passed into the reserve for twelve years, so that it was proposed to enact by the Bill what had long been the practice in the Army, and really he could not see the necessity for the Bill at all. The principle of the Bill had been explained as the division of the Army into two parts, the Regular Army and the Territorial Army. The bridges between the two systems were admitted to be very numerous. The distinction between the Regulars on one side and the Territorials on the other was very thin, and it would be difficult for any Member of the House of Commons who had voted for the Bill to explain what the distinction was. The newest examination of the subject by a competent outside authority was contained in a book by Colonel Maude entitled "War and the World's Life." Dealing with this Bill, the writer said—

> "The War Office justifies the production of its scheme by absolute necessity. An Act of Parliament does not in itself possess creative power and can accomplish nothing unless the spirit of the people is behind it."

Colonel Maude thought that the Volunteers already had the spirit, and that—

> "an Act of Parliament may destroy the very spirit which it was intended to evoke. Thus, in the present instance, the suggestion of a fine for breach of contract by leaving the Volunteers has created a storm of opposition, though as a fact probably ninty-nine per cent. of the existing establishment have already voluntarily bound themselves by accepting the same liability to penalty. . . . The proposed legislation will give us fewer men than we already possess, and destroys the strongest guarantee for their presence when wanted which the existing arrangement gave us."

He confessed that his view of the Bill was unchanged by anything that had occurred in Committee. He feared that the reason for the Bill was the 167,000 men of the expeditionary force. A principle had been adopted which committed us to continue, and in fact extended a military system which was the most costly the world had ever devised, a system by which we would fetter ourselves in future. His hon. friends the Member for the Abercromby division, the Member for East Edinburgh, the Member for the Stroud division and the Member for Wiltshire had, on the whole, supported the Bill with reservations on all the leading points. He himself who had not been led to support the Bill found that he was in agreement with his hon. friends on almost everything, though he had been led irresistibly to the opposite conclusion. His hon. friend the Member for the Abercromby division had worked and he believed they would still work together against the cost involved in the linked battalion system which forced the country to maintain an enormous and unnecessary Army at home in time of peace virtually on a war footing. That force maintained at home in time of peace was the ground given by the Secretary of State for the size of the expeditionary force. The right hon. Gentleman said he had acted on no principle in fixing it at that size; he said that he took the units ready to his hand, and yet the only way of making that substantial reduction on the cost of the Army which had been promised by three successive Governments and two successive Chancellors of the Exchequer of the late Government, and reinforced by the present Government, was by the abolition of the linked battalion system. Any strikings-off which his right hon. friend might show were temporary and illusory so long as that millstone hung round our neck. The linked-battalion system not only remained, but was intensified under the new scheme. The late Prime Minister explained that he could not conceive the circumstances for which a force of 167,000 men would at once be required. An attempt was made from time to time to cover up all these difficulties by alleging that home defence was the basis of the new Territorial Army. He saw his right hon. friend smile, but they all knew that that defence was a hollow defence. The right hon. Gentleman had adopted the view of the Blue Water School, and the view of the late Prime

Minister expressed in a Memorandum that the—

> "Navy was capable of defending these shores from invasion."

The right hon. Gentleman had accepted the principle which he described as that "of the late Government, the principle of the Navy, and the principle of the War Office," that the Volunteers were required for garrisons and to repel possible raids, which were "very unlikely," but chiefly for the expansion of the expeditionary force for service across the seas. The hon. and gallant Member for the Abercromby division had often recommended to the House the Militia system as the real basis of the Army of the future. He agreed with the hon. and gallant Gentleman in the case of infantry at least, although he held strong views as regarded the cavalry and a portion of the artillery. This subject was discussed very fully at the Colonial Conference. There Sir Joseph Ward said—

> "The popular basis of a Volunteer system . . . we encourage it in every possible way . . . We could get thousands of them ('to fight over sea'), and if we were to attempt to create a first line or company, whatever is suggested, to be always ready for over-sea defence, I think you would create internal difficulties amongst the ordinary forces, who would willingly and spontaneously go out and fight when the time arises. I believe that it is far better to let the country realise that we can draw upon our Volunteers for wherever we are going to fight, not earmarking them beforehand. Our people do not want to have paraded a permanent organisation to go outside the country to fight. I do sincerely hope that Mr. Haldane will not expect us to go upon lines of that kind."

These views were extremely well supported immediately by Sir Frederick Borden, the Canadian Minister of Militia, who said that he had hoped that this question had been finally "disposed of five years ago." The Secretary of State replied—

> "I am at the moment keenly conscious of the difficulty . . . because I have just had to face it . . . at home."

His main objection to the Bill was that the division of the Army into two lines was an arbitrary division; that the regular line was based on principles of enormous costliness, which were not effective, and would never be able to secure the permanent reduction of expenditure. On the contrary when the right hon. Gentleman came to the House with large estimates with only temporary and illusory reductions it would be said that they were committed to those lines; that they could not help themselves; and that they ought to have known that would be the cost. He contended that the scheme of the Territorial Army would do much to destroy the healthy voluntary spirit which they had to look to and depend upon for the future of the Volunteer force.

*MR. GWYNN (Galway) said that the time had come when those sitting on the Irish Benches ought to explain the position they had taken and meant to take in regard to the Bill. On the Second Reading they voted for the Bill, in the Committee stages they abstained from voting at all, and on the Third Reading they proposed to vote against it. The issue on which they meant to vote against the Bill at its Third Reading did not lie before the House, but was vitally connected with it, and his object was to explain the attitude of Ireland towards the great instrument of Empire which they were attempting to renovate and remodel. On the Committee stage of the Bill they took no part in the discussions, though their objection to the Bill was definite before the Committee stage. That objection had nothing to do with detail. They did not wish to prevent the Government from improving the state of the Army, which both the great Parties had so much at heart. As he understood the Bill, it was to create a popular Territorial Force for home defence, and an appeal was to be made to the patriotism of the British people. As had been admirably explained by the Secretary for Foriegn Affairs, it was not only an appeal to Imperial patriotism but to local patriotism. But was that appeal going to be made to Ireland? Was it proposed to raise a Territorial Army in Ireland, organised in Ireland, to enable Irishmen to associate themselves for the defence of their own country and to drill and acquire the use of arms? No. What was regarded as a virtue in this country would still remain a crime in Ireland. He specially drew the attention of the House to that point. He fully recognised the assumption on which the Bill rested. It could only be passed by a Government which trusted the people and whom the people trusted. But there was no such Government in Ireland. What became of the Union if different conditions so regulated the *status* of the people of Ireland and the *status* of the people of Great Britain? The Irish Party proposed to vote against the Third Reading of the Bill not so much for what it expressed but for what it implied. It stigmatised the position of Ireland as one of inferiority —as that of a conquered country held down by force of arms. When the Irish Party voted for the Second Reading they recognised that before they could have a popular Army they must have a popular Government. They believed that this Government was going to take a serious step towards establishing popular government in Ireland—that they were going to grant—he would not say what they had granted in South Africa—but to take serious steps towards trusting the Irish people with the management of their own affairs — from which it would follow as a consequence that they would be able to establish in Ireland a Territorial Army and to satisfy the legitimate wish of the Irish people to organise themselves for the defence of their own country. Instead of that, the Irish people were offered a Bill which was a perfect monument of distrust. The hon. Member for South Belfast, speaking in Belfast, while proposing it on other grounds, said that as an Irishman he condemned the Bill because it showed complete distrust of the Irish people, and that if he were a Nationalist he would oppose it tooth and nail. The Irish Members had no other course than to vote against the Bill and now they were back where twenty years of resolute government had left them. What he invited the House to consider was what this meant to England and to the Empire. He understood that the permanent strength of the garrison in Ireland was 25,000. In time of war those 25,000 men could not be taken out of Ireland without sending into Ireland at least 25,000 English Volunteers. Men would have to be sent over to Ireland to defend the country which was not allowed to defend herself. The Bill cut off from the Empire that source in Ireland from which she might draw men for a Territorial Army. More than that it affected the first line of Imperial defence. What were the men who were now drawn from Ireland for the Regulars and the Militia? They were men who were willing to take England's shilling to serve in an Army one purpose of which was to keep Ireland in subjection. While that was so, he told the House plainly that it would be the duty of himself and all who thought with him to do what they could to prevent Irishmen joining the British Army. That was a state of things that was surely not to the advantage of England or the Empire. The remedy was plain and ripe in the experience of the Government. He did not know that the record of this Government would be glorious in history, but one thing would redound to their credit, and that was what they had done in South Africa. He believed that the Government were now negotiating with General Botha for a Dutch Army; whether that was so or not it must ultimately be so, because the Dutch could not be given freedom without being given a right to arm. The Liberal Government were bound by the obligations of their own liberality. They were bound by the success of their own achievement not to recede from the standard they had set up in South Africa. They could if they pleased turn Ireland as they had turned South Africa into a place from which they could draw strength for the Empire instead of a place to be held with a garrison. It might be said that all this was vain talk because there was no chance of a state of things arising in which England could trust Ireland, because Ireland was irretrievably and hopelessly hostile to this country. He stood there to deny such statements. He fully admitted that there was a time when all the men most respected in Ireland by Nationalists aimed at separation, and separation such as could only be secured by the ruin of England. There were men still living and honoured in Ireland who had been bound together in a military organisation—there were men sitting on the Nationalist Benches who were a part of that organisation—whose main object was to gain some day of vantage, some point of attack in which they could help in some great European upheaval to accomplish the ruin of England. Those days had gone by, the men who had been, at the risk of their lives and liberty, banded together for that purpose were now standing in with the rest of Ireland in a common aspiration. The old fighting men of Ireland were with the rest of Irish Nationalists in coming to England and offering openly and fairly friendship on one condition, that condition being freedom for Ireland. He had touched bitter memories, but he hoped the House would recognise that the object of his remarks was to conciliate and not to estrange. He asked the Liberal Party if the Irish Nationalists were wrong to oppose a Bill which denied to Irishmen—and to Irishmen alone of all white nations in the Empire—the right to organise freely in defence of their own country; and he would ask the Imperialists if they were wrong to oppose a measure under which Ireland was to be left maimed and helpless, a captive and not a soldier, in a great scheme of Imperial defence.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said he had listened with interest to the speech of most momentous import which the hon. Member had just delivered, but it had failed to convince him that circumstances had so altered as to make hon. Gentlemen on those Benches take a course different from that which they took on the Second Reading of the Bill. He heard with regret that the Irish Party were going to vote against the Third Reading. As a friend of Ireland he regretted that, because the Irish Party in that House had always represented the policy of peace. They upheld that policy when it was not very popular, and to him it would be a painful thing to see the Irish Party and perhaps the Labour Party go into the Lobby with the avowed advocates of conscription against a Bill which worked effectively for the policy of peace. He could assure the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean that the Volunteers had no fear of the penal clauses of the Bill, and he could not endorse the right hon. Baronet's statement that Members on the Government side of the House were less favourable to the Bill than hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition Benches. He could not agree with that statement. No doubt many hon. Gentlemen objected o certain parts of the Bill, but not to the scheme as a whole. He believed that if the Government Whips were removed there would still be an overwhelming majority of Liberal Members supporting the Bill. He had listened to the speech of the right hon. Member for Croydon with some amazement. It was a most extraordinary speech, and its arguments were confused and illogical. The right hon. Gentleman started by saying there was really nothing in the Bill; but if that was so, what had the right hon. Gentleman and his friends been doing for the last ten days, voting and speaking upon matters which he now said were of no importance?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The Militia have been taken out of the Bill and the Bill totally changed.

*MR. McCRAE said the changes that had been made were entirely in the right direction and did not alter at all the importance of the constructive portion of the measure. The change which put the Militia into the first line was a change in the right direction, but it did not alter the scheme of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman then criticised something that was not in the Bill, but which was material to that part of the scheme of his right hon. friend which dealt with the first line and not with the Territorial Army. But while the right hon. Gentleman was saying in the House there was nothing in the Bill, he had been declaring in the public Press that of all that was good in the Bill, he, and he alone, was the absolute and sole patentee. He had read with interest an article in which the right hon. Gentleman had said that just as he was leaving office he left a scheme whereby £175,000 additional was to be spent on the Auxiliary Forces. What was in the right hon. Gentleman's mind he did not know, but he did know that the right hon. Gentleman in the House two years ago proposed that the expenditure should be reduced by £300,000, and that it was only by throwing the right hon. Gentleman over that the Government of the day saved itself from defeat. He knew what he had proposed before, and what the House rejected; but in all his criticisms there had not been mention of a practical scheme.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: What was rejected?

*MR. McCRAE: What was suggested was his proposal to reduce the Volunteers to 180,000 men; secondly, the proposal for dividing the Army into two classes, which he never proceeded with.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: That proposal was proceeded with, and carried into effect.

*MR. McCRAE: The proposal for a short-service Army? Where was it now?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Abolished by the right hon. Gentleman.

*MR. McCRAE was afraid the short-service Army proposal was like the six Army Corps of the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The hon. Gentleman is entirely misinformed. The experiment was put into operation, the battalions were raised on the terms proposed, and produced their reserve. They had been destroyed by the right hon. Gentleman.

*MR. McCRAE would leave his right hon. friend to reply to that, but that was the first time he had become aware that such an Army had been in existence, and he thought it would also be news to other people. The right hon. Gentleman had also made the extraordinary statement that he attached no importance to Volunteer training. That was a statement he failed to understand, because the right hon. Gentleman had over and over again said that the material of which the Volunteers was composed was the best we had, and all that was required was additional training. He quite agreed that a Territorial Army would never be made by an Act of Parliament, and that they must appeal to the sympathy and good will of the nation and the patriotic impulse of the young men of our race. All that could be done in a Bill of this kind was to provide a framework for the scheme. During the last Parliament he had endeavoured in every session to impress on the right hon. Gentleman opposite that more could be done by administration than by legislation in perfecting our military forces. He still held that view, but they required a clear idea of what the men were to do and how they were to do it. That was what the scheme of his right hon. friend provided for. His right hon. friend had produced a scheme which, strengthened by the concessions so wisely made, still held the field, after passing through the fire of criticism. He had listened in vain for an alternative scheme from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon. When the South African war broke out and the Volunteers were after considerable delay allowed to go to the front, they displayed qualities both of courage and endurance which fitted them to take their place with the soldiers of the Line. They did not have the advantage of six months training after embodiment and they did not have fifteen days annual training in camp. His own battalion had sent out many men who had had only eight days in camp, but who never had the opportunity of doing fifteen days prior to the outbreak of war. When they could rely on such ability as those men showed he thought there was something to be said for the discipline of the Volunteer Force as it at present existed. He had listened both to the right hon. Member for Croydon and to his right hon. friend, but he thought neither quite realised what a great factor making for military efficiency we had in the present Volunteer Force. If they would consider for a moment how the force had alternately been neglected and hustled by successive Governments and War Ministers, it was a wonder that they existed at all. When the right hon. Member for Croydon produced the medical circular it said a great deal for the Volunteers and their discipline that they submitted to what they believed to be an illegal demand upon them. They recognised that military discipline must be maintained, and in consequence they did what they were not compelled to do. He thought his right hon. friend ought to be pleased with the measure of success with which his scheme had met. He was still sceptical as to the value of County Associations. The Volunteers generally, if these County Associations became part of the scheme, would make the best of them. He did not recognise their necessity, however, and he, for his part, pinned his faith to the Army Council and the powers they had to make regulations for the County Associations. He believed those regulations would be suited to the counties. He was glad the County Associations were to have nothing to do with command and training, and he hoped commanding officers of Volunteers would occupy the same position that they did at present. He thought his right hon. friend ought to take care that the position of the commanding officers was not in any way undermined, because if any attempt was made to put the commanding officer in leading strings or tie him up with red tape the type of man who now commanded the battalion would not be obtained. At the present time the commanding officer knew that if he worked hard for his corps it could attain to a high state of efficiency because he had a free hand, but if they interfered between the commanding officer and his men, there would be a lack of efficiency and of interest in the work. He did not believe that was the intention of his right hon. friend; but it was in the Bill, and the prescribed officer should become the proscribed officer before this Bill became an Act. He warned his right hon. friend that at the War Office there was a school of thought initiated by Lord Roberts which held that we ought to have a very small highly trained Volunteer force. He opposed that idea root and branch. He was greatly afraid that at the War Office at the present time there might be a feeling in that direction, as during the discussions on the Bill there had cropped up indications of an attempt to reduce the force. That that was entirely contrary to the idea of his right hon. friend he knew, because his scheme was based on a policy of expansion and a large Territorial Army. The House rejected the scheme of the right hon. Member for Croydon when he proposed to reduce the Volunteer Force from 245,000 to 180,000, and that was a policy which he thought the nation also had condemned, because a good deal was said about it at the time of the General Election. He therefore impressed on his right hon. friend that, when considering the part the County Associations were to play and the duties that would fall upon them, he should see that no attempt was made by the military authorities to reduce the establishment of the Volunteers. He believed that the hope of economy in Army expenditure depended on the policy of having a small highly trained Regular Army with a large reserve behind it. He accepted the proposition of his right hon. friend that his scheme provided for more than an Army for home defence. It did so in a way that had never been done before, namely, by providing a Territorial Army self-contained with its brigades and divisions, and its own artillery, cavalry, and army service corps capable of reinforcing an Army in the field. It was a scheme immeasurably in advance of anything hitherto proposed. He regretted that the Labour Party should vote against the Third Reading of a Bill that was a safeguard against conscription. The most peaceably disposed man in the House must feel that under present conditions we must maintain the supremacy of our naval force and the command of the sea, and have an efficient military force as well. Having regard to that, he could only express regret that the Labour Party were going to vote against a measure which was the best weapon we could have against compulsory military training. He would quote from the military correspondent of *The Times* a few words which he thought were very appropriate, not only with regard to the Regular Army, but also in reference to the Volunteer Force. That correspondent in a recent letter said—

> "What we need for the Regular Army is a fixed policy, stability of units, and effectives, and unchanging terms of service."

The Auxiliary Forces in the past had suffered a great deal from the chopping and changing to which they had been subjected owing to repeated attempts to impose what turned out to be impossible conditions. What they required was continuity of policy. He felt quite sure that he was speaking for the great body of the Volunteers of the country when he said that they welcomed the important and honourable place which the right hon. Gentleman had given them in his new scheme. For those reasons he had much pleasure in supporting the Third Reading of the Bill.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) said he had listened with much attention to the able speech of his hon. and gallant friend the Member for East Edinburgh. He regretted, however, that instead of directing so much attention to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon and his speeches and writings he had not devoted more attention to the benefits which the Bill was going to confer on the Auxiliary Forces. In the most careful consideration he had been able to give to the Bill since its introduction, and in the many consultations with which he had been favoured by the Secretary of State for War, he had failed to gather how it was going to be made a distinct benefit to the Volunteer Force. In dealing with any matter connected with that Force he had always been most anxious to remove it entirely from party feelings. The right hon. Member for Croydon and Lord Midleton would agree that in the last Parliament he had certainly shown a non-party spirit on the question. He hoped the Secretary of State for War would not think that in any action he had taken, or any observation he was about to make, he was actuated by the slightest party feeling or animosity, and that he would give him the credit of being devoid of any personal feeling towards himself, because there was no Member of the House for whom he entertained more sincere personal respect. He was quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman had been animated throughout by the very best intentions. Not one of his predecessors at the War Office had made such efforts to become personally acquainted by individual touch with the feelings of the Volunteers in those districts which he had visited. He had devoted many months to the study of these questions, and he had given up many of his Saturday evenings to distributing prizes. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would be ready to admit that in his association with the different commanding officers he had met, he had been quite unable to bring before them the details of his scheme. He could not have done so, because the Bill had not been laid before Parliament, and therefore that course would have been irregular. The hon. Member for East Edinburgh had said very truly that the Volunteers had suffered considerably in the past from the instability of the War Office in regard to them. They had nevertheless survived, and had attained their present position entirely owing to their own exertions and the determination of the officers and non-commissioned officers and men to endeavour to discharge their duty towards their country. No such Bill as that under discussion was required to bring about greater stability or to carry out the recommendations of the Norfolk Commission, which consisted of many generals and other military officers of great distinction. Several years had elapsed and nothing had been done in regard to those recommendations. No such Bill was necessary in order to form the Volunteer Force, as recommended by the Norfolk Commission, into brigades under those commanders who would have to lead them on mobilisation. No Parliamentary sanction was required to carry out that change except the adoption of the pay and allowances of those general officers who would have been necessary to command the brigades in divisions. He deeply regretted that the Secretary of State for War, not content with improving what was so easily susceptible of improvement, had thought it necessary to introduce a Bill which practically destroyed the Volunteer Force as it had existed since 1869. Several units had been utterly demolished and complete changes had taken place. They had not heard anything explicit as regarded the adjutants and other matters, and all those things had produced great disturbance in the Volunteer Force. What the right hon. Gentleman had to do was to form the Volunteer Force under this scheme *de novo*. He had stated that any member of the present force not willing to accept the new conditions would be entitled to his discharge. At present there was a force of 248,000 Volunteers, but how many of them would remain under the new conditions? The force was lamentably short of officers; he believed the shortage amounted to 2,800. It could not be expected until some years had lapsed that sufficient confidence would be established in the new order of things for the old members of the force to come in. That was a most serious condition of things in the present aspect of affairs. He failed to see that any advantage would accrue to the Volunteer Force under the provisions of the Bill. What he found fault with in the right hon. Gentleman's policy was that in trying to establish a new military system he was tearing up everything that now existed, and was running the chance of establishing something indefinite and doubtful in its place. It had been stated that it was a lottery whether the men would come in under the new conditions. All he had to say was that if they did come in there was absolutely nothing between the country and forced military service. The Volunteer Force had saved the country from conscription for the past thirty years. Continental countries like France and Germany insisted upon having large numbers of men available for the expansion of their Army in the hour of need, and it was absolutely certain that if this scheme failed the old scheme would have been destroyed and nothing would remain but conscription. It had been said that the Bill was a safeguard against conscription, but he did not agree with that view. He could quite understand the position of Labour Members in deciding to oppose the Third Reading. He was an advocate of physical training for all classes of the male community, but he was a determined opponent of forced military service. Those who talked lightly about conscription and the advantages that it brought to Germany and other countries were not aware of the enormous evils of forced military service. The young men of this country were free from that obligation, and were not required to give three of the best years of their life to the service of the State. At any rate in that respect they had that advantage over their comrades on the Continent, but if this Bill failed there would be nothing for them but compulsory military service. He felt very strongly on this subject, and that was the reason he had taken an active part in the discussions upon the successive stages of the Bill. At the present time he had no desire to examine more closely into the dangers which he so much feared; the moment for doing that had passed. They had had no opportunity of examining the greater portion of the Bill. The result of the unprecedented procedure which the Government had adopted was that many of its provisions remained undiscussed. That was a very serious state of affairs as regarded the future interests of the Army. He was quite sure the Secretary of State for War would not assert for a single moment that there had been any obstruction or dilatory tactics. As a matter of fact he had already stated that the discussion had been of the most business-like character, and he was pleased to notice that the right hon. Gentleman now gave assent to that proposition. There was, however, one point which he desired to impress most earnestly upon the right hon. Gentleman, and it was that the Volunteers and the Yeomanry would never be satisfied until they had direct representation upon the Army Council itself. He was very sorry indeed to notice that his right hon. friend had set his face firmly against that proposition. It was a point on which there was absolute unanimity of opinion, and it was a change recommended by the Norfolk Commission, who were of opinion that the Volunteer Force was entitled by its numbers and importance to be represented by a superior official, having an equal voice with any of the other members upon the Army Council. If in carrying the Bill through another place, the right hon. Gentleman found an opportunity of altering his views upon that subject he would not only give satisfaction to the Territorial Force, but also please a great many hon. Gentlemen who sat behind him. He agreed with the hon. Member for East Edinburgh that the penal clauses of the Bill were not necessary. With all his careful thought and patience and courtesy, the Secretary of State for War did not seem to appreciate the position of discipline in the Volunteer Force. It was not by courts of summary jurisdiction and courts-martial, and all the paraphernalia of a military code, that they would bring about military discipline in the Territorial Force. Discipline could only be established by instilling *esprit de corps* and by making every man feel that the honour of the regiment depended on his own individual and special exertions. His hon. friend opposite had had experience of the Volunteer Force, and knew full well the moral influence which they were able to exert in order to create and maintain strict discipline. Many of the men in a company came from the same business establishment or factory. A man turned out of the Volunteer Force for any misconduct was at once the butt of many of his associates. Probably the matter would reach the ears of the foreman or the employer, and the man, even if nothing were said directly to him, knew that he was an object not of contempt but of pity, and he felt that what he had done was known. Cases of misconduct in Volunteer regiments were very rare indeed; every hon. Member who had commanded Volunteers would be able to confirm that statement. Upon this subject he regretted the absence of the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil, and more particularly the cause of his absence. Upon a previous occasion the hon. Member had said that the Bill was drastic in its provisions and so full of penal clauses and threats of punishments that if a Conservative or Unionist Government had dared to introduce it a note of alarm as to its disastrous effects would have been sounded in every county, city, town, and village of the country. The Secretary of State for War and the Government had, however, thought fit to introduce a measure of this character. He did not wish to conceal the fact that some of its provisions were viewed with favour by some of his hon. friends, although he did not share their views. The Secretary of State for War was a civilian student who had never himself been associated with the defensive forces of the country in either an honorary or an active capacity, and although he had gone fresh to the War Office imbued with civilian ideas, he had been captured and bound hand and foot by the large number of generals whom he had created. The right hon. Gentleman had doubled the strength of the generals at the War Office, and he was only able now, apparently, to look at affairs through their eyes. That was a matter which he deeply regretted. If the Bill received the approval of Parliament he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he would do his best to make it a success. He wished, however, to warn the right hon. Gentleman, and the Government with which he was associated, that by this new scheme they had taken upon themselves a very serious responsibility. If it was found in the course of a few years that the Territorial Reserve Forces Bill failed to fulfil all the anticipations which the House had been led to entertain in regard to it, and compulsory military service became necessary, the blame for it would lie upon those who had destroyed our present Auxiliary Forces, and attempted to create in their place a semi-military and semi-civilian system.

*MR. LEA (St. Pancras, E.) said he objected to the Bill mainly on the ground of consistency, because it seemed to him inimical to all his ideas of Radicalism. At the last election he worked hard to capture a London constituency which had been represented by a Conservative for a great many years, and he never thought that he would live to witness a Radical Government, from which he had hoped so much, bringing in a Bill containing the drastic penal clauses to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite had referred so ably and so fairly. As one who had served in the ranks himself he thanked the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite for the kind way in which he had spoken of the soldiers. His view as to the value of cultivating *esprit de corps* amongst the men was the proper method to adopt not only for Volunteers but for Regulars as well. The penal clauses would not only do irreparable harm, but defeat the very purpose for which the Bill was introduced. He would take, first of all, the ground of consistency. The chief Whip of the Tory Party made a speech in his own constituency some weeks ago with which he had been very much struck. Referring to the machinery of the Bill he said that the god in the machine was the lord-lieutenant, and around him he would get a lot of gentlemen who would be county magnates. In nearly every case the lord-lieutenant was a Peer, and they had been telling the truth a great deal lately about the Peers. The chief indictment against them was that they barred progress in another place, and that they packed the bench as regarded justices of the peace. The whole scheme, as far as he had been able to understand the

Bill, depended upon the faithful and industrious co-operation of the lords-lieutenant. It did not seem to him likely that the men they had been blackguarding so much lately, and justifiably so, were going to help the Government to make the measure a success, or that they were likely to do their best to make the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman work properly. He, certainly, if in their position, would do nothing to forward a scheme brought in by a Government like the present, pledged to Radical reforms. Those lords-lieutenant of counties were pro-conscriptionists to a man, and they were in that respect like the bulk of the men who sat on the Army Council at the War Office. He could not help thinking that the gentlemen at the War Office who advised the Secretary of State to bring in this Bill rather had their tongues in their cheeks all the time. He had not the slightest doubt that in their hearts they felt that this measure, even if it did go through in another place, was bound to become a failure sooner or later. He could not see how it could be otherwise. What was the chief cause of complaint at the present time against the Auxiliary Forces? It was that officers and men could not be got. If they made the conditions of service more drastic than they were now, and if they destroyed all the *esprit de corps*, as the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield had said would be done by the scheme, he did not see how they could possibly hope to get more men. When the scheme had utterly broken down and there were only the Regulars to fall back upon, times might have changed. This Government would have made mistakes, as all Governments did, and it might happen that with the swing of the political pendulum a majority of Conservatives would come in. He certainly viewed with the greatest degree of uneasiness the idea of a Conservative Minister of War coming down and saying: "My predecessor has abolished the Auxiliary Forces. He has wiped out the old machinery, and there is nothing left but conscription." Who was to say him nay with the complacent second Chamber which existed at the present time? In the old days the lords-lieutenant of the counties were tried and found wanting, and he had heard nothing in the military history of the last thirty years to lead him to believe that in 1907 they were more efficient as instruments of military organisation, and that they would favour the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman. He had seen nothing in the Bill to make him believe that the right hon. Gentleman was justified in throwing all the Auxiliary Forces into the melting pot and evolving something of which they had no knowledge or certainty, but which they looked upon with the greatest degree of doubt and disfavour. With regard to some of the penal clauses of the Bill he frankly confessed, as he had said in his own constituency, that he considered them an absolute disgrace in a Bill brought in by a democratic Government. Private Members had had no chance whatever of discussing those clauses, and he would like to point out one of the effects of Clause 10. At the present time if a man who in the Army or Navy had been dismissed with ignominy and disgrace, joined the Volunteers, what happened? He believed it was in the power of a colonel of Volunteers to have him brought before a magistrate, and the utmost punishment he would get would be a fine of 20s. with the option of seven days imprisonment. But supposing this Bill went through what would happen? That man would render himself immediately liable to martial law and he might get two years imprisonment. If he was wrong, the right hon. Gentleman would correct him. He supported the Amendment moved last night by the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield to omit Clause 23. That clause, to his mind, was simply monstrous. He would take one case in point. He had only one battalion of Volunteers in his constituency. Let them suppose a Volunteer in that battalion, happening to be at the bar of a public house, saw and insulted one of his drill instructors. Both men might be in plain clothes, and the Volunteer might strike the drill instructor. According to martial law that man was liable to the most drastic and condign punishment. But supposing it was merely a civil offence, the most that could happen would be for the superior officer to issue a summons against him. Under this Bill, however, the offence would be detailed to the police magistrate, and the officer could turn round and say that it was one cognisable by a court-martial, and the offender might be imprisoned for a term of three months. He ventured to say that if that provision were introduced by the present Bill and the Volunteers had it properly explained to them, recruiting would go down by 50 per cent. within a few weeks. He believed the Bill to be a reactionary measure of the worst kind. It was calculated, even assuming that it was the success which the right hon. Gentleman hoped it would be, to foster a spirit of militarism and jingoism. He objected especially to the clauses referring to the cadet corps and the bringing of instruction in the rifle into the public schools. He believed that the democracy of this country had had quite enough of such jingoism. The late war, and the events which led up to it, and all the Imperialism and flag-waving and formation of cadet corps, tended in one direction. They were sick and tired of it, and what the country wanted was the cutting down of military expenses. If they had money to spend let them devote it to social reforms which the democracy had been long waiting for.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Durham, Barnard Castle) said that so many references had been made by previous speakers to the Labour Party's attitude towards the Bill that it was imperative that someone should say a word or two before the division on the Third Reading took place. The Labour Members had consistently opposed the measure since its introduction. He would not go into the practical part of the Bill, or the scheme propounded by the Secretary of State for War, because he confessed candidly that he did not understand it. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean in his excellent speech had given the House to understand that nearly everything they had been discussing was outside of the Bill, and that the greater portion of the debates consequently had been debates between experts on both sides of the House. He and his friends were amateurs, but though they were not able to understand all the technicalities of the measure, they were nevertheless interested in it. There were features of it which appealed to them very directly. Their first objection to the measure was that they were not satisfied that it was a safeguard against conscription. It might be intended to be a safeguard, but there were certain principles laid down in connection with the Bill that appeared to contribute towards the extension of the military spirit. Once the Bill was put into operation they feared, and he thought rightly so, that the successors of the present Government might take it into their heads to develop those principles. He and his friends feared also that the spirit of militarism that would have been engendered in the meantime would be so easy of development that the final and ultimate issue of the whole thing would be forced military service. They, therefore, instead of acquiescing in the introduction of any proposals which they apprehended might carry them in the direction of conscription, felt that they owed it as a duty to those whom they represented to object to such introduction by every possible means. Therefore, it ought to be clearly understood that they objected because they failed to see in the Bill any safeguard against the extension of militarism that might ultimately involve the country in conscription. They objected to the Bill because there was no necessity for it. The country was tired of the tremendous military expenditure which was now pressing so heavily upon the nation. All sections of the House would agree with him that there was one portion of the community which felt the tremendous extension of military expenditure, viz., that large industrial section with which he was so closely identified. It had been proved to demonstration both by the present and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer that the largest proportion of the revenue of the country was raised by indirect taxation; that was, that the wage-earning classes contributed a larger quota to the taxation in proportion to their income than any other class. And it was on them that the tremendous pressure of the increase of military expenditure devolved. Therefore, he condemned that increase of expenditure both on the Army and on the Navy, and hon. Members on the Ministerial Benches who represented industrial constituencies ought to join the Labour Party in a most emphatic protest against any legislative experiment which would tend to increase rather than to lessen the tremendous burden on the workers of the country. He had no hesitation in saying—and he said it with all sincerity because it was his conviction—that if this measure had been introduced by the right hon. Member for Croydon acting in the interest of the Government which so recently sat on the Treasury Bench, the country would have resounded from end to end with the cry of the taxation of the poor in order to support the military policy of the late Government. It had been said that consistency was a jewel, and they ought to have another line of conduct from many hon. Members who would vote for the Third Reading of the Bill that night. They might salve their conscience by saying that the Bill was an improvement on anything introduced by the late Member for Guildford, or by the right hon. Member for Croydon; but that was a very poor satisfaction to the electors, who had turned out the late Government in the hope that they would get something vastly different. What was the use of the country turning out a Tory military Government if they were only to be supplanted by a Liberal Government with the same policy? The people were tired of this military policy, and expected that before now the Government would have gone far in the direction of a peace policy and have lessened military expenditure. Their objections to the details of the Bill had been clearly stated by the Leader of the Labour Party, who was not able to be present that night, and whose absence they all deplored, and by the hon. Member for Leicester. First of all, there was the question of the cadet corps. Amongst other duties imposed upon the County Associations by the Bill was the creation of cadet corps. At the early stages of the debate the Labour Members strenuously objected to that provision, because it involved the public elementary schools. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman had improved that part of the Bill, but he had not gone the length they desired. Public schools were still to be made the nursery of militarism under official sanction. Once the principle was admitted in regard to public schools, pressure would be brought to bear to extend the military training to the higher grade schools, and then to the elementary schools. There was another point, viz., the alteration of the civil character of the Volunteer Service. The right hon. baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean had very ably dealt with that point, to which the Labour Members had always objected since the introduction of the Bill. They objected to this country being turned into an armed camp. The hon. Member for East Edinburgh did not believe that would be the result, but the Labour Members thought that in adopting this military policy the Government had stepped on to a slippery plane, and once started nobody knew where they would land. The right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean and the hon. Member for East St. Pancras had clearly shown the objectionable character of the penal clauses in the Bill, and what possibilities they might lead to. How ridiculous it was that they were to have courts-martial applied to Volunteers! They had tried to get that provision amended, but, possibly through a little bit of manœuvring, his hon. friend opposite sought for hours an opportunity of moving his Amendment, but was always shut out by a succession of other speakers. It would be no surprise to hon. Members to be told that the Labour Party intended to proceed to a division against the Bill. Even if they found that the right hon. Member for Croydon and others associated with him voted for the Third Reading, that would not lessen, but rather increase the responsibility of the Labour Party.

MR. WYNDHAM (Dover): The hon. Member for Barnard Castle has announced that he, and those who act with him, will oppose the Third Reading of the Bill because they detect in the scheme of the Secretary for War a tendency towards conscription, and because they find in it no prospect of a substantial reduction of military expenditure. Upon that I have to make only one observation: that if this and succeeding Governments fail in their long and laborious task of reorganising our motley military forces, so as to make them adequate to the needs of our Empire, then we must inevitably come to conscription. I add —though this is but a speculative opinion—that conscription in this country will not bring with it any lightening of the financial burden, because with a possibility of increase on the Army we shall still have to maintain a Navy larger than that of any two Powers. Again, this country must always maintain and support what I may call a long-service Army to provide garrisons in India and at our coaling stations. That being so it is a matter of importance to us, and even to the hon. Member of Barnard Castle and hon. Members below the Gangway, not to thwart any Government which is endeavouring in all sincerity—though not perhaps on lines which commend themselves to everybody—to reorganise the forces of the Crown, so that they may become more efficient. Our position in this matter is somewhat lukewarm. We cannot accept any responsibility for this scheme, but we do not oppose it, because of the declarations of the right hon. Gentleman, and because we hope and believe that his scheme does not involve the destruction or extirpation of any part of our military forces which may be tended and cultured until they become more effective. We feel that the right hon. Gentleman leaves the parent stems, so that they may survive and burgeon again in the future. But we cannot be enthusiastic about this Bill, because we do not think that the right hon. Gentleman has made any very substantial advance towards the object which most of us have at heart of having our Regular Army made of sufficient size, and prepared for an oversea expedition, and, in the second place, of having the organisation of our Auxiliary Forces in such a condition that they may provide for the support and expansion of the Regular Forces. That being our view we cannot speak with any fervour in this Third Reading debate. A Third Reading debate at any time has an air of unreality about it. It is something in the nature of a parade movement. All the old battalions of arguments, dusty with the service they have rendered for weeks, are marched past for the last time, and then we all go home. If the Opposition are opposed to the principle of a scheme, we say that the country is on our side, and that time will show. If, on the other hand, we entertain no conscientious objection to the principle, and are met by concessions and practical methods for giving effect to the principle, then we congratulate the Minister on his sagacity, and in any case we are always glad to express our sense, as we certainly can do now, of the unfailing courtesy with which he has listened to our representations. But this occasion is peculiar, and calls for some words of comment. The Bill has but a very remote connection with the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman. It is what I may call a conventional connection. We have all agreed to talk about the two things at the same time, and if we had not agreed to do so this Bill might have passed without discussion and left nobody much the wiser. It has been called an enabling Bill, but I am not sure that it deserves even that title, for I believe the right hon.gentleman could have done nearly all he proposes to do without the Bill by announcing his general policy on Vote A and Vote 1 this year, and sketching its development on the same Votes in succeeding years. Next year, for example, he could say, "There are to be fewer Militiamen and fewer Volunteers, and I propose to pay them less," and in that manner he could have unfolded his scheme without bringing in any Bill at all. Even if this Bill is enabling, moreover, it is certainly not mandatory, and certainly not binding on the right hon. Gentleman. What does bind the right hon. Gentleman is this—he is bound by the declarations which he has made in the course of these discussions, and our feeling that we need not oppose the Bill depends on the fact that we give a modified assent to the Bill in the light of those declarations. How far has his original proposal been modified by the declarations which he has made in the course of these debates? Originally, the right hon. Gentleman proposed in the first place—certainly this had the first place in his mind, and certainly in the minds of some of his advisers—that the Regular Army should be so organised as to be capable of sending an expeditionary force of 167,000 men overseas, which is equivalent to the three Army Corps of which we used to talk. He intended to maintain that force in the field for six months, and in order to do so he originally intended to find about 40,000 or 46,000 men in drafts by practically killing the Militia and substituting seventy-four depot battalions. We took grave exception to that course. We thought such action would destroy not only the primary purposes, but also the secondary purposes, of the Militia, while it would do nothing to supply the deficiency of officers. We felt that the right hon. Gentleman was creating an unnecessary hiatus between the Expeditionary Force and the Territorial Forces; we therefore moved a reasoned Amendment on the Second Reading. I hope the changes which the Secretary for War has made will meet those objections. We have urged the right hon. Gentleman to retrace his steps in regard to the Militia, and he has seen his way to do so. And to return to his original idea, we are told that the British Militia will now conform to the plan of the Irish Militia, as we desired it should. That is all to the good, as far as it goes, and we do not wish to look a gift horse in the mouth. We must take into account not only the bare announcements which the right hon. Gentleman has made, but the tone of his remarks. He said the Militia will keep their bands and colours, and so forth; we understand from that that they will keep their insignia to remind them of the part they have played with distinction in the past, and as an earnest that they will be permitted to play a like part in the future. With that we must be satisfied for the moment. But the right hon. Gentleman has not gone far enough. He has sown his seed of a short-service Army with an oversea obligation, and that every recruit in that force will receive six months preliminary training is all to the good; but more is required. The right hon. Gentleman must steadily cultivate the new county patriotism which came so much to the front in the South African War. What happened then shows the importance not only of preserving the county designation, but of making battalions county battalions in reality, and not only in name. There is one other point on which I should like to hear more from the right hon. Gentleman. We attach great importance to battalion training. Our objections to the depot battalions originally contemplated, were based on the fact that you cannot train men by the 150 at a time, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to tell us that every one of these 101 battalions now substituted for the depot battalions will be trained each year as a battalion; that they will come on the parade ground as a battalion during the period during which they are to train, however short it may be. We cannot pursue this subject now, but I think the right hon. Gentleman must feel that the country will not rest satisfied with a military force in which the recruits are drilled for six months when they join and only go into camp once in two years after that. I know no force of that character except the state militia of the different states of America. They have a preliminary drill and then only go into camp every other year. But I do not think the people of the United States regard that as an efficient training by any means. At the same time the conditions of the American militia are totally different from the conditions of the Militia here. The services which might be required of them are far lighter and far more remote than those which these 101 battalions will have to perform. Therefore the right hon. Gentleman must proceed on the lines we have indicated if he hopes to make a good job of the work he has undertaken. The work is before him and it will not be done unless he makes the Militia battalions more a reality than we have gathered they will be from what he has said. I pass to the Territorial Forces. The Militia is now part of the Reserve Forces and comes out as the rest of the Reserve does on the outbreak of a great war in order to supplement the power and the force of the fighting line. I pass to the Territorial Forces by way of the Yeomanry because it has to discharge both functions. Part of the Yeomanry is to be in the Reserve; fourteen squadrons are to be in the Reserve and the rest is to be part of the Territorial Force pure and simple. We congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on his attempt to get these fourteen squadrons out of the Yeomanry, and we hope that he will succeed. They

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will liberate four cavalry regiments for other work for which Regular cavalry is better suited. But how is the right hon. Gentleman going to get them? His plan is to make the existing Yeomanry regiments practically recruiting agencies and nothing more, for separate bodies of troops which will be despatched by them and which will never be seen again by the Yeomanry. I hope the right hon. Gentleman is not wedded unalterably to his plan with regard to the Yeomanry. I think he would be better advised to treat the Yeomanry as a sort of parent body from which these squadrons could be obtained, who should see that the man who goes to the front has had that training which the War Office requires. If he did that he would still have the Yeomanry to feed from and would not be troubled by the complicated question of drafts. The right hon. Gentleman originally suggested that the Yeomanry might act as divisional cavalry, that is to say, as the squadrons which accompany and precede each division of infantry. But he has since told us that some of his advisers doubt their fitness for that service, and he has thrown out the view that the Yeomanry might be better adopted to act as the "screen" behind the strategical cavalry or, as it is sometimes called, as the second line of security. But the Yeomanry are useless for either purpose unless they are mobile. Mobility is the essence of mounted soldiery. Mounted men can never do the work the infantry do in a great war. They cannot develop a heavy continuous fire. That has to be done by the infantry, but what they can, and do do, is to bring power to bear at the right moment and at the right place. Therefore, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not refuse the services of any man who is ready to contribute to this great faculty of mobility, which depends upon three things —horse breeding, horse riding, and horse mastership. In order that these three things may be fostered in a country that is mainly industrial no discouragement must be offered to any service connected with the breeding of horses, the riding of horses, and the control of horses. Therefore, I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not sacrifice the Irish Yeomanry or any part of the Yeomanry to the symmetry of a paper scheme. The right hon. Gentleman told us the other day that the Yeomanry would have to come out as part of the Reserve, and it was pointed out then that no regiment constituted as the Yeomanry are could undertake that responsibility, but that is no reason for the discouragement of any man who desires to join the Yeomanry. Let him give as much training as he can to the Yeomanry—as much as they can take—but do not let him discourage any man who will make an efficient yeoman though he cannot come out as part of the Reserve. I pass to the Volunteers. I think to the Volunteers the same rule should apply. The Volunteers have a great faculty for marching and shooting. Let not the right hon. Gentleman get rid of any man who desires to march or shoot, because he does not fit in with the symmetry of a paper scheme. He will need them all, and he should not discourage any one of them. Nor must he sap the responsibility of the commanding officer of the Volunteers. That being so, we hope the right hon. Gentleman will proceed further on the path he intends to follow, and we hope he will take in friendly part the criticisms which rested mainly on the gap we thought he was going to create. Our objections based on that gap we thought he had created are largely diminished by two features of the scheme as we now understand it. The first is that the 100 battalions of Militia go into the Reserve, and the second, the assurance we have received from the right hon. Gentleman that the training of the Territorial Force will not be so limited as we at first understood. Where the right hon. Gentleman finds one part of the Territorial Force will take a longer training, he will give it to them, I understand that from the right hon. Gentleman, and we hope he will always allow all those whose patriotic ardour lead them into the Auxiliary Forces to serve in these forces without let or hindrance. He must allow the various component parts of the Auxiliary Forces to develop on their own separate lines, and according to their own individual genius. His scheme cannot succeed even as a beginning unless he gets the co-operation of all those who are ready to help him, and he will not get that unless he recognises that the shape of each body is determined by the shape and character of its constituent elements. In other words he must not insist on each battalion being the same as every other battalion merely for the sake of symmetry. The right hon. Gentleman must accept the service of every man who is willing to help him. In this country four separate sources of patriotism feed the Forces of the Crown. There is the young man who is ready to go into the long-service Army because he has a taste for soldiering, a love of adventure, or a wish to go abroad; and there is the lad who, being too young, perhaps, to join the Regular Army, is ready to go into the home service Army or the Militia. The two other channels into which patriotism flows are the Yeomanry and the Volunteers. They have twice sprung into existence in the course of a hundred years in response to the call of a national emergency. Does not all that prove that there is something inherent in the genius of the race which desires the variety of the Regular soldier, the Militiaman, the Yeoman, and the Volunteer? The right hon. Gentleman may call them what he likes, but he cannot alter their nature, and if he seeks to train them violently into one channel he will run the risk of drying up one or other of those fountains of patriotism to which we must turn in the hour of the Empire's need.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): I should, indeed, be a partisan, and I should indeed, be ungrateful, if I did not at once acknowledge the tone in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover has addressed the House. His speech has been directed to a criticism, not in a Party spirit, but in a scientific spirit, of the proposals embodied in this Bill. Indeed, I may go beyond the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and say of the debate as a whole that although we have had moments of acute controversy, which are inevitable in a great and prolonged discussion, the tone of the Opposition, and the tone of the House generally, even where we did not agree, have been characterised by a desire to help at getting at the truth about this complicated and difficult problem. I attach more importance to that fact for the reason which I gave in the first speech I made upon this subject more than a year ago in this House, that it is impossible for any one Parliament to accomplish this enormous piece of work, that the reorganisation of the Forces of the Crown must be a matter not only of successive Parliaments, but of continuous policy; and the friendly attitude not only of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover, but of the Leader of the Opposition, gives the chance—whatever differences we may have about secondary matters—of laying some foundation upon which, having once begun to build, we should continue to build until the structure is completed in a proper fashion. There have been criticisms by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover, and my right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean. It is said, why have we taken all this time upon a Bill which really is not necessary? Could not all these things have been done without the Bill? One of these right hon. Gentlemen spoke as a soldier; the other spoke as a military expert. I can speak as an expert, only of another kind. I am a lawyer; and I own that to me the proposition that we could have carried out the reorganisation of the Army without this Bill is an astounding one. How anyone versed in the constitutional history of this country could imagine that you could bring forward proposals for the reorganisation of the Forces of the Crown into two lines—the second line being under new statutory regulations, with a new organisation, and, therefore, being a new force—except by the authority of Parliament, passes my comprehension. To have done this without the authority of an Act of Parliament would have been the most unconstitutional proceeding known for many years. Many of the provisions of the Bill are absolutely essential if the scheme is to be carried out. You have got to substitute for the old legislative machinery new legislative machinery; you have to get rid of useless statutes and divergent regulations, and get a single, simple system of regulations by legislation such as this. I know it is complicated, I know that the Bill is long and prolix, making heavy demands on the time of the House which I would have been glad to have seen given to social reforms, but it is essential, if a step forward is to be made in Army reorganisation; and I do feel that if, on this side of the House, our mission is to deal rather with social than with military problems, at all events in a Parliament, that is strong, vigorous, and, I would add, Radical, we could approach the consideration of this matter in a spirit so thorough and so determined as to let no technical difficulties stand in the way. Even the right hon. Gentleman, I think, would have found more difficulty with his Party, so many of whom have filled high and honourable positions in the Service, and have developed high and difficult views which have to be reconciled, and which would make it almost impossible for his Party to proceed in the manner and with the freedom which we have had in our power on this side of the House. Therefore, if this Bill has taken much time, I for one am comforted in thinking that this new and vigorous Parliament has in it the power which probably no Parliament has had for some time past, and possibly is not likely to have for some time to come. We have had a golden opportunity, which we have seized, for passing such a Bill. I would remind my hon. friend the Member for Barnard Castle that if we are to have discipline and cohesion in the Army we must have some kind of penalties, and if my hon. friend will do me the favour to consider the old Volunteer statutes, and, above all, the old Yeomanry statutes, he will find just the same things in a worse form than is asked for now. The very scheme we have here, every code of discipline and every penalty, is based on the Yeomanry provisions, and what we have got here is really the reproduction of the machinery which is perfectly familiar to those who are conversant with the organisation of the Volunteers and Yeomanry. I venture to prophesy that if the scheme becomes operative the difficulties which the hon. Member anticipates are not likely to arise in practice, and that the provisions which are essential to discipline are not likely to become oppressive, and may not come into operation in the case of three-fourths of the force. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover reminded me of the Amendment he moved in a speech of much eloquence on the Second Reading, and said that after all his Amendment had been of some use, because we are much nearer to it than we were. I doubt it. The Amendment was to the effect that every force should be organised according to its idiosyncracy. The very point of this Bill has been to negative that, and to organise the forces in two lines, bringing into the second line all those idiosyncracies of which the right hon. Gentleman spoke, and to get the men who used to form the old separate forces together under a common system. If to-day we have reached a state of things in which we have been able to deal much more lightly and tenderly with Militia traditions than at another time was proposed, it is due to this, that it is now possible to hope that the Militia and their commanders will come into the scheme, and take their places by the side of the Regulars, and give us those things of which we have been in want. Now, I come to another point of which a good deal has been made in the course of this debate. My right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean said, "Economy you cannot get so long as you preserve this great expeditionary force at home and try to organise it." But I have before now pointed out to the House of Commons that this expeditionary force, of which so much has been spoken, is not got by calling new forces into existence, not by adding new soldiers, but by taking a part of what we have and reorganising it in peace into a cohesive whole. We are not making a new force. My right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean said, "It is quite true that you are not taking new men for the expeditionary force, but you are sticking to the Cardwell system, and thereby precluding yourself from reducing the number of men at home." That is a point on which my right hon. friend has always insisted, but I never could get him to produce the details of a counter-scheme. Whether he has been warned by the fate of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon or not I do not know, but he has never produced a scheme of his own to take the place of the Cardwell system.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: There is one before the right hon. Gentleman by General Miles.

MR. HALDANE: I am not aware of it.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: It was issued officially with the assent of the Army Council as a lecture affording information.

MR. HALDANE: I have the greatest admiration for General Miles, and I have had a great many conversations with him on this subject, but what astonishes me more than anything is to hear General Miles quoted as an opponent of the Cardwell system. I have not read the paper. I have not had it before me, and I am perhaps influenced by conversations which I had with General Miles, but it would surprise me to find that he is an opponent of the Cardwell system. But what I want is my right hon. friend's scheme. He has been a long time in this House, and we do not want to be told by him that the Cardwell system cannot last; what we want to know is what he is going to put in its place. How are you going to train your troops? You have got to raise the men to be sent abroad and that involves much training, which again involves the building of big depots at a cost of perhaps £10,000,000 straight away to begin with. Then comes the question as to how many men you want. That depends on your terms of service, and if you have to enlist men on the same scale as at the present time, then comes the very serious question whether you would get the men in that fashion, or get them by enlisting them in less numbers than under the Cardwell system. Thirdly, there is this. You propose under this scheme to keep a large number of troops abroad in India and the Colonies, and so on—a small number at home, and a very large number abroad. Very well, then; when you have got to draw upon that large Army how will you keep alive the supply for drafts? We have experience; we are not speaking in ignorance. The Cardwell system arose out of the terrible deficiencies of our military organisation disclosed in the Crimean War. That was the reason why Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cardwell invented the Cardwell system, and that was the reason of the systematic organisation to produce drafts for keeping the Army alive. The deplorable condition of things under which our troops fought in the Crimean War led to the departure from the old system to which my right hon. friend apparently would return.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: No, no. My right hon. friend knows perfectly well I never said anything of the kind, and the right hon. Gentleman must not attribute that to me. I am in favour of a short service Army supported by Reserves.

Mr. HALDANE: Now we have got it.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: The right hon. Gentleman has not got anything new. I have said it about thirty times in debate.

Mr. HALDANE: My right hon. friend is in favour of a large short service system, but he knows that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon got into difficulties over that.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: He never had the opportunity of developing it; it was a partial experiment.

Mr. HALDANE: Now, see what are the perplexities of an unfortunate War Minister between two conflicting authorities. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon a little more than an hour ago declared that he had produced a full scheme and that I had murdered it. My right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean here says something else. I own I was under the impression that I had found a drowned baby, and I decently interred it. But that does not seem to be so. I now find that my right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean is only waiting for a good short service Army scheme on a large scale and he will give his assent to it. I hope for further developments, and I shall return to the study of my right hon. friend's writings and speeches with enhanced interest; but I am bound to say that I doubt whether his proposition could be suggested to the House on the ground of economy. Short service is all very well, but you should realise what it is. It means that with the short service system they stay with the colours two years or perhaps less; and as they go out sooner, you require more recruits, so that you are always training an enormous number of recruits.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: What about the Guards?

Mr. HALDANE: Theirs is a three years service, and the right hon. Gentleman does not recommend that model.

*Sir CHARLES DILKE: I do most distinctly. I am not speaking of the privileges and the pay of officers, but man for man, and pay for pay, the Guards produce an infinitely larger force for the same price.

Mr. HALDANE: Of course, with three years with the colours and nine with the Reserve you get a very large Reserve. But the number of men with the colours at any time cannot be very large, and the enormous number of recruits makes two great demands—men and money—both very difficult to satisfy. Therefore, I await with curiosity some further details of this short service Army scheme before I come to a conclusion about it. I have come to a conclusion about that of the right hon. Member for Croydon, and every criticism that applies to that must apply to the scheme of my right hon. friend, which I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing. It is quite true, as was observed by the right hon. Gentleman in the course of his speech, that this Bill is capable of considerable variation in the mode of its application, and what is more it is intended so to be. I am embarking on a scheme of Army reorganisation which goes far beyond this Bill. My conception of the function of the British Army is that it should resemble that of the British Navy. It should be small, but highly mobile, and highly trained; and for purposes of that kind you cannot have a huge machine which will at short notice give you great numbers of troops, admirable for fighting at home, but not for being sent thousands of miles away. You want a small, voluntary, highly-trained force capable of transport to the most distant parts of the earth. I have always thought that we have never dealt in serious earnest with that conception; and it is a desire to do so that underlies this scheme. I do not want to put my strength into keeping troops abroad. I would rather keep them at home, which is less expensive, in such a form that they are easily transportable, with the aid of the Navy, and can be made operative at great distances with facility. For that reason certain steps have been taken independently of this Bill. In the first place, we have the organisation into six divisions, with four cavalry brigades and the proper complement of artillery. As far as men in the first line are concerned, that is already complete. That was done by the Army Order of last January. What remains deficient is what may be called the auxiliary services, the non combative elements, and the provision of drafts for war. It is a long business building them up. These auxiliary services come from the civilian population, and one of the purposes of this scheme of organisation in two lines is to get from the civilian population the help you require. We hope, in the shape of Special Reservists, to get enough to make an expeditionary force before long completely capable of mobilisation. One thing that makes me rejoice over the new arrangement or further development, to which the Leader of the Opposition has so much assisted, is that we shall get better provision for supplying the wastage of war if the Militia come in. There will be an increase of 12,000 men available from the Militia; and I wish here to correct a slip I made in answer to a Question of the right hon. Member for East Worcestershire. He asked what difference this would make in our financial statement. I was thinking of cost rather than the figures on the paper; but as regards the latter, the net result is that 12,000 men are added instead of, as I suggested, 3,600. I thought that the financial statement was based on battalions of 600, and not of 500, but that was not the case; so that the figures are affected by the addition of 12,000 men to the Regular side—men who are taken from what would have gone into the Territorial line. That is only a matter of transfer; but it makes my statement technically inaccurate, though not adding really to the cost, because the establishment we have taken for the Territorial Army will remain at 300,000. That is the establishment; but the numbers must be affected for some time by the deduction of these 12,000 men. The additional cost will be largely met by savings effected by the transfer. As I have said, the broad principles of the scheme are, first, to organise a force of six divisions and four cavalry brigades with proper artillery out of the material we actually have. We hope to have a highly mobile expeditionary force, more effective than anything we have had before, and more in consonance with our naval traditions. For this purpose it is necessary to get certain auxiliary services put into shape; and the new feature of the scheme is that we propose to get those services on what I call a Militia basis—I mean by that, men whose occupations are primarily civilian. The third principle is, particularly by these men we aim at getting from the civilian population, to bring the Army into closer contact with the nation than has hitherto been the case. That is very important. I do not know whether people realise, when they talk of our Army, how much it presents a great social problem in our midst—what it means to have a great body of 300,000 men in the middle of the population whose social welfare is of great importance, and who, according as their condition is good or bad, have a profound effect on the whole social organism. The soldier ought no longer to be a person so much apart; he ought to be brought more closely into touch with the rest of the population, and with the social environment of which he forms a part. If this is to be done completely, a second line is necessary. Another principle is that, if the second line is to be effective, the County Associations, or something corresponding to them, are an absolute necessity. Otherwise you get the Army ruled from a central Department, and you lose the facilities which organisations of a local character give for bringing the Army into contact with the people. All these things are only the outcome of the great distinction which we make between the two military functions of administration on the one hand, and command and training on the other. If there is one thing with which I have identified myself, it is the attempt to bring up in military estimation the administrative side of Army work. Men who have done splendid work in that branch have not always had due recognition in competition with the combative branch of the service. Yet from the administrative side have sprung some of the greatest commanders, like Lord Kitchener, who distinguished himself first of all as a great administrator, before he occupied the great position which he now holds in India. Of this scheme this Bill forms only a single part. Without this Bill the scheme was impossible. Therefore I do not apologise to the House for the time which it has taken to get this great Bill through its various stages; and if about this scheme I have no feeling of certainty that I have foreseen all that was necessary—if I have realised that time may bring changes and improvements which I cannot see in the conceptions embodied in it, and that in other hands it may work out differently—at least I have the comfort and satisfaction of knowing that the businesslike tone of the discussions in Committee gives some assurance that we have reached a stage at which Army policy is being looked at not merely in a Party spirit, but with a genuine desire on all sides of the House for continuity.

*MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) said it would be well on that occasion to examine the outstanding features which had come to the front, not only during the discussion of this Bill, but in regard to the Army generally during the last six months. He thought it would not be denied, as far as the Regular Army was concerned, that the most important change was the reduction of 20,000 officers and men, with a corresponding reduction in the Army Reserve. As far as the Territorial Force was concerned, he personally was deeply grateful that the Militia was to be retained under, more or less, the old conditions, with the modification that they should undertake in future liability to serve abroad, not only in their units, but also by sending drafts to reinforce the Regular Army in time of need. He did not think that anyone on that side of the House would welcome the reduction in the number of the Regular Forces, because after the experience of this country in connection with the South African War, when they had hastily to raise large bodies of men at great expense, and under disadvantageous circumstances, it was very unwise at this stage in the history of nations to reduce the numbers. The Empire had increased, and if we were to maintain our position in the world with not only an increased Empire in various parts, but with increased responsibilities with regard to Protectorates, such as Egypt, it was a suicidal policy in the interest of economy which the Government had gone into with reference to the Army. The Members of the Government had not reduced their own salaries when they made a reduction in the Army. The Regular Army was, if anything, smaller now than it was 100 years ago, though then, he admitted, we were engaged in a life and death struggle with practically the whole of Europe. Still, when they considered the immense increase in population, wealth, and trade, and also the enormous expansion of the Empire, he thought that the reduction in the Regular Army now being carried out should give rise to serious disquiet. While hon. Members on that side of the House were deeply grateful for the concession made on the Report stage that the Militia should be retained, he did not think they could give the entire credit for that to the Government, because it was owing to the wise suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London that the alteration was made at all. The only use of retaining the Militia was that they might see what could be made of that force. The Militia was deficient in numbers, organisation, and everything that made for a real and effective striking force. He hoped the Government would do all in their power to make the Militia a real aid to the Regular Forces and a means of expansion behind the Regular Forces in time of need. If that were done, they would have a very considerable force to help the first line in any grave national emergency or great war. In addition to the Militia, they would have behind the Regular Army the First Class Army Reserve, which would number, according to the Secretary of State for War, 110,000 men. The right hon. Member for Croydon thought it could not possibly reach anything like that figure, and put it at 80,000 roughly. When experts differed it was impossible for others to decide who was right and who was wrong, but if they took the number to be 100,000 men he believed they would not be far out. The Militia arrangements would provide for twenty-seven Fourth Battalions with a nominal establishment of 800 men. He did not think it would be contended by the Government or anybody who had any knowledge of the sort of men who enlisted in the Militia that the whole of those 800 men would be available to go abroad to help the Regular Army. Deducting men under age and of insufficient physique, if they got 500 out of the 800 they would have a generous allowance. That would give 13,000 or 14,000 more men to support the Regular Army in a great national emergency. Originally the depots were to have an establishment of 600 men, but now he understood that that number was cut down to 500. He supposed the same conditions would apply to them as to the Fourth Battalions. There would be a large percentage who would be under age or of insufficient physique, and if they took 300 out of the 500 they would get out of the seventy-four Third Battalions 22,000 men; that was to say they would have 14,000 of the Fourth Battalions and 22,000 of the Third Battalions, making together 36,000 men available for service, besides 100,000 men of the First-Class Army Reserve. Those men were to have six months training on enlistment and fifteen days annual training. The only really bad part of the Militia scheme was that the annual training was to be reduced from twenty-eight to fifteen days. He strongly protested against that. He had served twice in the Militia, and he could state that fifteen days would be insufficient, but that with twenty-eight days annual training men of proper physique might do very well. He believed it was in the interest of economy that the Government proposed to reduce the period of annual training, but it was a pity "to spoil the ship for a ha'porth o' tar." If they were only going to give fifteen days training, he was afraid that they must take a considerable amount off the value of the men as a military asset. It was not as if they were dealing with the class of men who supplied the Volunteer Battalions—men who were in constant employment, and very often could not get leave for more than eight days. The great majority of the Militia could afford to come out for a month without great inconvenience. He hoped that the Government would reconsider that point, which was a purely administrative question. If it was found in the future that fifteen days training was not sufficient, the Government might revert to twenty-eight days. From the very beginning he had had the deepest distrust of the suggestion to enlist men in the Reserves who had not served in the Regular Army. He did not refer to telegraphists or railway men, but he objected to take young fellows of seventeen and train them in a superficial way, and then in time of war send them out as drafts. He knew that there was no hope of any Amendment being accepted at that stage; but they were told last week that another Bill was going to be amended by the Government in another place. If so, he trusted the Government would consider whether they could not later on modify the proposals as to special Reservists contained in Clause 29. He thought no one should be placed in the special Reserve unless he had served at least four years in the Territorial Force. With four annual trainings of fifteen days each, and then a six months training, a man at the age of twenty-two would have some knowledge of what a battalion and a regiment were, and what were their traditions. There was no sentiment in living in a big barracks under officers whom they had never seen before and would never see again. His plan had the further advantage that it would enable the Territorial soldier to have an opportunity of serving his country at the front if he wished. Of course, it might be said that they could do that under Clause 12. That was so, but the power under that clause had been so minimised that it would be practically never used. At any rate, the present Government, so far as he could see, would not put it in force. Another consideration was cost. Were they going to pay men for three years, certainly for two, for doing nothing at all, and during those years the Government be precluded by regulation from sending them abroad? Now that the right hon. Gentleman had taken the Militia under his wing, he hoped he would make them an efficient force behind the first line. Surely it was necessary to regard quality rather than quantity. Paper strength was nothing, effective strength everything. They were told that the Bill was the last bulwark, the last entrenchment thrown up against any system of compulsory service; but he thought the House would be ill-advised if they put aside altogether the possibility of a demand being made by the people of the country for some form of compulsory service. Although at the present moment the number of those who advocated compulsory service was not very large, there were amongst them many distinguished men whose opinion should carry great weight and command a respectful hearing. He referred to such men as Lord Roberts and Lord Milner. Personally he hoped that the Bill would be a success. He did not wish for compulsory service, and the National Service League in this programme expressly excluded compulsion for foreign service, so all they had to do was to examine the problem of home defence. Under the Bill what troops would be available for home defence? He supposed they could count for the first two or three months after the outbreak of war on a certain number of regular troops being retained in this country. But they would be young, and not very well trained. There would be twenty-seven fourth battalions, and seventy-four third battalions; in all 50,000 men of trained Militia, who had had six months training on enlistment, and fifteen days annual training. The National Service League proposed that every man should have to undergo six months military training when he arrived at the age of eighteen, serve fifteen days annually, and previous to that he should have preliminary training in the schools and in rifle clubs. Therefore they would get under this Bill 50,000 men trained exactly as the National Service League wished. As to the Yeomanry, they would have some sixteen or fifteen days annual training, and although the conditions of the Yeomanry regiments did not come up to the standards of the National Service League, still he did not think it could be contended that a considerable proportion of the Yeomanry regiments would not be able to rank with that 50,000 men. They could not, perhaps, rely on the whole 25,000, but they could upon 20,000, and thus they would have 70,000 troops in England trained as desired by the advocates of compulsory service. They must also not forget the Volunteers, of whom they would have the same number as in the past, viz., some 250,000 men. Nobody pretended that the Volunteers at the present moment, without a considerable amount of training, were fit to face the highly trained troops of foreign powers; they could not be expected to be as good without some months training. But there would be 70,000 men, as well or nearly as well trained as the National Service League desired, and 250,000 Volunteers behind them, and that force ought to be sufficient to protect this country from raids, serious or otherwise, without its being necessary to train all the males at the age of eighteen. There were, necessarily, difficulties. We had to depend upon our Naval strength, but as long as our Navy was able to hold the seas against the two strongest Powers no serious invasion could take place, and he thought that under this Bill, if it was a success, we should, without compulsory service, get a force which would enable us to stave off an attack if it were made. That force would not be able to meet an invasion of 200,000 men, but he did not think any foreign power would be able to land that number of troops in these islands. If they did it would mean that the fleets of those opposed to us were stronger than ours, and in that case they would simply starve us out. That was obvious when he pointed out that out of 35,000,000 quarters of wheat consumed in this country every year 27,000,000 quarters came from abroad. If those figures were considered it would come home to hon. Members how exceedingly important it was that our Fleet should be strong, and be our first and even our second line of defence. Although he was arguing against compulsory service and hoping that the Bill would save the country from it, he did not see anything inherently wicked in it. After all, it was what a democratic country like France had got, and there was nothing wrong in the idea of every citizen defending his own country. He thought, however, the advantages of voluntary service outweighed the advantages of compulsory service, and therefore he hoped that voluntary service would continue in this country for a long time. Dealing with a minor point of the Bill he wished to say that it was quite wrong to try in any way to interfere with the powers of commanding officers. Every officer must be, to use an Irish expression, captain of his own ship, even if it was on land, and if the commanding officer was away his place could be taken by his subordinates. He trusted the Bill would be a success, but as he did not agree with some of the details, especially in regard to special Reservists, he would have to vote against it if a division took place. He hoped, however, that in the future the Bill would solve the very difficult and complicated question of our national defences.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs) said it appeared from the statement of the hon. Member for Galway that the Irish battalions would vote against the Bill, although they voted for the Second Reading, because they were dissatisfied with the decision of the Government in regard to the Irish Council Bill. The hon. Member had said that if there was any Imperialist in the House he would appeal to him to say what the Irish Members could do except to vote against the Bill. He was aware that no hon. Members on his side of the House deserved the lofty designation of Imperialist, but to his mind the question was whether this particular Bill was a good Bill or a bad Bill. The question before the House had nothing to do with the Irish Council Bill, and if hon. Members voted for it on the Second Reading, they ought, he thought, to vote for it on the Third Reading. Leaving the Irish, he had to say that his own constituents were grateful for the changes which the right hon. Gentleman had introduced in regard to the Militia, and which in his humble way he had urged him to make though others of greater authority had also pressed for similar changes of plan. He did not agrée with the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean that the changes were more apparent than real. He hoped the changes were or might be made very real. The right hon. Gentleman had also made concessions in regard to the Yeomanry for which, he thought, thanks should be expressed; he was certain the Montgomeryshire Yeomanry was in favour of such changes, as well as other gallant regiments. The Secretary for India, in the Indian debate, spoke of the fact that there was to be a fresh appropriation of charges between the Indian Government and the Home Government in respect of matters of joint interest. That could not be done unless the Secretary for War assented, and he was grateful also for that concession. One of the most important changes would, he hoped, be about the capitation grant, and he trusted that some arrangement would be made which was satisfactory to India. He thought the Home Government had always desired to do justice to India and that in the main there was no cause for complaint, in spite of the monstrous and misleading statements made in the House by Members representing the Bengal Congress point of view; but he believed in regard to this matter there was some sore existing which he hoped it was likely would be healed. As to Clause 2, Subsection 2 (b) referring to establishing or assisting cadet battalions and corps, and also rifle clubs by county associations, provided that no financial assistance should be given by an association in respect of any person in a battalion or corps in a school in receipt of a Parliamentary grant until such person had attained the age of sixteen, he would have preferred the Bill as it originally stood, but he recognised that the right hon. Gentleman was in a difficult position in regard to the matter. The right hon. Baronet had referred to Mr. Deakin, who had spoken as to the efficacy of bodies of that sort in Australia, and particularly in New Zealand, and held them up to this House as an example to be followed. Inasmuch as the New Zealand people had been held up as an example in regard to female suffrage, there was no reason why they should not be regarded as being sensible in regard to the physical training of the young in respect of which he did think their action most sensible. He therefore did not apologise for referring for a moment to what had been done in New Zealand, where it seemed that physical training and training in the use of the rifle was common in every school throughout the colony, and was an unqualified success. It was found that twelve years of age was not at all too early to begin with miniature rifles and miniature ranges, and that wonders could be done by boys of that age. He would also cite the case of the City of London Boys' Shooting Club, the members of which were drawn from the elementary schools of London, and in which boys were not allowed to be enrolled without the consent of their parents, which was very seldom withheld. The average age of the boys was thirteen, but many joined in their twelfth year, and the club had 500 members. One of the rules was, "The rifle is a weapon of precision. It is also dangerous when carelessly used; therefore, as it may be loaded, always treat it as dangerous." What advice could be more useful, and would not its adoption have prevented the painful accident to which reference had been made at Question time. He appealed to Members who more immediately represented labour to consider these facts, and consider whether this was a question which could be disposed of by the very positive and *ex cathedra* kind of way in which it was treated by the hon. Member for Barnard Castle. Let him consider who were the first to suffer if anything went wrong with the Army and Britain suffered a reverse. They were the wage earners. He would like to make one quotation with regard to this matter. Colonel Repington, an authority equally honoured on both sides of the House, said—

> "We have no chance of maintaining the integrity of this vast, scattered, and composite Empire of ours, unless the youth of England are brought up in the fixed and unalterable belief that their duty is to defend the Empire wherever it may be attacked, and to train their minds and bodies to carry out this first and greatest duty to themselves and thier country."

He had been much pained to hear the hon. Member for Woodstock talk as he did about bringing up boys to the "duty of slaughter." He himself lived as much as his duties allowed him to do, at Harrow, and if the hon. Member saw these boys taught to use the rifle, and considered who they were, what manner of boys they were and whose children they were, he would not have used that expression. It was not "the duty of slaughter," but the noble art of defending our country that was taught. The right hon. Member for Dover had very pertinently asked why there should be this sharp distinction between these boys and the boys of other classes that the one set of boys were privileged to learn this noble lesson, and the other set prohibited by law. And when the hon. Member for Salford spoke of "prattling boys of fourteen," he could only say he had seen boys of fourteen or fifteen perfectly proficient in the use of this weapon. There were boys in the Army and the Navy who had proved themselves heroes under the age of sixteen, and to treat them as if they were children and to forbid their being trusted with a rifle was to forget what a boy of fifteen or sixteen was and what he was intended to become. What was needed was to encourage shooting and to provide in all military centres something like a proper rifle range. He had again and again pressed for such at Welshpool and urged even that financial aid should be given at that important centre. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean was opposed to the linked-battalion system, and said it was one of the things that led to our having to maintain so very expensive an Army. The right hon. Baronet frequently turned to the hon. and gallant Member for the Abercromby division to invite his concurrence, and said that the hon. and gallant Gentleman and he had worked together. They certainly had. Their unanimity was wonderful, and when they differed from one another they differed as one star differeth from another star in glory. The linked-battalion system, whether good or bad, had provided drafts for the Army in India, and that was the real question, because the Army at home was the shadow, and the Army in India the substance. Lord Cardwell's system, under which, ever since the time of the Mutiny, this country had been able to provide drafts for India, was a working system, and he would like to know, before it was condemned, what was going to take its place. The right hon. Baronet invoked the high authority of the Leader of the Opposition in this matter. That did not frighten him. The Leader of the Opposition was also the political leader of the blue-water school, but it must be remembered that that system postulated what no nation could postulate with safety. It postulated an ever victorious Navy, and proceeded on the basis that by no possibility could this island be invaded. In the last century there were several small invasions in Ireland, and he submitted that what could take place in a small way one hundred years ago might take place in a large way to-day. The great difficulty of enlarging the basis of our military strength in India was that we could not increase the native Army. We had to maintain a certain proportion between the native and the white troops. There was a small white garrison, and a vast Indian population, and our Fleet in Eastern waters was so much reduced in numbers that there was at the present moment not a single battleship on the China station. This was not therefore the time to suggest that we should lay hands on the linked-battalion system, or to reduce the expenditure on the forces, or suggest, as the right hon. Baronet had, that the expeditionary force could be usefully cut down. Was it not the case that every world-politic movement tended to bring potentially hostile nations into more immediate political relations with our Indian Empire, and thus to increase the complexity of its problems of defence? If that were the case, and he challenged contradiction, should we be made suddenly to relinquish a system which had served us well in the past? It would be too late at the end to say that it had been done in a brain storm, and to appeal to experts of a certain character by way of excuse. It was true that some relief had been given in respect of providing drafts by the system introduced on the north-west frontier of India by the late Viceroy, Lord Curzon, to whom he would not now refer save to say that he entirely disassociated himself from certain comprehensive and undeserved attacks which had recently been delivered against him in the House. Our naval and military strength was merely an insurance of our commerce and our national defence. How it could be thought that we could retain everything we had, which was the best of everything in this world, without being prepared to fight for it, passed his comprehension. Let them look for a moment to America, which was not a military monarchy, and see what they thought there on this very subject. We should never have a nation of arms unless we had correct views as to the duty and necessity of bringing up the youth of our land in a belief that it was their duty to defend their country, and to consider that duty their greatest privilege. In America the President's recent message to Congress terminated as follows—

> "The Congress has most wisely provided for a national board for the promotion of rifle practice. Excellent results have already come from this law, but it does not go far enough. Our regular Army is so small that in any great war we should have to trust mainly to Volunteers; and in such event these Volunteers should already know how to shoot, for if a soldier has the fighting edge, and ability to take care of himself in the open, his efficiency in the line of battle is almost directly proportionate to excellence in markmanship. We should establish shooting galleries in all the large public and military schools, should maintain national target ranges in different parts of the country, and should in every way encourage the formation of rifle clubs throughout all parts of the land. The little Republic of Switzerland offers us an excellent example in all matters connected with building up an efficient citizen soldiery."

He did not very often agree with the hon. Member for Abercromby, but he agreed with what he had said as to the suitability of the Swiss system in this respect for our imitation. He would instance the German Empire. He was not going to say a word about the Imperial German Army or Navy, or any other aspect of her Imperial Government; but upon this point what had the German Socialists to say? They were people who might naturally be expected to take anti-military views, but they said—

> "The ideas and the anti-militarist propaganda of Hervé are impossible in German social democracy. German social democracy is the avowed adversary of the present military system, but it considers that a military organisation is necessary. So long as the danger exists and wars are possible, every nation should possess a military organisation sufficient for resisting an aggressive war and defending its own territory against the invasions of the enemy. If German social democracy supports every loyal initiative with the object of avoiding war and assuring peace it nevertheless considers a military organisation indispensable so long as the danger of war exists. It is for this reason that German social democracy has inscribed in its programme, first, education which will render all citizens fit for military service. Consequently, if a member of the German Socialist Party propagates ideas and claims analogous to those that Hervé defends, one would be justified in asking, in virtue of the programme of the Socialist Party, Does this member still belong to that Party?"

Then, again, he might take the French Republic. General Picquart, one of the most eminent men of France, who had indeed suffered in the cause of justice, and proved himself a friend of humanity, had said—

> "The closer one's acquaintance with the army the more evident it became that it approached the noblest and most elevated democratic ideal. What nobler example of equality could there be than that of thousands of young men of all classes daily devoting themselves to the same duties and making the same sacrifices?"

That was said in a country where they had gone infinitely further than we would go, or than he would propose to go, in regard to military training and service. He was himself in favour of such training, but not of conscription. General Picquart went on to say—

> "What finer example of collectivism could there be than that given by those men who had everything in common, and who would bear the same burdens in the hour of danger?

He submitted those words to the consideration of the representatives of the Labour Party who were present, and he thought they would find it exceedingly hard to answer the quotations which he had ventured to put before them. It was their vote which he would like to see turned in this matter. The Irish battalion, from what he had heard said by the hon. Member for Galway, were not going to join in supporting the right hon. Gentleman, who, he believed, was worthy of support in this matter. He desired to say a word with regard to the audit of the accounts of the County Associations. He had urged that those audits should be made by chartered accountants, and that was a matter which excited some interest in the City. He had mentioned the chartered accountants as a representative class, but there were also the incorporated accountants who were equally capable of performing the duty, who had the confidence of the public, and should be regarded as equally eligible. He hoped that when the right hon. Gentleman considered this point—and he had promised to consider it favourably—he would take advantage of the services of the chartered and incorporated accountants for the purposes of the audit of the accounts of the County Associations, for accountants of both classes, as he had said, possessed the confidence of the public, and their audit would be free from any taint of War Office influence or interference. Their audit would be accepted by the County Associations and the public as in every respect complete. Finally, on many occasions during the debate he had heard quoted the famous verse from the Bible—

> "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

It was indeed a beautiful passage, but not one of the Members who had quoted it had noticed that these things were to happen in the last days, and he hoped that they had not approached the last days of the British Empire. He hoped and believed that they would make every necessary provision to safeguard that Empire in the interests of civilisation and progress and everything that hon. Gentlemen opposite rightly valued. He believed that among the things which would tend to preserve and carry on our Empire with its great civilising and peaceful influence was the training of our young people to defend their country, and to regard that as their most sacred duty. In spite of what they had heard that night, he believed that nearly every Member of the House, and the vast majority of the electors outside, really regarded the defence of their country as one of their greatest duties and privileges, and would not only be willing but anxious to see their children begin betimes to qualify for that duty. He had quoted the opinions of foreign countries and also of the Colonies, he had selected the opinions of the most democratic nations, and he had shown that if the example of our Colonies was fit to be followed by us in other matters it was fit to be followed also in regard to this question. For his part, he looked on the subject from no narrow point of view, but from the point of view of the citizen of a great Empire, which every son should learn, according to his lights, to defend.

*Mr. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye) said he cordially agreed with what the hon. Member for Montgomery Boroughs had said about the training of cadets, and he believed most hon. Members also thought that it was a good thing that our youth should be trained to defend the country. He did not wish, however, to dwell on that point, but he wanted to refer to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. In alluding to the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon and of the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, the Secretary of State for War had said he was in a quandary between the two, the first of whom said that his own scheme had been murdered by the Secretary of State for War, while the latter said the same scheme had never been developed; and the Secretary of State for War added that he thought he had found a drowned baby, and that he had decently interred it. He thought all three were right. He submitted that the two speeches to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred were consistent, and he would remind the Minister for War that he had drowned the baby first, and had then picked it out of the water and given it a decent burial. It was perfectly true that the proposals of the right hon. Member for Croydon were never developed, and that they were murdered by the Secretary of State for War. He for one sincerely regretted that the plan of the late Secretary of State was not given a longer trial. Still, it was of no use crying over spilt milk. They had been discussing for the last few weeks what substitute to put into the cradle of the drowned baby, and he thought that that which the right hon. Gentleman had brought forward had much to commend it. When it was first introduced he took the opportunity of disagreeing with one or two severe critics of the scheme. The greatest flaw in the scheme was, in his opinion, the Bill which was before them. To his mind the Bill was a thoroughly bad one. The debates of the last few weeks had really not affected the general scheme or the present situation. They had made a bad Bill less bad, and some of its worst features had gone. The Militia had been saved, and although the right hon. Gentleman had assured them that there were only going to be two lines he thought the Militia would form an intermediate line, and that was a source of great satisfaction. Whether fifteen days training would be found sufficient was a matter of doubt. As for the Yeomanry, it had been given some years of grace, and the probability was that the scheme would be very much modified or entirely changed by the time that force came under its provisions. The Bill had now been whittled down to this: the Volunteers were going to change their name; they would sign on for four years instead of three, and they would "enlist" instead of "enrol." Those were the only changes which, in practice, the Bill would make. He heartily congratulated the right hon. Gentleman and his advisers upon the fact that it had been whittled down with such good feeling all through the debates. There were, however, one or two points of detail to which he wished to refer. Several hon. Members had made an attack upon the Bill on account of the provisions for enforcing discipline, apparently thinking that no discipline was necessary. That was perfectly ridiculous, because it was imposible to maintain any military or naval force without discipline, and the discipline set up by the Bill was no more severe than that to which the Auxiliary Forces were now subject. Discipline they must have, and he had no fault to find with the Bill on that score. Then there was the extraordinary cry which had been raised about the rampant militarism of the Bill, and he wished to protest against the ridiculous action of those who supported that cry. The hon. Member for Barnard Castle seemed to suggest that they should be a nation of shopkeepers and nothing else. He forgot that shops could be attacked and raided. In the past they had proved themselves well able to defend their shops, and they intended to continue to train themselves so that they could do so again if the emergency arose. If to be able to defend themselves and develop self-restraint and discipline was militarism and jingoism, all he could say was that jingoism was a very good thing. It was a good thing for every country that men should feel intense patriotism, and be ready to jump to their feet and uncover their heads when they heard the national anthem. It was that kind of patriotism which had caused many heroes in the past to sacrifice their lives on behalf of their country. They ought to do all they could to encourage such feelings, and one means was by training to arms the boys in the schools, and that was why he advocated it. The training to arms and the discipline of cadet corps had a good effect on the physique and the general education of boys. He had the privilege last week of going through a field-day with the Volunteers, and he saw some of the good work which was being done by the boys of the cadet corps belonging to

Eastbourne College. Those boys had enjoyed an enormous advantage since the cadet corps was formed. They were as fine a set of boys as one could wish to see, well disciplined, well set up and of good physique, and this was a good instance of the undoubted advantages which they might expect if military training and the use of the rifle were encouraged instead of discouraged in the schools.

Mr. CARLILE (Hertfordshire, St. Albans) said that those who desired to criticise the Bill were placed in a difficulty. On the one hand they found themselves disposed to criticise, and on the other hand they desired wholeheartedly that if the scheme passed it should be a thorough success. There was no desire in any part of the House to obtain any Party advantage by criticising its provisions. With regard to the position of the commanding officer they had always felt that it was a strong, influential, and responsible one, but the tendency of some of the provisions of the Bill was to lessen his responsibility and weaken his authority, and some of them feared that in consequence there would be a danger of losing the excellent staff of commanding officers which the Auxiliary Forces at present possessed. To relieve commanding officers of responsibilities by placing them upon the County Associations was, he felt sure, an extremely dangerous experiment. Commanding officers, he noticed, were to be relieved of the responsibility of providing rifle ranges. There was no more difficult question to deal with than that. It once fell to his lot to see General Kelly-Kenny on the subject of rifle ranges, and he said, "You must not look to the War Office for any help; do it yourselves." General Kelly-Kenny further told him that he had himself for seven years been trying to obtain a range in the district of Leicester for the Regular Army, but he was as far off obtaining it as ever. It was now proposed to relieve commanding officers of the necessity of providing ranges, and no doubt many of them would be glad to be relieved of that responsibility. He failed to see how the County Associations were going to help in the matter, because on that body there would be a considerable number of the landowners of the county concerned. Every one of them would, no doubt, be extremely anxious that ranges should be provided, but they would want them erected upon somebody else's land. Those who had tried to get rifle ranges without compulsory powers knew how difficult the work was. If the County Associations could help in that matter, he was sure that everyone interested in the Auxiliary Forces would be delighted, but he failed to see how they could help. He was sure no one would want a range on his own land, and though the necessity might be very great in the interest of the Reserve Forces, he would wish to have it somewhere else. Another difficulty would arise in connection with the proposal to substitute for the commanding officer some casual officer specified as the "prescribed officer." That would tend to interfere with the position, dignity, and responsibility of the commanding officers. A still greater difficulty was that in regard to the penal clauses. He feared those clauses, and believed that they would seriously hinder recruiting. He would rather that the right hon. Gentleman had in some way appealed to the power of sentiment instead of that form of coercion. Sentiment was the greatest force in the world. It certainly was the force which lay behind the loyal and self-denying labours of every individual member of the Auxiliary Forces. The penal clauses were to be set in motion if a man failed to attend a certain number of drills. He believed if men failed to attend it was from some very good cause; he had found them putting themselves to great inconvenience in order not to miss drills. He was glad the Militia was to be maintained. The right hon. Gentleman would do well to keep every Militiaman he could. He seemed inclined to disband some of the battalions. Why should he not with the magnetism that lay about his own personality endeavour to arouse the spirit of the Militia and fill up the cadres which were now deficient? Those who had the interests of the Yeomanry at heart thought it was a pity that that force was once more to be unsettled. He urged that the right hon. Gentleman should make an effort to put it on a sound and permanent footing instead of holding over its head the prospect of dissolution at the end of three years.

The Yeomanry would no doubt lose a great number of its members if the pecuniary arrangements proposed by the right hon. Gentleman were to be enforced at the end of three years. If the right hon. Gentleman had proposed to increase their pay there would have been no objection, but the proposed reduction could only have a detrimental effect. Those who had noticed the work of the Yeomanry since the war knew how greatly the force had improved, and he thought its members should not be discouraged by the prospect of reduced pay. No explanation had been given of why it was proposed that the Volunteers should go over to Ireland to serve. That seemed to him to be a gratuitous extension of the responsibility placed upon the Volunteers. He rejoiced that at last the Volunteers were to have divisional commanders. He reminded the right hon. Gentleman that the selection of the divisional commanders would devolve upon him very great responsibility, so much depended upon the character of the men. During the South African War most glowing reports were received from commanding officers as to the smartness and efficiency of the men sent out from the Volunteer battalions, but as soon as the war was over and the Volunteers had returned to their homes, even the commanding officers who had praised them became fault finders and adversely criticised the work they had done. To place such men in the position of commanders of divisions would be fatal to the welfare of the force. If the right hon. Gentleman selected men who were in full sympathy wich the Volunteers, the divisional commands would be a great strength to the Auxiliary Forces. On the other hand, if he selected men who were out of sympathy with the Volunteers—even some men who in their younger days had been adjutants of Volunteer corps—[Cries of "Oh!"]—some adjutants were excellent, and others absolutely useless, and if some of the men who had been useless as adjutants were placed in command of divisions, it would be fatal to the efficiency of the force. He urged that the Territorial Force should have a separate department at the War Office, and that the papers and applications of the force should not filter through the general-officer commanding a district to be dealt with, perhaps, by a sub-department of a department at the War Office. He supported the appeal of his hon. and gallant friend the Member for Central Sheffield that there should be on the Army Council a direct representative of the Territorial Army. If that request was not granted he was afraid that the refusal could only arise from some feeling of petty jealousy inconsistent with the desire for popular representation which existed in these days. He hoped that the Bill would be a success, but he could not hide from himself the thought at the back of his mind that if the Bill failed it would become necessary to do what many of them, far from regretting, would most cordially welcome, viz., to call on every citizen of full age to qualify himself for the defence of the country. He would like to bear testimony to the increased interest in the Territorial Forces Bill shown that afternoon when the right hon. Gentleman was making his important statement to the House. When the right hon. Gentleman introduced the Bill he was supported by only twenty-seven Members opposite, but that day when they had come to the Third Reading he had counted on one occasion as large a number of Ministerial supporters as twenty-nine.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) congratulated the Secretary of State on having reached that stage of the Bill, which he looked upon as, on the whole, a distinct improvement on the existing state of things. Hitherto it had been very difficult to raise men suddenly for home defence; but under this scheme there would be no difficulty in getting the men, and the Territorial Army would be liable to immediate embodiment. There would be plenty of time, when the expeditionary force consisting of Regulars were sent abroad, to get the half-trained men in the Territorial Army properly trained and capable of supplying drafts to the Army at the front. There was formerly a difficulty in getting officers; he was afraid that there would be still some difficulty, and he suggested that young men might be trained as officers in cadet corps. He hoped that there would be in future a larger supply of men trained in the third battalions or in some other way who would be able to take up their position at the front in time of war. In the Militia regiment in which he served all the subalterns were taken away twice to supply the deficiencies in the Regular Army. He hoped that some method would be devised to get young men educated so as to be drafted into the Regular Army as officers. He knew that young men went into the Militia looking forward to the time when they could ride about as field officers, but if that chance was taken away from them the number of officers available for the Regular Army would be reduced. The Capitation Grant hitherto amounted to £300,000, and under the new scheme the sum was slightly increased; but then every man in case of national emergency was to be available for service. Even if the Territorial Army was to be reduced by one-third there would still be between 100,000 and 200,000 men to be relied upon. Therefore he maintained that the scheme deserved the support of every patriotic man in the country, and that they should all work together in making it a success. He hoped it would never be urged when the War Office wanted to make a slight alteration in the scheme that such alteration had never been discussed in or approved by the House of Commons. It would be a great day when the scheme was carried out, and he believed that, even if it were only partially successful, it would be of great advantage to the country.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport) said he wished to congratulate the Secretary of State for War and the House on the near conclusion of their labours. He had listened to many speeches during the day, and most of them had led him to the belief that it was his duty to vote for the Third Reading of the Bill, although, had the right hon. Gentleman not accepted the suggestion of the Leader of the Opposition in regard to the Militia, he would have voted against it. He wished to ask whether, when a Militia officer who happened to be a Member of the House of Commons was seconded, he would be put under the same regulations as a member of the Regular Army? He also asked whether the third and fourth battalions were to be trained comparatively *en bloc*, or in driblets. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give the House some assurance on that point. What would be the position of a Militia officer who did not accept the new liabilities, the man having previously entered into a contract to serve for six years? As he had said, most of the speeches that day had led him to the belief that it was his duty to vote for the Third Reading of the Bill. Worse reasons for opposing a Bill he had never heard. His hon. friend the Member for Central Sheffield was inclined to vote against it chiefly because he disliked general officers. He did not agree with him in that, and he did not think there should be that suspicion of general officers. At all events it furnished no reason for voting against the Bill. Then he came to the speech of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle, and his argument led him in exactly the contrary direction to that in which the hon. Gentleman would like him to go. The hon. Member for Barnard Castle announced that he was going to vote against the Bill because it was going to bring about a horrible addition to the militarism of the country, and inasmuch as he represented the poorer classes of the community, the hon. Member said he must vote against the Bill as it increased the possibility of military expenditure. The interests of the poor of all sorts, conditions, and classes, were most essentially concerned in the preservation of the country and the rescue of the Empire from destruction. Yet the hon. Gentleman said he was willing to break down the rampart between the Empire and destruction because he feared the expense. The hon. Member's argument did not appear to him sound either from the personal, the national, or the class point of view, because the wage earner and the poor man were most concerned with the success of the country, and with such a condition of things as assured to them no break in their labour, whatever it might be. Therefore the speech of the hon. Member took him in the direction, from another point of view, of voting for the Bill. Then again the speech of the hon. Member for East St. Pancras inclined him to vote for the Bill, because the hon. Member had said that for a Radical Minister to bring in such a Bill was a disgrace to Radicalism and democracy, and remarks of that kind inclined him to come over to the right hon. Gentleman's side and bolster him up against the attacks levelled at him. He thought that whether they were democratic, Liberal, Radical, Conservative, or aristocratic, such considerations should not enter into the question of the maintenance of a sufficient armed force to protect the interests of the country. Another hon. Member had said that they ought not to vote for the Bill because the right hon. Gentleman belonged to a Government which had insulted Ireland by not introducing a sufficiently strong Home Rule Bill. Such a consideration did not affect him when dealing with matters affecting the Army, and he was glad to remember, and the country ought to be glad to remember, that the arguments of the hon. Gentleman and his colleagues which were advanced in order to induce their countrymen not to join the British Army had had no effect whatever, especially during the war in South Africa. He hoped the loyalty of the Irish people would long be proof against the arguments which were then advanced. For himself he had to consider what were the arguments for and against the Bill. He had heard during the debate rather more than he cared to hear about the special interests of the Militia, the Volunteers, and the Yeomanry. As one who considered that the whole of the Auxiliary Forces were worthless unless they were devoted to the reinforcement and support of the Regular Army, he had been somewhat wearied by the claims that this or that particular section of the Auxiliary Forces should be released from this or that obligation. The only way to consider any scheme of Army reform was to ask whether it would weaken or strengthen the whole fighting force of the country, not when it was wanted to wage a petty war, but in the case of a really great war. That was the sole test which in his judgment they had to apply. If the right hon. Gentleman's Bill did increase the fighting strength of the country inasmuch as it increased the fighting line, however much he disliked certain provisions of it he would have to support it. The question was whether the Bill fulfilled the test which throughout the debates he had tried to apply to it. It certainly would provide a stronger and bigger expeditionary force, and he thought that that was perfectly right. The right hon. Gentleman said in effect that perforce he must have such-and-such a force in this country and that by his scheme he would be enabled to utilise them effectively. In other words, he said he must be able to send out a fighting force and that he was bound to keep them in hand. With that every soldier must be in accord. In the first place, it was well that there should be a large expeditionary force in view of possible emergencies. In the second place, it was sound economy, if they had these men in the country, that they should be administered in such a way that they would be available if required. He was not quite so satisfied with regard to the arrangements for making the Territorial Force, the supplementary troops, effective. He had never pretended to be satisfied with the amount of training provided for that force, and he hoped before the debate closed the right hon. Gentleman would frankly admit that he did not claim that it would have the result of making these men absolutely effective, but that it was all the training that he believed the country would allow him to give them. The country would be more satisfied and would believe in and help the right hon. Gentleman more if he said that he understood the trade, personal, and local difficulties of the men who might join the force, and that, although they were the best material in the world, the country must understand that the training he proposed to give them was not sufficient to make them effective, and that he relied on the country to make their transition into effective men easier. The training that the Militia was to receive in the future would not be effective. The twenty-eight days training that a Militiaman went through in the past turned him into an effective soldier for the ensuing twelve months, but six months training on joining and fifteen days a year afterwards would not make an effective soldier. He also thought that the great mass of the men would prefer the twenty-eight days training to the fifteen. It was often a financial advantage to them in times of short employment to come out for twenty-eight days, and many would feel that they were being treated hardly if they were deprived of the fifteen days good pay, good food, and good clothing which stood between them and worse conditions of life. He doubted whether that part of the scheme would appeal to the men whom the right hon. Gentleman desired to retain in the third and fourth battalions and to make efficient soldiers in times of need. Then there was the question of expenditure. Let the right hon. Gentleman be as frank to the country upon that as he wished him to be on the matter of effective training. The scheme might temporarily be economical, but in the end it would be extravagant. The country had been bewildered and muddled by the extravagant suggestions made on the platforms as to the economies the Government were going to effect in the Army and the Navy. At election times masses of people were willing to listen to almost anything. But many of those who were tickled by that cry of "Economy," if they thought the economies practised were not compatible with making effective provision for the defence of the Empire would soon rescind their votes. On the question of expenditure he could not support the right hon. Gentleman. He did not think that the expectations as to economy would be realised; on the contrary, he ventured to prophesy that there would be an increase in the Estimates in proportion as the scheme was made effective. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman would realise that his proposals in regard to artillery and to cavalry were not going to make the scheme effective unless he provided a cavalry worthy of the name and an artillery that he could put into the field to meet the artillery of foreign nations. In regard to the County Associations, he adhered, in spite of the arguments he had heard that night, to his belief that to hand over to them the right to interfere with anything pertaining to recruiting, or the raising of the forces in the different localities, was an absolute and pernicious mistake. He was sure that the Associations ought not to be involved in anything of the sort. They ought not to have anything to do with the financing of the corps and regiments, or with the battalions that were to be raised. But they could be used to perform the useful work of looking after the soldiers when they returned from active service, and also in seeing to the provision to be made for the families of soldiers while at war. They could also assist in providing ranges and manœuvring grounds. But he would not allow the County Associations to touch with their little finger the question of recruiting or finance, or the raising of the new forces proposed. Another question which had been discussed was that relating to the position of the commanding officer. He could not understand why they should have that obnoxious word "prescribed" officer, which was enough in itself to prevent a man from joining. It would be like serving a village apothecary; it was a nasty word, suggesting prescriptions and the compounding of drugs, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would withdraw it as soon as he could, and not offend the nostrils of the soldier by telling him that he was to serve under a prescribed officer on the basis of a medical prescription. The right hon. Gentleman could easily secure a better word to carry out his idea. If they wanted a regiment properly administered, with the maintenance of efficiency and local interest, they must keep on the commanding officer. It would be absolutely impossible to maintain the proper standard of efficiency if they took away from the commanding officer duties which he ought to perform, and the withholding of which would affect his influence in the regiment, especially when it was seen that they were discharged by a "prescribed officer." Another point related to the Yeomanry. That was a matter on which the Secretary of State was near a breakdown, and he thought that the right hon. Gentleman himself saw it. The fourteen squadrons nominally Yeomen were to be the divisional cavalry. The right hon. Gentleman knew that the proposal was not going to work, and that the squadrons so raised would not be efficient. They must recollect that, of all branches of our fighting forces, they could not produce a cheap cavalry. They must have them not only properly officered and mounted, but equipped and ready in the highest possible degree of excellence, and they must be trained so well that every individual horse and trooper knew his work and his place and could be relied upon properly to discharge his duties. He need not talk to the right hon. Gentleman about the disastrous results which might flow from having inefficient divisional cavalry. A blunder by an infantry battalion might be quickly rectified, but a blunder by inefficient divisional cavalry would not be so easily remedied. He had endeavoured to criticise those portions of the right hon. Gentleman's scheme honestly and straightforwardly, but at the same time he recognised that there was much in the scheme which appealed to him. Seeing that he stood squarely against the proposals of the hon. Members for the Barnard Castle Division and East St. Pancras, he thought the Secretary of State for War should not be subjected to further opposition from that side of the House; although they did not altogether agree with, they did not altogether disagree with him. The Bill was going to another place, where it would not have the supreme advantage of the right hon. Gentleman's personal guidance. But he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would carefully instruct the Under-Secretary of State in the other House, so that it would be possible for that assembly to wipe out those blemishes which, owing to circumstances over which he had no control, the right hon. Gentleman had been obliged to retain in the Bill. Unless those mistakes were eliminated, he would not be able to give the right hon. Gentleman that support which personally he would like to be able to give him.

MAJOR SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby) said that many of them had hoped that they might have general unanimity in support of the Bill, however much it might be amended for that purpose. After the debate that day it appeared that the Bill would have that general support, except from four quarters—the Member for the Forest of Dean, the late Secretary for War, the Irish Members, and the Labour Party. He hoped that some of them would reconsider their decision. For once he differed from the right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean. He agreed with the right hon. Baronet that it was impossible to make that adequate reduction in the Army which many of them wished to see effected unless they abandoned the linked battalion system, but he did not think they could do that without putting something else in its place. They proposed by the Bill to create a Territorial Army complete in all its parts, so that when they asked for a reduction in the Regular Army they could not be met with the argument that the country would not be safe if such a reduction were made. He believed it was only by creating an effective Territorial Army that we could get rid of the linked battalion system as now understood. He appealed to those who had announced their intention of opposing the Bill to reconsider their position. He appealed especially to the Labour Party. They had condemned the Bill because they thought it undemocratic, and because they believed it would be extravagant and increase the Regular Army. Hon. Members from Ireland would remember that an Irishman once said that the only guarantee for the liberty of a country was that its people should be trained to arms to prevent their being tyrannised over and ground down by a Regular Army. The position of the Irish Members was that when the Bill was introduced they were expecting a measure of self-government for Ireland, but as they were denied that great democratic measure they were opposed to this Bill. That seemed to be the argument of the hon. Member for Galway. How could the hon. Member for the Barnard Castle Division reconcile his position with that of the hon. Member for Galway? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon had made a speech of the greatest skill and full of knowledge acquired during a life study of the subject. He had been Secretary of State for War, and everybody would be ready to give him credit for the patriotism and energy he had applied to the problem. He had condemned and cursed the scheme with bell, book, and candle because it relied on the free will of the people instead of on a Regular Army, and had contended that if their sole object was to overwhelm the enemy they must have binding obligations from the whole of the population to serve against that enemy. That was what the right hon. Member for Croydon would do. The right hon. Gentleman had often stated that the wisest course was to spend nearly all the money we could afford only on such persons as entered into binding obligations to serve in any part of the Empire; but there were some in the House who controverted that view in spite of military dangers, because they held that the principle of liberty was better even than the prospect of national safety. He had stated that proposition in its extreme form purposely in order to conclude in the shortest possible time. He believed that liberty was even better than the prospect of national safety obtained by forcing a binding engagement to serve in any part of the Empire upon every man they could get by hook or by crook. That was the real issue which stood before them. The right hon. Member for Croydon was right in the way in which he had put his case. The real issue was whether they should continue to rely on the free-will offerings of the people or sacrifice the principle of liberty of which he had spoken. For himself he believed it was better to adopt the principle of the Bill and to rely on the free-will offerings of a free people who would choose for themselves whether they would or would not wage a war. It might be dangerous, but it was a danger we had confronted for a hundred years, and we had survived while many other nations had gone under.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY asked whether the Empire had not been won by an Army composed on the lines the hon. Member denounced.

MAJOR SEELY said that only on three occasions had England endeavoured to wage a war on the principle of compulsory engagement. On every one of those occasions the conscripts had covered themselves with disgrace, while at the same time soldiers from our country serving voluntarily in foreign countries had covered this country with glory. The hon. Member for the Barnard Castle Division who had stated that he and his friends had not attended many of the debates on the Bill, had said he was an amateur, but no one would have thought so from his speech. Who was likely to be right as to the general trend of the Bill—the hon. Member for the Barnard Castle Division and those who were associated with him, or the right hon. Member for Croydon, who had had many years close and intimate connection with the Army, and who had risen to be the Secretary of State for War? He himself believed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was right in the view that the Bill was, if anything, too democratic. He did not wish to comment on the Bill in any controversial spirit. For the last ten years there had been scheme after scheme wrecked by Party malice in which, he dared say, he had borne a part and for which he humbly begged the pardon of the House if it was possible to do so now. But it was true that if they were to make anything of the armed forces of the country they must combine, they must pull together, and, even at the last moment, he would appeal to the Labour Members and ask them whether they could not unite with them in giving a chance to this scheme, which he earnestly hoped might be passed that night.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs) said it fell to his lot to be closured when the Bill was introduced. At that time he deprecated the abolition of ten battalions, he deplored the intention of the Government to abolish the Militia, he was sorry that the Yeomanry were to be discouraged, and he was doubtful of the new experiment to which the Volunteers were to be subjected. Standing there that night he rejoiced to find that most of those spectres had been wafted away. He was animated by no Party malice whatever, and he found no difficulty in giving the right hon. Gentleman his warm support for what it was worth. He was struck by the remarks made by one of the members of the Labour Party, who seemed to think that militarism was an accursed thing. He would recall what was said by another member of the Labour Party, the hon. Member for Stoke-on-Trent. There was a great divergence in their views. One was terrified lest militarism should come into this country, and the other said that if there was any hint of invasion a million bayonets would flash in the sun. Were the very proper idea of the hon. Gentleman carried out there would be militarism to the bitter end. When the country was invaded let them all roll up and do what they could to resist the invader. [Cheers.] The cheers resounding throughout the House showed that hon. Members were taking his words in the right spirit. Militarism was only another expression for patriotism. He had never shut his eyes to the fact that we as a nation were not well prepared for war. If our arrangements were contrasted with those of continental nations, it would be found that we were about equal to Belgium. He regretted very much that there was no intention to train the youth of the country in gymnastics and the use of the rifle. However distasteful it might be to some hon. Gentlemen who sat below the gangway, he thought it would not do the lads any harm. He had always been opposed to conscription, and maintained that if young men were trained to the use of the rifle it would do more to get rid of the danger of conscription than anything else. He gave his hearty support to the Bill.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 286; Noes, 63. (Division List No. 246.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Baring, Capt. Hn. G. (Winchester
Barker, John
Barlow, Jn. Emmott (Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J. T (Cheshire)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hn. Winston S.
Clark, George Smith (Belfast, N.
Cleland, J. W.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Corbett, C H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd)
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalrymple, Viscount
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duncan, Robert (Lanark, Govan
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Evans, Samuel T.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gladstone, Rt Hn Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir Edward
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r).
Harmsworth, R. L. (Caithn'ss-sh
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N. E.
Harwood, George
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Sir Henry Seymour (Hull)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morrell, Philip
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncaster
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)

Philipps,J.Wynford(Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price,C.E. (Edinb'gh,Central)
Price,RobertJohn (Norfolk,E.)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley,W.E.B.(Bradford,E.)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smith,F.E. (Liverpool,Walton)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley,Hn.A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C.(Radcliffe)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas,SirA.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas,DavidAlfred(Merthyr)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E.
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Waring, Walter
Warner,Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Alden, Percy
Ambrose, Robert
Ashley, W. W.
Baker,Joseph A.(Finsbury,E.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bowerman, C. W.
Boyle, Sir Edward
Byles, William Pollard
Clough, William
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Cooper, G. J.
Cremer, William Randal
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness)
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Halpin, J.
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Harrison-Broadley, H. B.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lea, Hugh Cecil (St.Pancras,F.
Lundon, W.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh,Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh,Charles (Donegal,E.)
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W.
Meagher, Michael
Mooney, J. J.
Murphy, John
Nicholson,Wm. G.(Petersfield)
Nolan, Joseph
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
O'Brien,Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Connor, John (Kildare,N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rawlinson,JohnFrederick Peel
Richards,T.F.(Wolverhampton
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos.Myles
Seddon, J.
Shackleton, David James
Snowden, P.
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walker,Col.W.H.(Lancashire)
Walsh, Stephen
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. George Roberts.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS AND PESTS BILL [Lords].

As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed.

LIMITED PARTNERSHIPS BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered; read the third time, and passed.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered; to be read the third time upon Friday.

Adjourned at eleven minutes after Eleven o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 20th June, 1907.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Killery's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read; Counsel called in; witnesses examined; Moved that the Bill be now read 2^a; the same was agreed to. Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.—Read 1^a; to be printed, and referred to the Examiners. (No. 80.)

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2^a (according to order).

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) [H.L.].

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Grays and Tilbury Gas Bill.—Read 3^a, and passed.

York (Micklegate) Strays Bill [H.L.]; Pasley Children Legitimisation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Taff Vale Railway Bill; Great Yarmouth Port and Haven Bill.—Read 3^a, with the Amendments; and passed, and returned to the Commons.

London County Council (Money) Bill.—Committed.

Brockenhurst Gas Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to.

Boston Spa Gas Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [H.L.].—Minutes of evidence and proceedings before this House on the Second Reading, together with the documents deposited in the case, returned from the Commons.

Great Northern and City Railway Bill.—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 30th of May last and the 4th instant discharged, and Bill committed.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES: ANNUAL.

No. 523. Ashanti (Report for 1906). Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Return of all loans raised in India chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended the 31st March, 1907, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, etc.

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.

List of all pensions granted during the year ended the 31st March, 1907, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (BUILDING REGULATIONS, ELEMENTARY).

Building regulations, being principles to be observed in planning and fitting up new buildings for public elementary schools; together with rules as to construction and certain requirements as to plans. Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS AND PESTS BILL [H.L.].

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES BILL.

Brought from the Commons and read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday next.—(*The Earl of Portsmouth*). (No. 78).

LIMITED PARTNERSHIPS BILL.

Brought from the Commons and read 1^a, and to be printed. (No. 79).

STATUTE LAW REVISION BILL [H.L.].

Bill read 3^a (according to order).

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord LOREBURN): My Lords, I have six pages of Amendments to propose in this Bill, and I shall say a very few words in regard to them. The Bill is one which has been introduced in pursuance of recommendations of the Statute Law Revision Committee. The revised edition already comes down to the year 1896, and the purpose of this Bill is to bring it down to the year 1900, and so close the century. Pursuant to the usual practice, the Bill has been sent to the various Departments concerned, and the Amendments which I have to propose are the suggestions of the Departments. They are all entirely and solely for the purpose of accurately representing what the law is in view of the repeals and qualifications in more recent legislation. The matter is extremely technical, but there is not the least ground for supposing that there is any change at all made in the law. All that is intended is to have a faithful record of what the Statute Law is. Accordingly I propose, following the course adopted by my predecessor, to move the whole of these Amendments *en bloc.*

Moved, "That the Amendments be added to the Bill."—(*The Lord Chancellor*).

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 20th June, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill (by Order).—As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

United Methodist Church Bill [Lords]. —Mr. Essex, Mr. Ferens, Mr. Gwynn, Sir John Randles, and Mr. Luke White nominated Members of the Select Committee on the United Methodist Church Bill [Lords].—(*Mr. Whiteley.*)

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Amendments to Metropolitan Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [Lords].

Simon-Carves Bye-Product Coke Oven Construction and Working Company, Limited, Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

Harrison's Patent Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time.

Birmingham Corporation Water Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time.

PETITIONS.

CONGO FREE STATE.

Petition from Wisbech, for protection of the Native Races; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Lanark; and Urquhart; to lie upon the Table.

INFANT LIFE PROTECTION BILL.

Petition from Bermondsey, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petitions against; from Chorleywood; and Holborn; to lie upon the Table.

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

Petition from Birmingham, for inquiry; to lie upon the Table.

NOTIFICATION OF BIRTHS BILL.

Petition from Bermondsey, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION BILL.

Petition from Bermondsey, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

WEEKLY REST-DAY BILL.

Petition from Norbury and other places, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).

Copy presented, of Report No. 253 (Ashanti, Annual Report for 1906) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.

Copy presented, of List of all Pensions granted during the year ended 31st March, 1907, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of The Civil List Act, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 206.]

EAST INDIA (EXCISE COMMITTEE).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 12th June; *Mr. Herbert Roberts*]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3834 and 3835 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

AMERICAN MAIL SERVICE.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 9th May; *Captain Donelan*]; to lie upon the Table.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (CONTRACTS).

Return ordered, "of all Contracts made in the United Kingdom for manufactured articles by the several Government Departments in the year ending the 31st day of March, 1907, either with contractors outside the United Kingdom or with contractors or agents who obtain the articles from Abroad (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 283, of Session 1906.)"—(*Sir Howard Vincent.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

St. Mary's College, Waterford.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the amount per head contributed by the Treasury towards the support of inmates treated at the certified inebriate reformatory at St. Mary's College, Waterford; is he aware that in England, when these homes were first started under the provisions of the Inebriates Act, 1898, 10s. 6d. weekly for each inmate was allowed and continued for six years; and, if so, why is not the same weekly grant made in the case of Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) I must refer the hon. Member to the Answer which I have given to-day to the hon. Member for West Clare.

Coastguard Cottages.

MR. MILDMAY (Devonshire, Totnes): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how it is proposed to dispose of the coastguard cottages where a coastguard station is in process of being abolished; and whether the Admiralty contemplate sub-letting the same.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) Where the property remains in the hands of the Admiralty its disposal must depend on circumstances, but sub-letting would certainly be considered.

Heyhouses School, St. Anne's-on-the-Sea.

MR. HIGHAM (Yorkshire, W.R., Sowerby): To ask the President of the Board of Education if Reports have been made to him as to the unfit state of the Heyhouses School, St. Anne's-on-the-Sea, both sanitarily and educationally;

and what steps he proposes to take in regard thereto.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) I have received a Report from His Majesty's inspector, calling attention to the unsatisfactory condition of this school, and correspondence has passed with the local education authority upon the subject. The managers propose to effect a reconstruction of the premises, including a considerable enlargement, in respect of which public notice has been given under Section 8 of the Education Act, 1902. An appeal against the proposed enlargement, signed by ten ratepayers in the district, has been received by the Board, and it will be their duty to determine the question at issue under Section 9 of that Act.

Derry Telegraph Office.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that there is an undue proportion of female labour employed in the Derry telegraph office, with the result that the male telegraphists have to spend three-fourths of the year on late or night duty; will he look into the matter and, if possible, readjust the staff so that reasonable hours may be enjoyed by the male telegraphists.

MR. DELANY: To ask the Postmaster-General is he aware that the learners who entered the service in 1903 in Derry office are still unappointed, notwithstanding the fact that they have been employed on full duty for the past two years, and constant work has also been found for female substitutes within the period mentioned; and, seeing that an increase in the established staff appears necessary at Derry, would he say when he proposes to appoint the learners in question.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) It will be convenient to answer both of the hon. Member's Questions together. I do not think there is an undue proportion of female labour employed on telegraph duties at Londonderry; but a revision of the indoor force is now under consideration, and the question of arranging the duties to the best advantage will be borne in mind. I hope it will be possible to provide established appointments for the learners in question.

Local Taxation Licences.

MR. HIGHAM: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what are the local taxation licences the proceeds of which are now transferred to the Local Taxation Accounts.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) They will be found enumerated in the first schedule to the Local Government Act, 1888.

National Telephone Company Tariff.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PHILIPPS (Southampton): To ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to the new tariff issued by the National Telephone Company, as from the 1st of January, 1907, whereby all unlimited tariffs for business purposes are withdrawn; whether he is aware that an ordinary business house having its office within one mile of a local exchange, with an average of twenty calls per day, would under such revised tariff be called upon to pay £23 14s. 8d. per annum for such service as against £10 paid by subscribers who were connected prior to the 1st January, 1907, and remain under the old tariff; whether the National Telephone Company or the Post Office Department are responsible for this change; and whether he will take steps to relieve the extra burden thus proposed to be placed upon the commercial community of this country.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I am aware that a new tariff was brought into use by the National Telephone Company on the 1st January last, and that the unlimited service rate for business lines was withdrawn. Experience has shown that this rate is not profitable and that it tends to encourage subscribers to originate more calls than their lines will carry without blocking inward calls, thus rendering the service less efficient. The general demand in this country, as in America, is now for a measured service, which proportions the payment to the service obtained and allows moderate rates to be given to small users. An average of twenty calls a day originated by any subscriber would, if due allowance were made for a corresponding number of inward calls, be more than one line could carry, and two lines would properly be required. Under the new tariff at the private branch exchange rate two exchange lines and the right to originate 6,000 calls would cost £21 10s., which is at the rate of about fourteen calls for 1s., and the charge for additional calls would be at the rate of less than ½d. each.

Extra Police at Geevagh (Co. Sligo).

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the number of extra police at present stationed in the country district of Geevagh, situate near Riverstown, county Sligo; whether he is aware that the county court judge, as well as the judge of assize, have pronounced the county as being in a most peaceable state; and, if so, will he state why an extra police force is stationed in this district; and whether the rates will be held chargeable for any portion of the cost of the maintenance of this force.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Nine extra policemen are stationed at Geevagh. At the late spring assizes the Judge said that the calendar showed the county of Sligo to be in a peaceable state. The responsible police authorities consider the extra police at Geevagh to be necessary for the preservation of the police. These extra men belong to the established force of the county, and no charge therefore will fall on the local rates.

Governors of Crown Colonies.

MR. MACLEAN (Bath): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies how many governors of Crown Colonies have been appointed in each year since and including 1900, and how many of them had been previously in the Colonial Service; and of those not previously in the Colonial Service how many were civilians, military or naval officers, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*)

Governors of Colonies, other than those possessing Responsible Government Appointments, from 1st January, 1900, to 17th June, 1907.

Year.	Number of Governors appointed.	Number previously in Colonial Service (including Governorships).	Not previously in Colonial Service. Civilians.	Military	Naval.
1900 - - -	8	6	—	2	—
1901 - - -	4	4	—	—	—
1902 - - -	3	2	—	1	—
1903 - - -	5	4	—	1	—
1904 - - -	16	15	—	1	—
1905 - - -	2	1	—	1	—
1906 - - -	3	3	—	—	—
1907, to 17th June	4	3	—	1	—
Total - -	45	38†	None	7‡	None

† This total includes two appointments of Governors whose previous service had been in the Colonial Office.

‡ Six of these appointments were to Military Governments. The seventh was the appointment of an officer who had previously served as secretary to the Colonial Defence Committee.

I hope the hon. Member will not overlook that the labour involved in preparing this Answer to a Question is almost as extensive as that of many Parliamentary Returns ordered by the House to be furnished.

Indian Coolies in Ceylon.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if, having regard to the fact that rice is the staple food of the Indian coolie immigrant in Ceylon, he will consider the expediency of arranging for a reduction in the present tax in Ceylon on that article of food.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) I am not aware that the tax is found to bear hardly on the Indian immigrants, and, inasmuch as it brings in a large sum to the revenue which is being expended on railways, irrigation, and other objects which benefit both the immigrant and the native population of the island, the Secretary of State, as at present advised, is not disposed to interfere with it.

Line Schools in Ceylon.

Mr. WEIR: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what progress has been made with the establishment of line schools in Ceylon, by whom will the schools be inspected, and is it proposed that the attendance at school of coolie children on tea estates should be compulsory.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) It is understood that an Ordinance dealing with these matters has recently been passed by the Ceylon Legislature, but it has not yet been received, and until it arrives, I am not in a position to give the hon. Member the information for which he asks.

Public Trustee Act.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask Mr. Attorney-General, what steps are being taken to bring The Public Trustee Act, 1906, into operation on 1st January, 1908; and if an estimate will be submitted to Parliament of the amount sufficient to ensure that the Act shall, in the public interest, have a fair trial over an adequate number of years.

(*Answered by Sir John Walton.*) I am informed by the Lord Chancellor that a Committee was appointed early in the year to consider and advise as to the constitution of the office of public trustee, and as to the rules for carrying the Act into effect. Their labours are nearly completed, and there is no doubt that everything will be ready in good time before the Act comes into operation.

Post Office Savings Bank Deposits.

Mr. BYLES (Salford, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury what, on 31st December, 1906, was the total amount due to depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank; what amount of Consols was sold during the year 1906, and at what average price; what was the amount of Consols held on account of the Post Office Savings Bank on 31st December, 1906, and what is the average price per cent. at which the stock was purchased; and what is the deficiency (if any) in the income account of the Post Office Savings Bank for the year ended 31st December 1906.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The figures asked for by my hon. friend are given below:—

	£.	s.	d.
Amount due to depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks on 31st December, 1906 - - -	155,996,446	0	0
Amount of Consols sold during the year 1906 - -	1,777,644	0	0
Average price at which these Consols were sold -	88	3	1
Amount of Consols held at 31st December, 1906 -	59,977,688	0	0
Cost price on balance of Consols held at 31st December, 1906 - - -	103	0	3
The deficiency in the income account for the year 1906 amounted to -	119,870	0	0

The apparently large amount of Consols sold in the year includes £1,715,644 Consols transferred to depositors at the average price of the day. During the same period Consols to the amount of £883,730 were purchased by transfer from depositors.

West Ham Schools.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the President of the Board of Education if he has received Reports from His Majesty's inspectors as to overcrowding in West Ham schools; whether these Reports include the presence of 100 children in a room accommodating sixty-two at the S. Hallsville girls' school on 30th May last, and of 102 children in a room accommodating sixty at the North Street boys' school on 28th May; whether it has been reported to him that about the above-mentioned dates there were more than fifty class rooms grossly overcrowded in West Ham public elementary schools, and that this state of things continues without diminution; and what steps he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) I am informed that there is considerable overcrowding in some of the class rooms in the West Ham schools, and those mentioned in the question are among the number. The causes to which this overcrowding may be attributed appear to be:

(1) At the beginning of the educational year, which in West Ham is the 1st April, there is a large influx of children promoted from the infants' schools into the boys' and girls' schools, while the corresponding efflux of scholars due to their leaving school does not take place to any considerable extent until the summer holidays.

(2) Many of the boys' and girls' schools were built with five class rooms only, when the number of scholars in the higher classes was small. The raising of the age and standard for total exemption has caused a large increase, and these classes have now to be sub-divided. In these schools an additional class room seems to be required.

(3) The rapid growth of the population in the district makes it extremely difficult for the local education authority to keep pace with it.

The overcrowding of public elementary schools at this time of the year is not unusual, and is not peculiar to West Ham. Many other authorities have found similar difficulties in preventing temporary overcrowding at the time when promotions from the infants' school take place. I am suggesting to the West Ham local authority the advisability of changing the date of the education year to 1st August, which I am advised would do much to lessen the difficulties, and I am further asking them to consider the advisability of adding the class room to certain of the schools where the pressure is most acute.

Education Grants.

MR. YOXALL: To ask the President of the Board of Education whether, when allocating the special grant to local education authorities having a specially high rate he takes into consideration any reduction of the ordinary grants by the Board on account of inefficiency; and whether he reduces the special grant by an amount equal to that previously deducted from the ordinary grant in order to give full effect to the Board's fine for such inefficiency.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) In calculating the special grant it is the practice of the Board to take into consideration any deduction from the ordinary grants made under Article 30 of the Code. The desirability of giving full effect to the Board's action in regard to fines is recognised.

Victoria Machinery Imports.

MR. LEVERTON HARRIS (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): To ask the President of the Board of Trade why in the Colonial Statistical Abstract, the imports of machinery into Victoria are made to include agricultural implements in the years 1901 and 1902, but exclude them in the year 1899 and 1900.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The hon. Member is probably alluding to the figures published in the Colonial Abstract for 1902, in which the figures given for the imports of machinery into Victoria incorrectly included agricultural implements in 1901 and 1902. These figures, which were published as returned by the Colonial authorities, were subsequently revised, and if the hon. Member will consult the issue of the same Abstract for 1903, he will see that the imports of agricultural implements were excluded from the figures of the total imports of machinery in all the years included in that issue. I should perhaps add that the preliminary figures for 1903 given in the volume referred to have also been subsequently revised, and that the final figures for the imports of machinery, exclusive of agricultural implements, into Victoria in the years 1899 to 1903 are as follows:—In 1899, £244,696; 1900, £213,795; 1901, £366,318; 1902, £366,469; 1903, £377,081. I shall be happy to furnish the hon. Member with the details if they interest him.

United States Machinery Imports.

MR. LEVERTON HARRIS: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether under the head of imports from the United States on page 240 of Vol. II. of the Annual Trade Returns for 1906, the item "all other kinds of machinery" is intended to include electrical machinery of all kinds; and, if so, why such electrical machinery to the value of £305,563 in 1903 and £289,973 in 1904 is not included in these years, though the corresponding values are included in 1902, 1905, and 1906.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. I am informed by the Board of Customs that they regret that the figures for electrical machinery were inadvertently omitted from the entries referred to, and that the correct figures are for 1903, £1,848,043, and for 1904, £1,658,126.

Irish Land Purchase—C. F. M'Nally's Case.

MR. HAMMOND (Carlow): To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if he is aware that a tenant (C. F. M'Nally), who had purchased his farm under the 1896 Land Act, applied to the Land Commission to redeem his annuity, under Section 2 of The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, and received the reply that as no regulations were made to enable tenants to avail of the section they could give no definite answer; and will he say what action he proposes to take to enable his tenant to avail of this section.

(*Answered by Mr. Cherry.*) The Land Commission inform me that Mr. M'Nally did not apply to redeem his annuity, but asked whether he could pay one-fourth of the half-yearly instalment in Guaranteed Land Stock. In reply the Land Commission informed him that no regulations on the subject had been made, and he has since paid the instalment of his annuity in cash. As regards the concluding part of the Question, I would refer the hon. Member to an Answer given by my hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury on the 12th instant, from which it appears that the question of making regulations is under consideration.

Women on Scottish Local Bodies.

MR. J. D. WHITE (Dumbartonshire): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Bill for enabling women to serve on local bodies in Scotland will be introduced during the present session.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The Answer is in the affirmative.

Cattle Slaughter in the Island of Alderney.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has received copies of resolutions passed at parish meetings of the Island of Alderney, held on 22nd May, 1906, and on 5th July, 1906, and if he will state the replies he gave to the prayer contained in those resolutions begging for his assistance, and for an inquiry to be held into the scheme for importing animals to Alderney for slaughter; whether he has received a letter, dated 31st January, 1907, from certain influential inhabitants of Alderney; and if he will state the nature of the reply sent thereto.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The first of the two resolutions to which I understand the hon. Member to refer was passed at a parish meeting on the 2nd May, 1906, and was sent to the Board of Agriculture. The Board's reply was to the effect that it would be their duty to prohibit the landing in Great Britain of animals from the Channel

Islands in the event of the admission thereto of animals brought from any of the countries from which the importation of animals into Great Britain is for the time being prohibited. The Board of Agriculture furnished me with a copy of this resolution and of their reply. The second resolution, which was, as the hon. Member states, passed on 5th July, was sent to me through the lieutenant-governor of the island, and my reply was that I had considered the resolution, but that I did not see my way to take any action thereon. I also received, on 10th April last, a letter, dated 21st January, 1907, from certain of the ratepayers of the island, and this was duly acknowledged. On the general question I can add nothing to the replies which I gave to my hon. friend the Member for Orkney and Shetland on the 26th and 29th of last November.†

Chelsea Ratepayer's Default.

MR. STEADMAN (Finsbury, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the fact that Mr. A. V. Saunders, a ratepayer of Chelsea for over twenty years, who recently made default in payment for the first time, of one rate, was committed to Brixton prison for three months for non-payment of a relatively small sum; and whether, in view of the circumstances of the case, he will consider the advisability of remitting the unexpired part of this sentence.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I have not heard of the case to which the hon. Member refers. The Crown has no power to reduce a sentence of imprisonment passed for non-payment of rates. Application can be made with the consent of the borough council, to two justices in petty sessions that the defaulter may be excused payment of the rate, under Section 11 of 54 Geo. 3, cap. 170, but I have no jurisdiction in the matter.

Northfleet Electric Lighting.

MR. ROWLANDS (Kent, Dartford): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that under the sanction of the Board the Gravesend Town Council took over the Electric Lighting Order of the Northfleet District Council; and whether, seeing that the Gravesend Town Council now refuse to supply the Northfleet District Council under conditions in accordance with which the Order was taken over, he will say what steps, if any, he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The Electric Lighting Order for Northfleet was granted to the Gravesend Corporation in 1905, the Northfleet Council's Order of 1901 being revoked by the 1905 Order by consent. The time prescribed by the 1905 Order for the completion of the compulsory works prescribed by that order does not expire until 11th August next. If by that date those works are not completed, I shall be prepared to consider any representations which the Northfleet Council may make for the revocation of the Order.

United Provinces Tea Garden Children.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will say what steps are being taken to secure the education of children on tea gardens in the United Provinces.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) The area of tea gardens in the United Provinces, according to the last Returns, is only 7,934 acres. I am not aware that any special steps are taken to secure the education of children on these gardens. The ordinary primary schools of the country are open to them, as to other children in rural areas.

Indian Plague Investigation Committee.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India, having regard to the fact that the Command Paper entitled Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1905–6, declares that very valuable results have been obtained by the Plague Investigation Committee, will he consider the expediency of appointing a committee to inquire into the prevalence of cancer in India, and the measures taken to combat with the disease.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxv. 1237-8, clxvi. 303.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) The investigations which the hon. Member desires are already being prosecuted in India by the Imperial Cancer Research Fund in co-operation with the Government of India. Arrangements have been made for the systematic collection of data as to the prevalence of the disease in India and for the transmission of the same by medical officers to the Cancer Research Fund for examination and record. The research work which the fund is carrying on will guide the Indian medical authorities in the adoption of measures for combating the disease, which relatively to plague has a very slight effect on the health of the general population of India.

Ballyquaide Glebe, Ballybrophy.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state on what basis was the calculation made that the amount of £250 was found to be due to the Irish Land Commission by Mr. Robert Pearson, of Clonmore, Errill, Ballybrophy, Queen's County, at the time he sold his property known as Ballyquaide Glebe, Ballybrophy, Queen's County, to his tenants in 1894.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I have sent to the hon. Member a full statement, giving the information asked for in the Question.

Labourers (Ireland) Act Inspectors.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether in future appointments of inspectors in connection with the administration of the Labourers (Ireland) Acts will be open to competition, and notice given in the Press of any such appointments to be made.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) It is not intended to appoint inspectors for the purposes of the Labourers Acts by open competition. In making any further appointments which may be required, the Local Government Board will, as they have done in previous cases, satisfy themselves that the persons to be appointed possess the special knowledge and experience necessary to the proper fulfilment of the duties.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say who were the temporary inspectors appointed recently in connection with the administration of the Labourers (Ireland) Acts; what were their qualifications, and whether they had to pass any examination for the position; and, if so, was it competitive; and whether any notice was given in the Press or elsewhere that these appointments were to be made; and if he will say how many candidates were seeking the position.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The temporary inspectors recently appointed were: Mr. J. P. Hannigan, an inspector under the Estates Commissioners; Mr. Max Green, an architect already in the Civil Service; and Mr. F. J. McCarthy, an official of the Local Government Board with long experience of the Labourers Acts. No examination is required in cases of this kind. No official notice that the appointments were to be made was published in the Press, but the fact that an additional staff would be appointed was stated in Parliament during the passage of the Labourers Bill, and widely circulated in the Press. The Local Government Board cannot say how many persons were seeking these particular appointments. A very large number of the applications received by the Board are simply for employment under the Board, no particular post being specified.

School Attendance and Spotted Fever.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the recent spotted fever scare in Belfast caused a decrease in the average attendance at many of the national schools, that the National Commissioners of Education have notified the withdrawal of salary from teachers where attendances have not reached the standard, and that Rule 83 (b) provides for these exceptional cases, he will recommend the Board to continue the grant for an additional period of insufficient attendance.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Commissioners of National Education inform me that, in cases in which the attendance has been exceptionally reduced owing to the spotted fever or any other epidemic, they have exercised their power of continuing the grants for assistants, and will continue to exercise that power in proper cases.

Thurles Footpath Dispute.

Mr. KENDAL O'BRIEN (Tipperary. Mid.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Colonel Ryan-Lanigan, of Ballycahill, Thurles, in the county Tipperary, has endeavoured to prevent the people of the district from using a path on his lands, which they have used for years, by barring the way; if he can say on whose authority two policemen stand on or near the gap every Sunday when the people are going to mass, and for what purpose; and whether he will take steps to see that the police, in future, do not interfere in this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am informed that a dispute exists between Colonel Ryan-Lanigan and the people of the district in regard to an alleged right of way. The police were instructed some weeks ago not to interfere in the matter beyond taking steps for the preservation of the peace. It is for that purpose only that the presence of the police at the spot is considered necessary.

Tyne Volunteer Infantry Brigade.

Mr. LANE-FOX (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Tyne Volunteer Infantry Brigade, numbering nearly 4,000 men, will shortly go into camp at Ripon; whether the whole of the contract for supplying the force with meat has been placed with Birkenhead contractors for frozen meat; and whether he can use his influence to secure that some part, if not all, of the contract is placed with local tradesmen and producers.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The arrangements for the supply of meat to the Volunteers in question are made regimentally by the corps concerned to the best advantage of their funds. The Army Council does not interfere in any way with their arrangements.

Patrick Tye's Pension.

Mr. GLOVER (St. Helens): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the case of Patrick Tye, who served his country as under:—In the 1st Connaught Rangers 6 years 256 days (6 years in the East Indies); 1st Class Army Reserve, 5 years 109 days; Section D. Army Reserve, 4 years; Royal Irish Reserve Regiment, 1 year; Royal Garrison Regiment, 2 years 47 days; and 4th Connaught Rangers Militia Reserve, 4 years 2 days; or a total of 23 years 49 days, and to the fact that, when he completed his 2 years and 47 days in the Royal Garrison Regiment, he made application to join the Militia Reserve for 4 years on the understanding that he would be allowed to serve on till his 24 years were completed and thereby earn a life pension; that on 20th May last his 4 years expired, and he made application to re-engage to complete 4 more years, which would have made his total years' service 27 years and 49 days, and was told that he was too old to re-engage, and was thus deprived of his pension; and whether, seeing that his Militia Reserve pay was £1 10s. per quarter, on 1st April last he received his pay, £1 10s., on 20th May his time expired, and on 22nd May he received his discharge, he will grant him his pension.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) No application for a pension from this man can be traced. The case will, however, be inquired into and the result of the inquiry will be notified to the hon. Member.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Bengal Indigo Industry—Admiralty Cloth Contract.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he will second the efforts the Bengal Government is making to assist the indigo industry in India by supplying to the Navy cloth dyed by natural indigo in the place of cloth dyed by products described as indigo dye, which in many cases have neither natural or, indeed, synthetic indigo in their composition.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON, Dundee): The cloth and serge supplied to the Navy are at present required to be dyed with natural vat indigo, and nothing further could therefore be done in the direction suggested by the hon. Member.

Dockyard Appointments.

MR. BRAMSDON (Portsmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, in filling lower positions in the Royal dockyards, such as chargemen, recorders, measurers, &c., selections are made from candidates who have qualified for higher positions; and, if not, on what grounds may candidates who have qualified for higher positions be rejected in favour of those who have not passed any qualifying examination.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The selection is carried out in strict accordance with Article 402 of the Home Dockyard Regulations and Article 117 of the Expense Accounts Instructions. These Articles are too long to read, but I am sending a copy to my hon. friend.

Dockyard Competitive Examinations.

MR. BRAMSDON: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he will state if it is a fact that in awarding marks to candidates for positions of draughtsmen, inspectors, &c., in His Majesty's dockyards as many as 20 per cent. of the full number obtainable at the competitive examinations may be bestowed on favoured candidates by official recommendation; and if, in the interest of efficiency and justice, their Lordships will consider whether it would be best that such recommended marks should be abolished or at least reduced to a much lower maximum percentage of the number of marks obtainable by competition.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I presume my hon. friend refers to the marks allotted under Article 389 to denote the personal qualifications of the candidates for supervising and controlling those employed under them. The system was only recently revised, and no reason is now seen for making any alteration.

Refrigerating Machinery for Ships' Magazines.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Blackpool division of Lancashire, I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether it is proposed that all vessels in the Navy shall be furnished with refrigerating machinery for their magazines; and, if not, what classes of ships will have such machinery placed on board.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: It is proposed, as soon as possible, to fit all vessels other than torpedo craft with magazine cooling apparatus, with the exception of the special service vessels.

MR. PIKE PEASE: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the House any idea of the amount that will be required for this service during the current year?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON asked for notice of the Question.

H.M.S. "Triumph."

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD (Lincolnshire, Brigg): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty the date H.M.S. "Triumph" parted from the Channel Fleet; whether she has landed all her ammunition; and what is the anticipated interval she is expected to be absent from the date of parting.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The "Triumph" left the Channel Fleet for her usual refit on the 3rd June, and will be completed on the 20th July. Her ammunition has all been landed.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): Is this one of the extensive refits provided for in the Memorandum of the Admiralty of October, 1906, which provided that vessels of the Channel Fleet requiring refitting should be temporarily replaced by vessels from the Home Fleet?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I should like to refresh my memory as to that.

British and German Navies.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what has been the total increase or decrease in the aggregate personnel of the British and German Navies, including Reserves, as provided for in the Navy Estimates, 1907–8, over the numbers provided in 1904–5.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The net decrease in the aggregate personnel of the British Navy, including Reserves, is 3,000. The net increase in the active service numbers in the German Navy in the same period is 8,747. The numbers of the Reserves are not stated.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what are the aggregate forces disposed of by the British and German Navies, respectively, as provided for in the Estimates of 1907–8, reckoning permanent force and Reserves together; and whether he can state how many boys are included.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Numbers voted:—British Navy (active service and Reserves), 187,697; German Navy (active service only, Reserves not published), 46,936. Boys included:—British, 4,905; German, 1,500.

Naval Practice Ammunition.

SIR BERKELEY SHEFFIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can state the annual consumption of shells for the guns of the Navy by target-firing, gun-practice; what is the annual wastage by deterioration; and what number of shells for each kind of gun is in stock at the present time.

MR. EDMUND ROBRTSON: The approximate annual expenditure of shells for all practices is 47,000. This includes all guns from three-pounders upwards, but does not include 375,000 practice projectiles. The wastage from deterioration is practically *nil*. In regard to the last part of the Question, it is not customary to give details of our reserves of war material.

War Office Lands at Kilcreggan.

MR WATT (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his Department got any valuation made before purchase of the fifty-two acres bought at Kilcreggan, Dumbartonshire, from the Duke of Argyll; if so, by whom; what was the valuation put on the land; and did it justify the purchase at 241 years purchase.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): A valuation was made of the land in question by the War Department consulting land agent, and by a private firm. It is not usual or desirable to disclose these valuations, but they were considered to justify the price agreed to.

Militiamen's Wives.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware of the hardship caused to the wives of men belonging to those Militia battalions chosen for experimental long training; and whether separation allowances or any other grant will be made to assist them.

MR. HALDANE: No representations of the nature referred to have reached me, and the case is not, in my opinion, one in which separation allowances or other grants of the kind would be appropriate.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: Is it not a fact that the long training which has been undergone by some of the Militia battalions as an experiment has caused considerable hardships amongst the wives and families of the men? Cannot something be done to make their lot a little easier?

MR. HALDANE: I believe not. The men who took the six months training were mostly young men, and had not been led into the meshes of matrimony.

Stage Soldiers and Sailors.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that, despite the recent issue by the War Office of a memorandum to music hall managers warning them against permitting at their halls any performances calculated to bring His Majesty's uniform into contempt, performances are still taking place at certain halls exceedingly offensive to His Majesty's Army; and whether he proposes to take any, and, if any, what, action in the matter.

MR. HALDANE: The memorandum referred to was one issued by the Home Office to the police authorities at the instance of this Department. I am not aware that any performances such as are alluded to are taking place.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR: I do not wish to give an advertisement by mentioning any name, but there is such a performance. Will the right hon. Gentleman let me tell him privately?

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): Tell us what hall you have been visiting.

MR. HALDANE: More mischief would be done by taking proceedings than good gained.

Soldier's War Pension.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the case of Richard Page, late of the 43rd Oxfordshire Light Infantry, who alleges that he is still suffering from the effects of disease contracted in South Africa, which prevents him, though he is not in receipt of a pension, from earning his living.

MR. HALDANE: No application for a pension can be traced as having been received from this man; but if the noble Lord will furnish Page's address, together with any evidence that may be forthcoming to show that his present disability was caused by his service in South Africa, the case shall be inquired into.

Indian Canal Colony Settlements.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether any restriction is placed on native soldiers desirous of acquiring land in the new canal colonies, while clerks of the civil department have no such difficulty; and whether, as this is likely to have a bad effect on recruiting and the *espirit de corps* of the men, will he take steps to remove such disabilities.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): I am not aware that native soldiers are at a disadvantage in obtaining grants of land in the canal colonies. In each colony a considerable area has been set aside for military colonists, the distribution being left to the military authorities. Reward grants to civil employees are subject to a similar restriction of area, and it is by no means the case that clerks in the civil departments obtain grants without difficulty.

Labour in the Transvaal Mines.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies when he expects to receive the Report of the Committee appointed by the Transvaal Government to inquire into the whole question of the supply of labour for the mines; and will the Report when received be laid upon the Table of the House.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): I cannot at present say.

Port of Spain Town Board.

MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is yet in a position to report as to the constitution of the nominated town board for Port of Spain and the length of time for which such board has been created.

MR. CHURCHILL: Under the Port of Spain Town Board Ordinance, 1907, the town board will consist of eleven commissioners, to be nominated by the Governor, who shall be householders within the town or the waterworks districts. By "householder" is meant any male person of full age who pays rates or taxes in respect of property within the above area or who occupies a house within that area at a rental of not less than £20 a year. The Governor may appoint one of the members of the board as chief commissioner, and has selected Mr. Adam Smith, the secretary of the chamber of commerce, for the appointment. The ordinance does not expressly limit the length of time for which the board is to last, owing, it is understood, to the difficulties which might arise on the expiration of a fixed term. On this point I would refer the hon. Gentleman to my Answer of the 23rd of April.†

Trinidad Riot.

MR. SUMMERBELL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is yet in a position to state the result of the investigation as to the riot that recently took place on the Perseverance estate, Couva, Trinidad, which resulted in the murder of a senior overseer named William McKenzie.

MR. CHURCHILL: No answer has yet been received to the despatch addressed to the officer administering the government of Trinidad on this subject.

Murderers of Mr. Veal.

MR. BYLES (Salford, N.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the seven natives, lately sentenced to death in Natal for the murder of Mr. Veal during the recent rebellion, have been executed; if not, has any date been fixed for the execution or can he hold out any hope that the clemency of the Governor may yet be exercised.

MR. CHURCHILL: The officer administering the government of Natal has not yet informed the Secretary of State what decision has been come to in the matter. I may add that owing to Sir H. McCallum's departure the case was left to be dealt with by Mr. Beaumont, who is now administering the government, and whose substantive appointment is that of a Judge of the Supreme Court.

Transvaal Loan.

MR. ARKWRIGHT (Hereford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, before the pledge was given to guarantee the Transvaal loan of £5,000,000, the Prime Minister of Cape Colony and the Prime Minister of Natal were consulted.

MR. CHURCHILL: No, Sir.

British Consulate at Kermanshah.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any official information of the British consulate at Kermanshah having been fired upon by Persians; whether any British-Indian garrison is maintained at this consulate; and what steps he intends to take to secure the safety of British subjects in that town.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (SIR EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): The Answer to the first Question is in the affirmative, but the fire was directed not against Englishmen but against Persian Party opponents, who had taken refuge in the Consulate. The Persian Government have expressed profound regret, and sent very strong orders to the Governor to punish the guilty persons and prevent a repetition of the outrage. The British Indian detachment at Kermanshah consists of one duffadar and seven sowars. No further steps appear necessary at present to secure the safety of British subjects.

MR. LYNCH (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon) asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he had any official information that Salar-ed-Dauleh, the brother of the Shah, had taken refuge at the British Embassy at Kermanshah, claiming asylum for himself and family; and, if so, what course the Government proposed to take in the matter.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I have not got any information that the Prince has taken refuge at Kermanshah. If the hon. Gentleman will put a Question on the Paper, I will make inquiry.

Sugar Bounties—Government Despatch to the Brussels Convention.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the fact that what purports to be a verbatim report of the despatch of His Majesty's Government to the Brussels Convention has been published in the *Journal des Fabricants de Sucre* of 12th June, he will now lay upon the Table the authenticated text of the English version of that despatch.

SIR EDWARD GREY: Yes, sir.

Brigandage in Turkey—Mr. Abbott's Ransom.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the sum of £15,000 paid by the Government for the ransom of Mr. Abbott has yet been paid by the Turkish Government; and, if not, when does he expect it will be paid.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxii., 1562.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The sum has not yet been paid by the Ottoman Government, but His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople will not lose sight of the matter.

The Hague Conference.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state the attitude taken up by the Government on the subject of commerce destruction; and whether our representatives at The Hague Conference are prepared to advocate the immunity of private property at sea.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I cannot make any statement upon this subject. It will, no doubt, be discussed at The Hague Conference, and it would not be desirable to anticipate that discussion by declaration, on behalf of individual governments.

MR. ALDEN asked the right hon. Gentleman whether our representatives at the Conference had any liberty of action or judgment with regard to this important question.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I cannot, before the Conference is concluded, state what are the instructions given to the British representatives, and it would be very inconvenient, while the discussions are proceeding at the Conference, that there should be parallel discussions in the parliaments of the different countries represented.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood) asked whether, in the event of any conclusion being come to on this matter, the Government would afford the House an opportunity of considering it before it was finally adopted.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I cannot make any promise with regard to decisions come to at The Hague Conference. The questions are not far enough advanced for me to say whether they can be brought before the House of Commons before they are finally adopted or not.

Royal Patriotic Fund.

MR. BYLES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, having regard to the application for a grant of public money made last March to the Treasury by the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, he will advise the distribution by that corporation of the funds remaining in their hands to the surviving widows and other beneficiaries for whom the moneys were subscribed, and to whom they properly belong.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): It is not within my province to offer advice to the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation as to the exercise of their statutory duties. The functions of the Treasury are limited by the Act, 3 Edw. VII., Cap. 20, to prescribing the form and providing for the audit of the accounts of the corporation.

Pensions and Income Tax.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if the Government has yet come to a decision as to whether the pensions of retired naval, military, police, and civil servants, as also other retirement allowances, are to be treated, in calculation for the new income-tax, as income earned during their years of service.

MR. ASQUITH: The question is receiving careful consideration, and I shall be prepared to make a further statement upon it when the clause embodying the definition of "earned income" comes under discussion in Committee.

Income Tax and Insurance Premiums.

MR. WATT: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will limit the amount of annual income to £2,000, or other figure, from which insurance premiums up to one-sixth are allowed to be deducted before paying income-tax; and if he will bring this into the Finance Bill of this session.

MR. ASQUITH: The concession is one of long standing, and I do not see my way to proposing any modification of it in the Finance Bill now before Parliament.

London Florists.

MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the rules of the Factory Act have recently been applied to the case of florists in London; if so, whether the result will be to enforce the employment of foreign men instead of English women; and whether he is aware that the restrictions imposed by the Factory Act make it extremely difficult for florists to carry on their trade, owing to the perishable nature of flowers and the fact that they are required at very short notice, the demand also being uncertain in time, character, and quantity.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): The hon. Member has no doubt in mind the recent case of Hoare *v.* Green in the High Court, which decided that the making of wreaths, crosses, bouquets, and the like was the making of an article, or adapting for sale of an article within the meaning of the Factory Act, and that where the substantial purpose for which any premises are used is the exercise of manual labour in the making of such articles the provisions of the Act apply. Representations have been made to me in the sense suggested in the Question as to the effect of the decision, and the matter is now under consideration.

Kynoch's Arklow Works.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he is aware that the chairman of Kynoch, Limited. has threatened to close their works in Arklow, Ireland, if the Home Department refuse to yield to their demands; whether he is aware that the same chairman was shown, before the Select Committee on War Office Contracts in 1900, to have used the threat to close down the Irish works in a few days as a means of obtaining contracts for cordite; whether he is aware that Kynoch, Limited, gave up manufacturing cordite in Ireland about 1900 owing to the quantity of cordite rejected by the War Office inspectors, the chief inspector of explosives having reported that in a number of lots of cordite there was found foreign matter, such as stones and nails; and whether the Home Department have any record showing what became of this quantity of rejected cordite, and were they notified of its existence by the War Office.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Answers to the first and second parts of the Question are in the affirmative. The Answer to the third is that rejections by the War Office inspectors of cordite manufactured in Ireland occurred in 1899 owing to the presence of foreign matter, and in 1902 owing to low heat test, and that after the rejections in the latter year the firm gave up manufacturing cordite in Ireland. As to the fourth, the rejections which occurred in 1899 owing to the presence of foreign matter were not notified to the Home Office until some time after their occurrence, and the Department have no record to show what became of the rejected cordite.

MR. BELLAIRS asked if in future the Department would take care that the War Office and Admiralty informed them of future rejections so as to prevent such explosives being sent out of the country.

MR. GLADSTONE replied in the affirmative.

Case of Herbert Blake.

MR. WARDLE (Stockport): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the sentence of two months imprisonment passed on Herbert Blake at Clerkenwell on the 14th instant for stealing two loaves; and whether, in view of the prisoner's character and previous record, and the exceptional circumstances under which the theft was committed, he will consider the advisability of reducing the sentence.

MR. RICHARDSON (Nottingham, S.): May I also ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the case of Herbert Blake, carman, Goodinge Road, Islington, who on the 13th instant was sentenced to two months imprisonment with hard labour, at Clerkenwell police court, by Mr. d'Eyncourt, for stealing two loaves of bread value 9½d.; and whether, taking into account the prisoner's previous good character, he can see his way clear to order his immediate release.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have made careful inquiries into this case, and I find that it was inadequately reported in the newspapers. The theft was not a single one; the man, while employed in a position of trust and earning good wages, systematically robbed his employers. I regret that in view of all the facts I do not feel able to advise any reduction of the sentence.

MR. RICHARDSON: Were any other charges brought against this man at that time?

MR. GLADSTONE: The charge was one of systematically robbing his employer, which had been going on for three weeks or so.

MR. J. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): Was not the man actually charged with stealing two loaves value 9½d., and was it not for that that the sentence was passed?

MR. GLADSTONE: As I have said the case was imperfectly reported. The man was robbing his employer and putting the money into his own pocket.

MR. RICHARDSON: Was he charged with systematically robbing his employer? Was it a general charge, or a specific charge of stealing two loaves?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have told the hon. Member what was shown by the evidence and I see no reason to interfere. It was a specific charge, but the evidence showed that the robbery had been going on for seventeen days.

MR. J. WARD: Has the right hon. Gentleman taken into consideration the remarks of the magistrate in giving his decision? Would they not practically mean, if acted upon, the repeal of the First Offender's Act?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not agree with my hon. friend.

Grant to Liverpool Distress Committee.

MR. HARMOOD-BANNER (Liverpool, Everton): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if, out of the sum of £105,420 distributed amongst the Distress Committees in the United Kingdom, the Liverpool Distress Committee have received a grant of only £250; and if a Return will be furnished by the Local Government Board showing the grants made to the various Distress Committees, together with a statement of the facts in each case which led the Board to make the grants.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): The answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. In determining whether in any particular case a payment should be made out of the Grant, and, if so, to what amount, I took into account all the circumstances affecting it. I could not undertake to furnish a Return showing the facts in each instance which led to a payment being made.

MR. HARMOOD-BANNER: Does not the right hon. Gentleman consider a grant of £250 very disproportionate for a population of 800,000?

MR. JOHN BURNS: The amount of money that was given in this case was ample for the piece of work proposed. Several of the schemes submitted were of a character for which I could make no grant of money either large or small.

Coffee Adulteration.

MR. REES: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the progressive decline in the consumption of coffee in this country is to some extent at least due to the practically unchecked use of chicory; whether he can see his way so to amend the law as to provide that, when the quantity of chicory in a mixture exceeds in quantity the coffee contained in such mixture, it shall be labelled chicory and coffee, the former word being printed in larger type, and, where coffee predominates, the word coffee being printed in larger type, or whether he will introduce legislation requiring the use of a label specifying the proportion of coffee and inferior substances contained in every admixture for sale.

MR. JOHN BURNS: My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this Question. I am aware that allegations are made to the effect stated in the first part of the Question, but I am not able to state how far they are correct. I have received representations to show that the present state of things as regards the sale of mixtures of coffee and chicory is not satisfactory, and I have noted the matter for investigation. I may point out that it was to some extent considered by the Select Committee on Food Adulterations in 1896, who, however, did not see their way to make any special recommendation on the subject.

MR. REES: Is not this a matter of importance, not only to consumers of coffee, but also to British planters?

MR. JOHN BURNS: I agree with my hon. friend, and I should like to see some favourable opportunity of amending the Food and Drugs Act in this and many other particulars.

Stowaways.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if there are any regulations or instructions issued that ships registered as British must land any stowaway they may have on board at the first British port they call at, regardless of their nationality or port of origin.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): No regulations or instructions to the effect stated in the Question have been issued by the Board of Trade.

MR. FELL: Has the right hon. Gentleman's attention been called to the recent case of two stowaways landed at Dover in which the manager of the steamship company said they were bound by the regulations to land them?

MR. LLOYD GEORGE: I should like notice of that Question.

Australian Customs.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY (Paddington, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he has now received information as to the action taken by the Australian Customs authorities under the Customs Act in charging duty upon certain British manufactures, viz. blacking and boot polishes, upon an arbitrary valuation of their own instead of upon the invoiced prices; if this treatment was only applied to British goods; and if he is aware that the Australian Customs authorities have now, upon the strong complaint of the importers, reversed their decision and refunded the excess duty; and if he has obtained, or has taken measures to obtain, from the Australian Minister of Trades and Customs an assurance that such arbitrary treatment of British goods will not be repeated.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have been in consultation in regard to this Question with my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who has addressed a communication on the subject to the Commonwealth Government, but a reply has not yet been received.

Rating of Telephone and Telegraph Wires.

MR. HARMOOD-BANNER: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General why he declines to act on the Treasury Minute, dated 7th February, 1896, in reference to telegraph and trunk telephone wires and parochial and municipal rates, which directs that, in cases where higher contributions would otherwise be payable, the contributions shall be increased accordingly; and whether he is aware that all telegraph and trunk telephone wires erected since 1868 escape entirely from the payment of municipal and parochial rates.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Telegraph and telephone wires have always been regarded as on a different footing from other Government property in respect of contributions in lieu of rates, and I understand the Treasury are not prepared to sanction any departure from that practice. As regards the second part of the Question, the facts are not quite as represented by the hon. Member, inasmuch as contributions in lieu of rates are paid on the trunk telephone wires acquired from the National Telephone Company in 1896.

MR. HARMOOD-BANNER asked whether it was not a fact that in many districts not a penny of rates or taxes was received in respect of telephone wires.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said that if they were trunk telephone wires contributions were paid in lieu of rates. If the hon. Member could give him particulars of any case in which that had not been carried out he would look into it.

Lodgers' Letters.

Mr. ROWLANDS (Kent, Dartford): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he will grant to lodgers giving notice of their change of residence the same facilities for the delivery of their letters as is now granted to householders.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: I beg leave to refer the hon. Member to the Answer on the subject of the re-direction of lodgers' letters which I gave to the hon. Member for Portsmouth on the 16th of April last, of which I am sending a copy.†

Bristol Post Office.

Mr. HOWELL DAVIES (Bristol, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General when the additions to the Bristol post office, promised in the last session, are to be begun.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: I hope that it will be possible to begin the building operations within the next four or five months.

English Teachers' Salaries.

Captain CRAIG: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education the average annual salary and emoluments of principal teachers and assistants in English (including Welsh) national schools for men and for women teachers respectively.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of EDUCATION (Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.): The average salaries of certificated teachers for the statistical year ending 31st July, 1906, were as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Head Masters - - -	163	11	11
Assistant Masters - -	116	3	9
Head Mistresses - - -	112	17	8
Assistant Mistresses - -	84	17	0

Education Act in Wales.

Mr. BRIDGEMAN (Shropshire, Oswestry): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education if the Education (Local Authority Default) Act, 1904, is now being enforced in any county in Wales or Monmouthshire; and, if not, whether all the local education authorities concerned are now fulfilling the financial obligations imposed on them by the Act of 1902.

Mr. McKENNA: The Answer to the first part of the hon. Member's Question is in the negative. As to the second part of the Question, I have no reason to suppose that the authorities concerned are failing to fulfil the financial obligations imposed on them.

West Ham Custom House Boys' School.

Mr. THORNE (West Ham, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he is aware that on the 27th May, in the Borough of West Ham Custom House Boys' School, 113 children were present in a class-room recognised by the Board of Education as accommodating sixty; that on the same date in the Denmark Street Girls' School, ninety-one were present in a class room accommodating sixty-three, and on the same date in the Drew Road Boys' School, ninety-nine were present in a class-room accommodating seventy; and that in the Water Lane Boys' School, a class of over 100 worked for a large part of each school day from 8th April to 10th May in a class-room accommodating sixty, the number on no occasion being less than ninety-five; and whether he proposes to take any action in the matter.

Mr. McKENNA: I am informed that there is considerable overcrowding in some of the class-rooms in the West Ham Schools during the summer months. The causes of this overcrowding are extremely complicated and are fully dealt with in an Answer which will be circulated with the Votes to-night. I am asking the local education authority to consider the advisability of changing the date of the educational year and of adding a class-room to certain of the schools.

Registration of Teachers.

Sir PHILIP MAGNUS (London University): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether, having regard to the probability that the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill may not be reached in time to be passed into law this session, he can state what steps he proposes to take to provide for the continued registration of teachers either in accordance with existing regulations, or with the terms of Clause 12 of that Bill.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxii., 772.

Mr. McKENNA: I do not agree with the hon. Member in his estimate of the probability of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill becoming law this session; but in any case steps will be taken to provide for the continuance of the Teachers' Registration Council, as at present constituted, for such further period as may be found necessary.

London Park Policemen.

Mr. SUMMERBELL: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he is aware that policemen doing park duty receive 35s. per week, and also the usual allowance of 2s. 10d. per week for rent and fuel, making in all 37s. 10d. per week, whereas the park-keepers in Kensington Gardens, Regent's, St. James's and Greenwich Parks only receive 26s. per week, although they have to perform the same duties as the police, and, if so, if he will favourably consider the claims of these men with a view to some increase in their pay, especially in view of the great saving effected in the past twenty years by the gradual transference of regular police work to the park-keepers.

The FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. Harcourt, Lancashire, Rossendale): No doubt the Metropolitan Police employed in the Royal Parks receive a higher rate of pay than the park-keepers; but I am not able to admit the comparison. The police are on service at an earlier period of life than the park-keepers, who enter on their duty not much before the time that the police take their discharge, and are retained to a much later age. They have also (in many cases) the prospect of promotion to a lodge.

Parliamentary Blue-books.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can suggest to the Comptroller of the Stationery Office the desirability of following the practice of the Congress of the United States of America and publishing official books in great request, such as the Imperial Conference proceedings, in handy octavo volumes instead of in the cumbrous quarto form, difficult of use in public meetings, and so heavy as quickly to burst the stitching. May I call attention to the unwieldy size of the Blue-book I have in my hand: it weighs 3lbs. 8ozs. and it is almost impossible to use it.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Runciman, Dewsbury): Yes, and if it were in octavo form it would be four times the thickness.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: You could have it in several volumes.

Mr. RUNCIMAN: The point raised by the hon. Member was dealt with in paragraphs 28–29 of the Report of the Select Committee on Official Publications of last session. The recommendation of the Committee is still under consideration; but I do not feel sure that the hon. Member's suggestion would meet with general approval.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: How long is the matter likely to remain under consideration. Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the American practice by which Blue-books are issued in handy form, each volume dealing in a specific branch?

Mr. RUNCIMAN: Yes, that has been known to us since last session. The consideration must go on until a decision is arrived at. I cannot say when that will be.

United Patriots National Benefit Society.

Mr. MACLEAN (Bath): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether he is aware that the Secretary to the United Patriots National Benefit Society has been apprehended on a charge of fraudulently dealing with £5,484 of the funds of this society; and, if so, whether he will take steps to have the prosecution undertaken by the Public Prosecutor.

*The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir John Walton, Leeds, S.): This matter should come before the Director of Public Prosecutions, who will take my instructions if he thinks necessary.

Chicago Butter.

Mr. C. E. PRICE (Edinburgh, Central): I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture whether his attention has been called to the last Report of His Majesty's consul in

Chicago, to the large increase in the importation into this country from that city of butter, a great deal of which is process or renovated butter, which has been melted, the butter fat drawn off, the caseine thrown out, and the fat re-churned with milk; whether he is aware this butter has to bear the mark "renovated butter," a mark which is removed on its arrival in this country; and whether this renovated butter is sold as butter in this country; and, if so, whether the Butter and Margarine Bill now before the House will prevent its importation; and, if not, under what name will it be sold, whether margarine or some other name approved by the Board of Agriculture.

THE TREASURER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Sir EDWARD STRACHEY, Somersetshire, S.): Our attention has been called to the Report to which my hon. friend refers. I understand that it is the case that renovated butter is required by United States law to be marked as such, but no case has been brought to our notice in which the mark has been removed in this country, or in which renovated butter has been sold as butter. The Butter and Margarine Bill will not prevent the importation of this article, but it will have to be sold under a special name, and with a description of its character to be approved by the Board.

Scottish Teachers Salaries.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland the average annual salary and emoluments of principal teachers and assistants in Scottish national schools, for men and for women teachers respectively.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL, Yorkshire, Cleveland; for Mr. Sinclair): For 1905–6, the average salaries of Scottish Certificated teachers were:—principal men teachers, £180 3s. 6d.; principal women teachers. £91 15s. 10; assistant men teachers, £124 9s. 11d.; assistant women teachers, £76 15s. 4d. In addition, occupation of houses free of rent was given to 1,592 principal men teachers, 523 principal women teachers, six assistant men teachers, and forty-five assistant women teachers.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): Will the hon. Gentleman send a copy of the Answer to the Irish Secretary?

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I will convey that request to my right hon. friend.

Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he has yet received the petition from the warders and staff of Barlinnie Prison, which was despatched fifteen months ago; and whether he proposes to take any action to redress the grievances set forth therein.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (for Mr. SINCLAIR): The petition has received my right hon. friend's careful consideration, but it has not been found possible to provide the large proportionate increase to the staff which would be required to institute the reduction of hours desired.

Aberdeen Detective's Pension.

MR. BARNES (Glasgow, Blackfriars): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if his attention has been called to the case of Detective Alexander Smith, who retired last year from the Aberdeen police force on pension; whether he is aware that shortly before his time expired he was suspended, and was denied an opportunity of proving his innocence by the chief constable; whether the chief constable has, since Detective Smith left the force, given him a bad character, in consequence of which he has lost several appointments; and whether, considering this and similar cases, he will take steps to curtail the power of chief constables in the future, so as to make all acts regarding the men under them subject to an appeal to the magistrates or the Secretary of State.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (for Mr. SINCLAIR): My right hon. friend has made inquiries, and has been informed that Detective Smith, who had already sent in his resignation, was suspended for reasons which were held to be well founded. During suspension Smith received full pay and afterwards was entitled to his pension. It is not the fact that the chief constable has given Smith a bad character or volunteered information, but when the applications referred to were under consideration, he was applied to by the Court authorities for information as to the circumstances of Smith's suspension, and in this connection he considered it his duty to supply the information desired. My right hon. friend does not consider that it is necessary to take the steps suggested by the hon. Member in the last part of his Question.

Belfast Strike.

Mr. C. DUNCAN (Barrow-in-Furness): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Belfast Steam Shipping Company have a number of imported labourers living on a vessel in the harbour; whether he is aware that a number of such labourers are reported to be seriously ill, and that several have already been removed to Belfast Hospital: and what steps are proposed to be taken to ensure that this menace to the health of the city is abated.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will take steps to see that the medical officer of health for the city of Belfast is informed that several cases of fever have occurred amongst the imported labourers at present on board a vessel in Belfast Harbour; and whether he will take such action as to ensure that the medical officer of health carries out his duties in an efficient and impartial manner regardless of the interests of shipping and other companies.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Birrell, Bristol, N.): I will answer the hon. Member's two Questions together. The Local Government Board have had a special investigation made by one of their medical inspectors. About 150 imported labourers are living in a steamship in Belfast Harbour. Two men have had to be removed to hospital for surgical treatment in consequence of accidents, but no case of infectious disease has occurred, and none of the men have been seriously ill. The medical officer acting for the port sanitary authority visits the ship daily, and both the public health authority of the city and the port sanitary authority are fully alive to the necessity of exercising a strict supervision over the vessel. The Loca Government Board's medical inspector found the ship to be very clean. The total number living on board, including crew, is 215. The ship is licensed by the Board of Trade for 356. The Local Government Board are satisfied that the facts of the case do not constitute a menace to the public health of the city, and that no circumstance calling for their intervention has arisen.

Mr. SLOAN: Is there any foundation for the imputation on the medical officer contained in the second Question?

Mr. BIRRELL: I have no reason to believe he is open to any imputation whatever.

Captain CRAIG: Have not the Belfast Steamship Company taken every possible precaution on behalf of the workmen?

Mr. BIRRELL: I am only concerned with the medical officer and port authority, and I am satisfied that they have done their duty.

Derrinlough Grazing Farm Dispute

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a grazing farm on the property of Lord Rosse at Derrinlough, near Birr, occupied by Mr. Parsons, of Shinrone, has been cleared of all its stock by a crowd of persons; and whether any persons are being prosecuted in connection with this occurrence.

Mr. BIRRELL: On 17th instant Mr. John Parkinson's cattle were driven off his farm at the place mentioned. The police came promptly to the scene, and restored the cattle to the farm. The evidence which is available against several persons is being investigated with a view to considering the question of a prosecution.

Roxburgh Grazing Farm Dispute.

Mr. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received reports of the driving of the cattle off the land of Mr. Blake, near Roxburgh, on Friday, the 14th instant, and of damage caused by a crowd of persons to the fences of the farm; and whether any persons have been prosecuted for this offence.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on Friday, the 14th instant, the cattle were driven off a farm belonging to Colonel Arthur Courtenay, at Ballyshea, near Roxburgh; whether he is aware that Colonel Courtenay has sold most of his farms to the tenants, under the Ashbourne Act, at eighteen years purchase; and whether he is prepared to assist Colonel Courtenay in any steps he may take for the defence of his property.

Mr. BIRRELL: I will answer these two Questions together. The police have reported that cattle were driven off the farms of Mr. Blake and Colonel Courtenay on the same occasion, and apparently by the same persons. Damage was done to a wall bounding Mr. Blake's farm. It is, I understand, the fact that Colonel Courtenay has sold the greater part of his property under the Ashbourne Act. No persons have been prosecuted for the offence, as the police have no evidence against the offenders. The police will afford all possible protection to the farms of these gentlemen and others.

Hope Estate, Castleblayney.

Mr. McKEAN (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Gresham Insurance Company holds a mortgage on the Hope estate, at Castleblayney, in the county of Monaghan, and that the agent of the company, who is also acting as agent for the estate, has recently introduced a new system of rent collecting, involving, along with other hardships, the payment by the tenants of their rents half yearly instead of yearly as hitherto, and in addition has forced a number of town park tenants to hold for the future on the eleven months system, and where they have refused to do so has evicted them without compensation; and whether, in view of these facts and the discontent prevailing in the locality in consequence of them, and in view of a similar state of things existing on other estates in Ireland, he will, at an early date, introduce a Bill dealing with the matter, or insert a clause in his promised Evicted Tenants Bill to correct abuses such as those above referred to.

Mr. BIRRELL: The Land Commission inform me that they have no knowledge of the facts alleged in the Question, but even assuming the facts to be as stated, the Government would have no power to interfere. The matter appears to be one which concerns the ordinary legal rights of landlords and tenants. It is not intended to insert a clause on the subject in the Evicted Tenants Bill.

Limavady Post Office.

Mr. BARRIE (Londonderry, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he has received a memorial from the Limavady Urban District Council protesting against the proposal to reduce Limavady from the *status* of a head office to that of a sub-office under the direction of the postmaster of Londonderry, almost twenty miles distant; whether he is aware that postal business at Limavady is rapidly increasing, the staff now numbering nineteen, against five fifteen years ago; and whether, in view of the facts, he will favourably consider the request of the memorialists and allow Limavady to remain a head office.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: I have received a memorial from the Limavady Urban District Council objecting to the proposal to reduce Limavady to the *status* of a sub-office. It seems to have been written under a misapprehension of the facts. The Londonderry district now completely surrounds the Limavady district, and the office itself, the rural posts, and the sub-offices can be more efficiently supervised from Londonderry. The change will in no way impair the postal facilities of the district, but on the contrary will increase the efficiency of the local service. The postal work at Limavady is not at present increasing.

Mr. BARRIE asked if the effect would not be to delay the mails by some hours.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: The information I have is that the postal facilities of the district will not be adversely affected.

MR. SLOAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman agree to receive further representations on the subject?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I will carefully consider any representations made through hon. Members.

Royal Patriotic Fund.

MR. BYLES: I beg to ask the Prime Minister what is the total amount of the funds remaining in the hands of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation; for what specific purposes were these funds subscribed; and are they so administered that the actual persons for whom each separate fund was raised are in receipt of the same; or are other persons not entitled, and not contemplated by the donors, receiving pensions taken from the aforesaid funds.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): I am informed that my hon. friend will find in Paragraph 9 of the Second Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation to the King the separate and total amounts of the funds remaining in the hands of the Corporation on 31st December, 1905; and in Appendix II. of same Report the origin and objects of the various funds. He will also find in Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the First, and Paragraph 14 of the Second, Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation to the King the general principles and conditions of administration adopted by the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation in regard to the various funds now under their management under the powers conferred upon the Corporation by Patriotic Fund Reorganisation Act, 1903. I am further informed that the Third Annual Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation for the year 1906 will shortly be issued and available to the hon. Member as a Parliamentary Paper.

MR. BYLES: Is my right hon. friend aware that the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation has been begging of the Treasury for funds for widows, when they have stored up very large sums of money which were given for these very widows, who are now dying off long before they get their money?

[No Answer was returned.]

Grants to Distress Committees.

MR. LEA (St. Pancras, E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether it is proposed to allot the same amount of money, viz., £200,000, this year for the purpose of assisting distress committees under The Unemployed Workmen's Act, 1905, as was allocated last year; and can he give an assurance that this year it will all be spent.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I understand that communications are still passing between the Departments concerned, so that I cannot at present give a definite Answer.

London Reforms.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that, although the Government has now been in office for over eighteen months, nothing has yet been done as regards the legislative reforms needed for the metropolis; and can he hold out any hope that any of the following measures will be introduced either this session or next, and, if so, which, viz., Registration Reform and Extension of the Hours of Polling, with all London elections to be held on the same day, the restoration of an *ad hoc* authority to have charge of London's education, Taxation of Ground Values, and an Amendment of The Unemployed Workmen's Act, 1905.

I beg also to ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that dissatisfaction exists in London owing to the fact that the Equalisation of Rates Bill, promised in the King's Speech last year, was not introduced last year; and whether he can hold out any hope that it will be introduced this year.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We are well aware of the importance of these questions affecting London, and I can assure the hon. Member that they are not being neglected.

MR. LEA asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could not give a more definite reply. The people of London were much interested in these matters.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: So are we. If I had a more definite reply to give I should give it.

Transvaal Loan.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Prime Minister what urgent necessity there is for the Government at the present time to guarantee and make the issue of £5,000,000 Transvaal loan, to the prejudice of the holders of Government and other stocks in this country; and if, under the circumstances, he will promise that the loan shall at any rate be postponed until next year.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The time and manner of issuing the loan are still under consideration, and it would be premature at this moment to make any announcement on the subject.

MR. FELL asked whether the offer of the Government to guarantee this loan had not had a prejudicial effect upon the price of Consols.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am not aware of it. It is not a question connected with my department.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS RESOLUTION.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, a Question regarding a matter on the Notice Paper to-day, and it is, whether the effect of the presentation of a Bill of which the noble Lord the Member for Marylebone has given notice† will prevent the discussion on Monday of the Motion‡ which stands in my name for that day?

*MR. SPEAKER: Reluctantly, I feel compelled to answer that Question in the affirmative. The rule against anticipation is well known, and I cannot discriminate between Resolutions put down by the Government and Resolutions put down by a private Member. The right hon. Gentleman will, I have no doubt, remember an occasion before Easter when something of the same sort occurred. A Bill was given notice of with the view of preventing a Resolution being taken. On that occasion I was obliged to hold that the fact that notice had been given of a Bill prevented the Resolution coming on. I may add this, that the rule, however good it was originally, is liable to be stretched, and may become a considerable abuse.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That being your opinion, Sir, I venture to make an appeal to the noble Lord that he should not proceed with the presentation of his Bill. I congratulate him upon having found an opportunity of giving a living instance to the House of the mischief which he himself has been somewhat forward to denounce. I find that on the 27th March, just before Easter, the Member for Norwood moved a Resolution in these words—

> "That to put a Motion on the Order Paper of this House or to introduce a Bill so as to prevent discussion in this House of Motions for which precedence has been obtained in the ballot, or of definite matters of urgent public importance, is hurtful to the usefulness of this House and an infringement of the rights of its Members."

That Motion was agreed to by the House and the noble Lord spoke in strong terms in its favour. Therefore, I cannot really believe that he wishes himself to commit an offence which he regards as so contradictory to the rights and privileges of Members of this House. I attribute to him a better, and, I think, a higher motive—namely, to show the House the intolerable use which can be made of the rule as it stands. It cannot be his desire to put off the discussion on Monday. I do not think that is his desire.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): Hear, hear.

SIR. H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not think the front Opposition Bench or any part of the House desire that which would not only cause embarrassment to Members, but would further delay the discussion of a matter which, judging from the Questions frequently addressed to me, many Members think has been delayed already too long. Therefore, I would appeal to the noble Lord to be content with the exhibition he has made of the state of affairs, and of the length to which this rule may be,

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† Bill so to restrict the power of the House of Lords to alter or reject Bills passed by the House of Commons as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the House of Commons shall prevail.

‡ That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail.

I will not say abused, but stretched, and not to proceed further. Because if he does proceed further, and if he does go on and presents his Bill, and fixes a day for it, we are not left entirely without remedy. We should propose in that case to have a sitting on Saturday [An Hon. Member: Why not Sunday?] or on Monday, to move, at the beginning of business, at the same time suspending the 11 o'clock rule, a Resolution such as this:—"That the discussion of the Motion relating to the House of Lords, standing in the name of the Prime Minister, be not precluded by any Bill appointed for the consideration of the House." But I hope we shall not be obliged to resort to that means of getting over the difficulty. The noble Lord having shown us the mischief that is capable of being done by the rule, I propose he should now withdraw and leave the impression upon the House which, no doubt, he wished to make and has made. We have been actively engaged in consultation, and in seeking suggestions from many quarters of the House, as to the proper mode of dealing with this question. The House will remember that on the occasion referred to my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Government would see what could be done in the matter, and he said they would only move in the matter if they found a general consent to the proposed alteration. It is that general consent which may possibly be a little difficult to create, but, subject to that, we are bound by what my right hon. friend said, and we are induced to proceed in the matter by our own strong opinion on the subject.

Lord R. CECIL assured the Prime Minister that he had correctly interpreted his action. Nothing was further from his wish, or the wishes of any one sitting in that quarter of the House, than to postpone the discussion of the Resolution upon the House of Lords of which the Prime Minister had given notice for Monday next. But some of them felt that they had not been fairly treated by the Government in regard to the Resolution of March 27th. The House would recollect that on March 27th last—nearly three months ago—a Motion was made by his hon. friend the Member for Norwood, assented to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and unanimously passed, directed against two evils. The first evil was the setting down of Bills so as to preclude the discussion of Motions, and the second evil was the setting down of Motions so as to preclude the discussion, upon Motions for the adjournment of the House, of matters of urgent public importance. Both of those evils were specifically dealt with by the Motion of his hon. friend. They certainly understood that the Government would without any delay bring forward a Standing Order dealing with those two evils. That was on March 27th, and since then he had addressed three questions to the Government, and the hon. Member for Norwood had addressed another, asking about that expected Standing Order. He remembered very well being reproved by the Prime Minister for his "impatience," as the right hon. Gentleman called it. He was thus reproved on April 24th. Now, at last, within the last day or two, there had been an attempt made, but he understood the Government would not make any proposal to deal with the great evil relating to the blocking of Motions for the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing matters of urgent public importance. Unless that evil were dealt with, the Government would not be carrying out the wishes of the House as expressed by the Resolution of March 27th. Unless the Government gave him some assurance that they intended to deal with that evil in the spirit of the Resolution of March 27th, he should feel it his duty to go on with his Bill. He had no desire whatever to interfere with the ordinary proceeding next Monday, and he trusted his offer would meet with a favourable response from the Government. He had handed to the Government his suggestion for the new Standing Order.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The noble Lord does not give a quite accurate description of the obligation of the Government. It was not that we should deal with the matter by placing some amended rule or rules before the House, but that we should endeavour to find out whether there was some way of dealing with this matter which would secure the assent of the House generally. My right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was most guarded in the language he used, said that we should not attempt this subject at all if it would lead to any expenditure of time, but if we should find a general agreement upon some remedy, then we would take part in proposing that remedy to the House. We are now engaged in doing that, but it is a much more complicated matter than would at first sight appear. No harm has been done to anyone by the delay, and I hope the noble Lord will not put himself in the extraordinary position of committing the very offence which he has himself denounced.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): I had to consider this subject when I occupied the position of the right hon. Gentleman, and certainly I did not find it easy of solution. But the right hon. Gentleman has not really touched the *gravamen* of my hon. friend's charge, which, as I understand it, is that the Government entered into a pledge before Easter to deal immediately with the subject ["No"]—I do not say to bring in at once a Resolution of their own, but surely there was no doubt that they did suggest to the House in accepting the Resolution that they meant to act upon it. Acting upon it may be, and is, I believe, actually interpreted by the Prime Minister as meaning only that they should enter into negotiations with various parties in the House to see whether a common agreement could be come to. Let us put the pledge at that relatively low level. I was not present at the debate, and do not know whether those who were think that the pledge ought to be put as low as that. For my part, I am quite ready to take it provisionally at the level at which the Prime Minister has put it, which is that the Government should at once consider the matter and bring it before various sections of the House to see whether some common understanding could be arrived at. Certainly I have never heard anything of those negotiations until yesterday. I understand that yesterday the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury approached my right hon. friend the Whip of this Party and had a certain conversation with him, which I presume was designed to arrive at a common understanding. But that is three months after the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I cannot really understand why some things are decided on so hastily by the Government, while other things take so interminable a time in the process of gestation. They can cook up a Land Bill in a few days, but with regard to a single Standing Order dealing with a single issue it apparently takes three months of consideration before the negotiations are begun on which the ultimate solution depends. That is a very extraordinary proceeding, and if the right hon. Gentleman thinks that he can bring so embarrassing a state of things to an end by a Saturday sitting it seems to me that would be, perhaps, the best course to take. I do not think the alternative of sitting up late on Monday night is a very good one, but even that may, perhaps, be better than allowing a situation, which everyone must admit has become very acute, to continue longer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may have some explanation to offer. I am bound to say I think the whole course the Government have pursued is one that demands much fuller explanation.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): As the Member of the Government who is responsible I should like to recall what was actually said by me. After expressing general and, indeed, complete sympathy with the Motion of the hon. Member for Norwood, I said that, in the interests of fair discussion and the dignity of the House of Commons, it was high time the Government met the evil complained of. I went on to say that it was not very easy to say what form precisely the remedy should take, because it was quite obvious that the practice which permitted a Member to get up, and by moving the adjournment of the House, occupy several hours of a sitting, was quite as hostile to the interests of the House as the one they were condemning. Whatever remedy might be devised they must take care not to introduce another practice equally prejudicial and inconvenient to the House. And now comes the so-called pledge. Subject to that qualification, I said we thought that in a matter of this kind, whatever was proposed should be by general consent of both sides of the House, and that it should not be a matter of controversial discussion between the two sides or between the various sections. So that not only did I not pledge the Government to take any direct action, but I said it was a condition precedent to any effective action being taken that general assent should be arrived at. I am sorry to say that that assent has not yet been created.

LORD R. CECIL: You have not asked for it.

MR. ASQUITH: In regard to what took place yesterday, I am told by the Prime Minister that it was done without any knowledge or suspicion of the noble Lord's intention to bring on this Motion to-day. It was the result of somewhat prolonged consideration, and an attempt to deal with a very difficult matter, which does not admit of summary solution. I do not think the Government can be said not to have fulfilled any pledge or any expectation. In order to avoid any misapprehension, I wish to point out that what the Prime Minister said about a Saturday sitting did not refer to the introduction of a new Standing Order, but to a Motion *ad hoc* for the purpose of preventing this Bill from interfering with the discussion of the Government's Resolution.

LORD R. CECIL: I cannot regard what has fallen from the Government as in any way satisfactory, and I must proceed with the Bill.

HOUSE OF LORDS (RESTRICTION OF POWERS) BILL.

"So to restrict the power of the House of Lords to alter or reject Bills passed by the House of Commons as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the House of Commons shall prevail," presented by Lord Robert Cecil; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 251.]

IMPORTED WATCH-CASES BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee C.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 207.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 207.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 250.]

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; that they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Leeds (South Parade Chapel) Charity, the Kingswood (Whitfield Tabernacle, Schoolroom, &c.) Charity, the Longton (Caroline Street Chapel) Charity, and the Board of Education (Hulme Trust Estates Educational) Confirmation Bill): Mr. Lough; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the said Bills): Mr. McKenna.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee B (added in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Silcock; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Criminal Appeal Bill): Mr. Atherley Jones.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Sir John Benn, Major McMicking, Mr. Munro Ferguson, and Mr. Whitehead; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Sir John Bethell, Mr. Guest, Mr. Wedgwood, and Mr Soares.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

SUPPLY [11TH JUNE] [13TH] ALLOTTED DAY].

Resolutions reported.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1907-8.

1. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,996,400, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expense of Victualling and Clothing for the Navy, including the cost of Victualling Establishments at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1908."

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1907-8.

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £4,060,000, be granted to His Majesty,

to defray the Charge for Supplies and Clothing, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1908."

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,671,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for Armaments and Engineer Stores, including Technical Committees, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1908."

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £2,436,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for Barrack Construction, for Purchases of Land, and for Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home and Abroad (including Staff in connection therewith), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1908."

First Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood) moved that the debate upon the Motion be adjourned. He said that they had had only five or six hours notice that this very important matter was to be brought on. The subject, in which a great many hon. Members in all quarters of the House took a great interest, was a matter of much perplexity, and it seemed to him an altogether unwarrantable proceeding that the Government, practically without notice, should bring forward at the last moment so important a Vote. He could not conceive why the House of Commons should have been so treated; he was certain there were a great many Members who desired to speak upon the subject but who, ignorant of the fact that it was to be the first Order of the day, were not present.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs), seconded.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs) replied that the hon. Gentleman had not perhaps been informed, but he saw no particular reason why he should be. It was impossible for the House to expect that they could communicate such minute details to every Member of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition had been told two days previously that this Vote would be the first to be taken that day unless it could be arranged for it to be taken the previous night, so that the Colonial Vote could be the first Order.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD (Somersetshire, Wellington) said that the first notice he had of the matter was given him at 11 o'clock on Wednesday night by the Junior Lord of the Treasury, and obviously it was impossible for him to inform his friends that it was coming on as the first Order that day. He quite understood why the Government had brought it forward; they wanted the money and were bound to get it somehow. No doubt his friends had asked for the Colonial Vote for some time past, as they were anxious to discuss important matters connected with it, and it was very hard that it should be put off in favour of such questions as Woolwich Arsenal, which might occupy the greater part of the afternoon. It was impossible to deal with important subjects like this at a moment's notice.

*MR. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden) reminded the right hon. Gentleman that two days ago he had suggested to him in his room that an arrangement might be made that the Colonial Vote should be taken first on Thursday by allowing the report of these Votes to be got through on Wednesday. The suggestion was that the Third Reading of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill should be concluded in time to enable the two Report Stages to be taken on the Wednesday evening, and thus enable the Colonial Vote to be considered first on the Thursday. The Opposition had therefore ample notice that the Report Stages were intended to be taken to-day, and the right hon. Member undertook to consider the suggestion.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD said that it was true that the hon. Gentleman came to him. The Whips frequently came to him about one of two matters—either that they should rise early and go home to dinner, or that they should bring on contentious business after eleven o'clock at night. He always refused to have anything to do with the requests in his official capacity, saying that he always referred such questions to his leader. He was sure that the hon. Gentleman would agree with him that he gave no pledge on the subject under discussion, but said he would refer the matter to his leader.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 62 ; Noes, 239. (Division List No. 247.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex F.
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt HnA.J(City Lond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Carlile, E. Hildred
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor CW.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A.(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clark, George Smith(Belfast, N.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, N.)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim, S.
Craig, Captain James(Down, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Viscount
Duncan, Robert(Lanark, Govan
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gretton, John
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Heaton, John Henniker
Helmsley, Viscount
Hervey, F. W. F(Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hon. Col. W
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lee, Arthur H(Hants., Fareham
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn Walter(Dublin, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Magnus, Sir Philip
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Parker, Sir Gilbert(Gravesend)
Pease, Herbert Pike(Darlington
Percy, Earl
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Bowles and Viscount Turnour.

NOES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn Herbert Henry
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey(Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire JosephPeter R.
Benn, W.(T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boulton, A. C. F.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt Hn. RichardKnight
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, CH(Sussex, E Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickinson, W.H.(St. Pancras, N
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David C.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Findlay, Alexander
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hart-Davies, T.
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur Durham)
Herbert Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor(Swansea

Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lea, Hugh Cecil(St.Pancras,E.
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever,A. Levy (Essex,Harwich
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lynch, H. B.
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh,Charles(Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Menzies, Walter
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Murray, James
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Sir Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Nuttall, Harry
O'Connor,James(Wicklow, W.)
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon, N
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C.E.(Edinburgh,Central)
Price,Robert John(Norfolk,E.)
Priestley,W.E.B.(Bradford, E.)
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson,Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson,Sir G Scott(Bradf'rd
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seddon, J.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Snowden, P.
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley,Hn. A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C.(Radcliffe)
Tennant,Sir Edward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas,Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas,David Alfred(Merthyr
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L.(Leeds,S.)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Wason, Eugene(Clackmannan)
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

Original Question again proposed.

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) said the right hon. Gentleman would remember that some weeks ago he put a question to him in regard to contracts for beer supplied to the Royal Navy, and the right hon. Gentleman informed him that the contract had been given to the lowest tenderers, viz., Messrs. Meux & Co. He then asked if the First Lord of the Admiralty was interested in Messrs. Meux & Co.'s undertaking, and the right hon. Gentleman said that that was not a proper question to put. As he was not perfectly certain on the matter he asked no further Question, but since then he had ascertained that the noble Lord was really interested in this firm, and that the Question he put to the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly justified. He did not want to raise any question of bad faith, but he would ask whether the right hon. Gentleman thought it wise that a firm in which the head of the Admiralty was interested should be allowed to tender for Admiralty contracts.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON, Dundee) was understood to say that he did not know that the First Lord of the Admiralty was a shareholder in this particular company. It was a small matter in proportion to the Vote, but he would answer the question at once.

[Cries of: "We cannot hear a word."

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I am sorry I have not made myself heard, but I will do my best. I accept the statement that my noble friend Lord Tweedmouth is interested as a shareholder in that particular company, and that company has been successful in obtaining the contract for the supply of beer. I do not see any reason why, if the First Lord is a shareholder in the company, it should preclude the company from receiving the contract. The First Lord has nothing to do with the contracts; the responsibility for them rests with one of the heads of the Department. At this point I may be allowed to say that, having replied to the question of the hon. Baronet, this does not arise upon the Vote at all. There is no item for beer in the Vote at all, and it is wholly out of order, though I have given this explanation in answer to the question of the hon. Baronet.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcestershire, E.): I take some interest in the question which has been raised by the hon. Baronet, because in 1900 I well remember that a long and bitter attack was directed especially against a right hon. relative of my own, and against myself, in connection with companies in which we were shareholders. On that occasion a Motion was made which received the support of not absolutely the whole, but nearly all the then Opposition, including the Secretary of State for War, who not merely voted but spoke in favour of it, and who laid down that it was the duty of a Minister of the Crown, who was in any way interested in a company contracting with the Government, to declare his interest to the Crown before accepting office. Now that the then Opposition have had an opportunity of putting their principles into practice, have they exacted the declaration which they then demanded, and, if that declaration has been exacted, how is it that the Financial Member of the Board of Admiralty, who is personally responsible for this contract, has not the information which, in the opinion of his Government, as declared in their Opposition days, is material to the decision upon a contract? I had no knowledge that this question would be raised, or I would have had ready to my hand the speech which the Secretary for War made upon that occasion, and which I am not likely to forget. The Secretary for War went beyond the Resolution, and declared that it was improper for any Minister to be interested, not merely as a director, but as a shareholder, in a contract with a Government Department. I thought the Secretary of State's doctrine absurd at the time, and I thought it was used as a weapon against political opponents—a weapon which any gentleman ought to be ashamed to employ. I know that now they are responsible they have cast aside the views which they then expressed, and gone back to the principle which they then denounced, and which, I think, is not open to the animadversions they then passed upon it. For my part, I think it would be absurd to exclude this company from this contract merely because the First Lord, from a long family connection I believe, or at any rate for many years, has had some interest in the company, and I need not assert that nothing I have said is to be treated as in any way impugning the conduct of either the First Lord or the right hon. Gentleman opposite or his advisers at the Admiralty. I believe them all to be above suspicion, but I call attention to the fact that now right hon. Gentlemen opposite have the opportunity of carrying out the principles which for the purpose of attacking their political opponents they have professed in the past, they do not do so, but that, having served the dirty purpose for which it was needed at that time, the principle is now laid on the shelf.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): The recollection of past emotions has caused the right hon. Gentleman wholly to forget the real point which was raised at that time, and wholly to overlook the fact that there is not one penny for beer in the whole of this Vote, so that a discussion on the general principle becomes quite irrelevant. On the point that has been raised, let me remind the House what was the doctrine we laid down at that time, or which we tried to lay down, and what I think is a very right and proper doctrine to lay down. It was not, as the right hon. Gentleman has said, that anybody who is a shareholder in a company would by that fact be precluded from holding office if that company contracted with the Government. Obviously a person may hold preference shares in the London and North Western Railway Company as a trustee, or in some other capacity, and know nothing of what is going on. What we did lay down is a doctrine very different from that.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Allow me to read the words which the Secretary for War used in 1900—

> "The criticism we make is that these things produce unrest and uneasiness in the public mind, and they afford a bad example. [An Hon. Member: What things?] The things are the holding of shares, or being indirectly interested in the shares of companies which contract with the Government."†

Mr. HALDANE: Will the right hon. Gentleman look at the context and see what the companies were? They were small private companies, which for purposes of convenience had been turned from private partnerships into, not public companies, but private companies. [An Hon. Member: Meux's is a private company.] The shares in Meux's are issued to the public. ["No, no!"]

Sir F. BANBURY: I am quite sure the right hon. Gentleman is in error. The ordinary shares in Meux's were never issued to the public; all that was issued to the public were the debentures.

Mr. HALDANE: I only speak from the most vague knowledge. The private ordinary shares in Meux's are far behind the enormous mass of shares issued to the public, and I believe that Meux's ordinary shares have not paid any profit for many years past. I believe that Meux's have not paid a farthing on ordinary shares for years and years past. [An Hon. Member: "What difference does that make?"] That makes all the difference. A private partnership may for purposes of convenience be turned into a joint stock company. Nobody has at any time laid down that the mere fact of somebody happening to hold shares in the London & North Western Railway Company, for instance, prevents his contracting for the conveyance of troops. Dealing with these private companies which had taken over private partnerships, what I did say was that the connection of a Minister with one of these companies was likely to create unrest and uneasiness in the public mind. To that I still adhere.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I have no wish to continue this controversy, but with the leave of the House, I would like to show that what the right hon. Gentleman states was not the question raised. One of the companies might come under his description, but I should not admit its accuracy even in that case. But none of the other companies in which our interest was challenged, even my holding shares as a trustee for others without any personal benefit, in Kynoch's for instance, have the smallest resemblance to the imaginary picture which the right hon. Gentleman has drawn, nor are they compatible with the words I have quoted.

Viscount TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham) asked why the Secretary to the Admiralty was not acquainted with the facts connected with the contract in question. The right hon. Gentleman had said he was unaware that the First Lord held shares in the company, and though it was three weeks since the incident was first brought to notice the Secretary to the Admiralty was still without knowledge on the point. He would not comment upon the speech of the Secretary for War, but he was bound to say that that was a red-letter day in the history of His Majesty's Government. More unfortunate speeches than those of the Secretary for War and the Secretary to the Admiralty had never been made in that House, and they would rest in the memory of the public, who, in future, would be able to estimate at their proper value the speeches which those right hon. Gentlemen made in Opposition, in which position they would be again very shortly.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) said the Secretary for War had informed them that what differentiated the case now under discussion from the cases referred to by the right hon. Member for East Worcestershire, was that the latter were practically private companies which, for purposes of convenience, had been turned from private partnerships into limited liability companies. Moreover, the right hon. Gentleman had pointed out that in the case of Meux's the ordinary shares had not made a penny for a considerable number of years. He pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman and to the House that the contract in question was a fairly large one, and it was quite conceivable that it might make all the difference between a dividend and no dividend on the ordinary shares of the company. No one accused the First Lord of the Admiralty of knowing anything about the matter, but the principle was exactly the same as in the cases referred to by the right hon. Member for East Worcestershire.

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† See (4) *Debates*, lxxxviii., 453.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) said that if they were to have a defence he trusted they would have something more logical and satisfactory than the observations which the Secretary for War had thought it right to make. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the attack was made in the last Parliament on the right hon. Member for East Worcestershire because they were private companies, and that that made the whole difference. What difference did it make? The only difference was this: if it could be shown that a very large interest was held in those companies, then it might be said that those in Ministerial positions who held it might be under some kind of suspicion, because their pecuniary interest in the company was so large. The question whether the company was originally a private partnership did not appear to him to have any bearing at all. The whole question was what was the amount of their interest. He did not make any attack on the First Lord in connection with the matter. He had not the slightest wish to join in any hue and cry against him. But they must take facts as they were. Here was a company of which, he was informed, the shares had never been issued to the public, and he was told that the noble Lord himself—he might be wrong—held half the ordinary shares of the company—2,500 out of 5,000. He could scarcely conceive a greater pecuniary interest in a transaction between the Government and a company of that kind. He could not see the least difference, from that point of view, between that and a private company. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say—"Oh, yes; it makes a great difference; this company has paid no dividend on the ordinary shares." He could not see what difference that made, except that the shareholders might be even keener to get a profitable contract. He expressly declined to make any attack on the noble Lord; he was quite sure that he had not used his position to influence the Government to make a contract with this company rather than any other; but the incident was an illustration of the reckless way in which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite used their privileges as Members of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman had said—

> "The standard of the previous Government was a very different standard from that of this Government. I know a case in which a Minister on accepting office sold out investments at great sacrifice."

Had that really been followed up by the present Government?

MR. HALDANE: Members of the present Government do not hold directorships.

LORD R. CECIL said that that statement showed the confusion of thought in the minds of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Members of the late Government who were attacked did not hold directorships either.

MR. HALDANE: I do not wish to revive old controversies, but I would point out that it is a question of the controlling interest in private companies, an interest which in the eyes of the public may probably be held to give those who possess the interest a certain amount of control.

LORD R. CECIL said that that did not seem to him in any way material; it might or might not be so, but the only objection which could be raised to members of the Government holding an interest or a directorship in a company was that their pecuniary interest might be set in opposition to their public duty. That was the whole point; there was nothing else in it. Which was the greater—the pecuniary interest of a director who held a qualifying interest in a company, or the interest of a gentleman who held half the ordinary shares? If it were objectionable for a director to hold office in a Government, it was far more objectionable if the gentleman held half the ordinary shares and occupied an office in the Government which made contracts with the company. He ventured to think that the matter, by reason of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, had become very serious and was one which the House ought carefully to consider.

MR. FORSTER (Kent, Sevenoaks) said the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the question at issue in the last Parliament was whether or not Ministers of the Crown should hold a controlling interest in private companies, and that that was condemned. He would like to read to him the subject matter of the debate. The following was the Resolution moved as an Amendment to the Address by the right hon. Gentleman who was now President of the Board of Trade:—

> "We humbly beg to represent to your Majesty that Ministers of the Crown and Members of either House of Parliament holding subordinate offices in any public department ought to have no interest direct or indirect in any firm or company competing for contracts with the Crown, unless the nature and extent of such interest be first declared, or your Majesty shall have sanctioned the maintenance thereof, and when necessary shall have directed such precautions to be taken as may adequately prevent any influence or favouritism in the allocation of such contracts."

That was what the Resolution said. He would also remind the right hon. Gentleman of what he had said in addition to the passages quoted by the right hon. Member for East Worcestershire:—

> "The criticism we make is that these things produce unrest and uneasiness in the public mind, and are, therefore, a bad example. The things are the holding of shares or being indirectly interested in the shares of a company which contracts with the Government. . . . What is the real interest of the public in the matter? It is that the Ministry should by their conduct be free from all misconception or suspicion in the public mind."†

That was the question at issue, and he maintained that at any rate the attitude of the members of His Majesty's Government now was strangely inconsistent with their attitude at the time they were in Opposition.

*MR. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye) said he would like to point out to the Secretary of State for War an inaccuracy in his statement. He saw by the Stock Exchange Intelligencer that Meux's ordinary shares paid interest in 1903. As to the voting power it was as follows:—One vote for every ordinary share and one for every ten Preference Shares. There were 5,000 ordinary shares of £100 each, and 50,000 Preference shares of £10 each; so that the ordinary shares, which he believed were held by two persons, one of them the First Lord of the Admiralty, had equal voting and controlling power with all the rest of the shareholders put together. He believed that entirely disproved the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman's statement as to the First Lord of the Admiralty not having a voting or controlling power.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham) said he wished to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty a direct question. His hon. friend had read the Resolution which had been endorsed and supported by the Members of the present Front Bench; and he would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether in this specific instance Lord Tweedmouth did make to him or to the other officials concerned in considering the contract before the contract was accepted such a declaration as was referred to in the Resolution, and, if so, what were the precautions taken by the right hon. Gentleman in the discharge of his duties. An answer to that question would clear up the point which was in doubt; and, in putting it, he wished to emphasise what had been said by his hon. friend behind him that he had not the slightest desire to impute to Lord Tweedmouth any impropriety in the matter. He thought the right hon. Gentleman must

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† See (4) *Debates*, lxxxviii., 454.

admit that they on that side of the House were thoroughly justified in pressing this matter on the attention of the Government, because the subject was certainly burnt into his mind from the fact that on the very first day he entered the House he had the opportunity of hearing these attacks made by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, and brought home to him that afternoon. He thought that on this occasion the chicken had come home to roost.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I will answer the specific question as to whether the First Lord of the Admiralty made any declaration to me. ["To the Crown."] A declaration to me, I think that was the question. No declaration as far as I can remember, in fact no declaration, was made to me. I had no knowledge of Lord Tweedmouth's connection with this company at all, any more than Lord Tweedmouth had knowledge that this particular company was competing for the contract. I want to make it clear now that this company tendered in the ordinary way for the Army contract—it has nothing to do with the Navy at all—and the lowest tender was accepted in the usual way. Meux's was the lowest tender. The connection of Lord Tweedmouth with Meux's was then unknown to me. No declaration was made to me, and I am pretty safe in saying that no declaration was made to the Crown.

MR. HALDANE: The right hon. Gentleman opposite has referred to what I said on a former occasion. I have nothing to retract from what I said then. The company referred to in the previous debate was a private company in which a Minister had an interest. I said then, and I say now, that nobody in the House suggested that the Minister concerned was acting from any improper motive.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The right hon. Gentleman professes to make a statement of fact as to what took place in the previous debate. He must read the debate again, as his recollection is inadequate. The only company concerned in the former debate was a company in which I was a shareholder and my right hon. relative was not, but the debate was not confined to that company. Every investment which I held, and which could be traced, was brought in. It is not correct to say that the gravamen of the charge then turned upon the fact that the particular company was a private company. The attacks were just as strong in regard to companies which were not private companies, and where there was not the shadow of a pretence of our having a controlling interest. As a matter of fact, neither my right hon. relative nor I had a controlling interest in the companies mentioned, or anything like the interest which the First Lord of the Admiralty has in Meux's brewery.

MR. LEVERTON HARRIS (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): After the opinions expressed by right hon. Gentlemen when in Opposition, may I ask whether in future this declaration will be insisted upon?

Question put, and agreed to.

Second Resolution read a second time.

MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland) said a large number of employees had complained of the bad ventilation of the clothing factory at Pimlico. He wished to know whether the attention of the Secretary of State for War had been drawn to that matter, and, if so, whether any steps would be taken to improve the ventilation. There was also some dissatisfaction felt in regard to the wages paid. The employees were pieceworkers, and their grievance was one which it was difficult to deal with on the floor of the House. The right hon. Gentleman had kindly promised to receive a deputation from the employees in order to have the matter discussed. Could the right hon. Gentleman state when the deputation would be received?

MR. HALDANE said there was no doubt that the percentage of carbon in the air of the factory was not satisfactory, and the matter was receiving attention. As to the question of wages, that would be a subject of representation. No doubt the hon. Member would bring his views on the matter before the War Office.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) thought there should be a certain amount of freedom of access on the part of the employees to the political heads of departments, or some one delegated by them, in regard to complaints. In this case there was a suspicion that the military heads did not understand trade union matters. On previous occasions happy results had been obtained by Lord Stanley and Mr. Brodrick through meeting the representatives of the employees.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick) said that when the question of inviting tenders for clothing was being discussed the right of tender should be granted by the War Office to any company who could comply with the conditions. He reminded the Secretary of State that a shirt factory had been started at Limerick by a company whose object was more philanthropic than financial. They had no desire to make any profit out of the factory; they had gone to a good deal of expense, and they were trying to provide work for poor girls who would otherwise be idle. He thought it was not too much to ask that a portion of the money expended by the War Office should be given for work done at such factories. He did not care where they were. Good work was turned out at the Limerick factory, the sanitary conditions of the place were of the best kind, and there was no chance of infectious disease being spread through the clothing made there as might be the case when clothing was made in the sweating dens of the poor. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether it was possible to give the Limerick factory a contract.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs) asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider the propriety of buying not only in Ireland, but also in Wales. Excellent flannels, tweeds, and blankets were made in Montgomeryshire, and it would be a good thing for the locality if purchases for the Army could be made by the War Office of the articles manufactured there. He could not understand why the obligation to buy in Wales should be less than the obligation to buy in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said that under the new Army scheme a walking out-dress was to be supplied by the Government at such an extraordinarily small cost that either the quality of the material must be bad, or the conditions under which the dress was produced must be undesirable. He did not know precisely the cost of the dress, but it was to be something like 30s. It that was to be the cost, it raised a question as to the conditions under which the work would be done.

MR. HALDANE said it was the business of the associations to provide the clothing, and they were allowed considerable latitude in the matter. He did not know where the clothing was got. The fears expressed by the noble Lord were not well founded, because the Pimlico scale was on the whole rather high. With regard to the appeals of the hon. Members for Limerick and the Montgomery Boroughs, he could only say that the War Office had the most benevolent intentions towards Ireland and Wales.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said that in case there should be some misapprehension in regard to the cost of the walking-out dress he wished to state that having made specific inquiry, he found that in Scotland the estimated cost of a Highland doublet, trews, and Glengarry bonnet was £1 12s. 3½d.

Resolution agreed to.

Third Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that the Secretary for State of War had told them that an inquiry was being made as to some of the properties which were desirable in a rifle. What he wanted to know was whether that inquiry was limited or all-embracing. He had put an unstarred Question to the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the weakness of the breach action of our rifle since the Martini-Henry rifle had been discarded from use in the Regular Army, and his Answer was an admission that its strength was weaker than that of the French and German rifles. He did not want to make an unduly strong case. Formerly the Swiss rifle was much simpler and cheaper than our own, and had some of the qualities in which our rifles were wanting. The Swiss had now a more complicated and a dearer rifle. He had asked a high authority in Switzerland how that change had come about, and his answer was that it was owing to target-shooting. They were prevented for a time from having the best military rifle because of the desire of the Swiss forces to make bull's eyes at target practice. Was not that so in this country ? The German Government had now got a new rifle which had a much flatter trajectory and a much higher muzzle velocity. They had a breach action which stood a very high explosive force, and were able to use a point-blank sight up to 800 metres, which was of overwhelming importance in a military rifle. Another factor which militated against the adoption of the improved rifle was that we were frequently engaged in war with savages and we were apt to adopt a rifle which would be of less use against continental armies. What added to our inferiority was that we had adopted the short rifle for all arms.

*MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis) said, in reference to the question of the service rifle, that the War Office had adopted the short rifle, and in order to get a high velocity they must have a high pressure. If they attempted to use a low pressure the barrel was not long enough. With a slow-burning powder with that short barrel the powder would not all be consumed in the barrel, and even now they had a brilliant flash when firing the short rifle, a flash which at dusk revealed the position of the firing party. They would therefore be driven to adopt a high pressure, but their bolt action would not stand more than from seventeen to twenty tons of pressure. With the German rifle the pressure ran up to twenty-three tons, which achieved a very high muzzle velocity of 2,800 feet per second, whereas our muzzle velocity was only 2,060 feet per second. The result was that the German Army could use a fixed sight up to nearly 900 yards. That was the case with all other continental armies except Russia, while we could only use fixed sights up to 500 yards. Even Portugal was far ahead of us. The German rifle had also a much greater penetrating power against gun shields because the bullets were lighter. He noticed that the Russians attributed the Japanese victories to the fact that the Japanese had the advantage of 300 feet of velocity in their rifles over the Russian rifles. Our troops were very few, as everybody knew, and it was, therefore, incumbent on the Government to give them the very best weapons that money could buy. Unfortunately in this House the temper in favour of economy was very strong, and Ministers might be unduly influenced by considerations of economy. He wanted some explanation in regard to the reported failure of the lyddite shells which had been rejected from Woolwich, and in regard to the cartridge cases which were very much at fault and had produced "blow-backs" in the rifles. Then there was the point, to which the right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean had referred, as to the bullets adopted on account of the wars we were engaged in with savage people. There had been an undue tendency on the part of the Committee which adopted the copper bullet to stick to the old-fashioned bullet which the Germans had discarded for a long time. The steel envelope bullet which the German Army used owing to the velocity was able to penetrate gun shields, but we could not adopt high velocity owing to the metallic stripping in the barrel. He ventured to forecast that we should be driven to adopt a light bullet with a steel envelope. He understood that new sights had been adopted graduated for a muzzle velocity of 2,000 feet a second. That was unfortunately a retrograde step. He thought that the War Office would be bound to adopt a higher muzzle velocity as other nations had done long ago. He had noticed in that day's newspapers that the field-gun sights were giving trouble, and that the glass tubes of the clinometer sights broke immediately the gun was fired. All these things meant a considerable increase of expenditure to remedy. As he had pointed out on the cordite debate, the combined reduction in the Army and Navy on the Vote for projectiles and ammunition amounted to £651,000, or 31 per cent. of the Vote for the previous year, which in itself marked a alrge falling off from 1905–6. As to cordite the Secretary of State had been unduly optimistic. The right hon. Gentleman stated very emphatically that—

> "Mercuric chloride did not in any way affect cordite. It did not make it more dangerous. What it did do was to mask the use of the heat test."

But the evidence that he had was that mercuric chloride might lead to deterioration of the cordite if it were stored for a long time. Then the right hon. Gentleman stated that he had got hold of a test which would allay all anxiety as to the presence of mercuric chloride in the cordite, and that that test was to be applied everywhere where cordite was to be found. He asked if that was the case where officers of the Army and Navy did their work in magazines abroad both afloat and ashore. His information was that there was no such extension of the heat test as would get over the presence of mercuric chloride. The efficacy of the silver cup test, which was the latest idea, could only be proved after lengthy investigation, and even so it could not be applied wherever the cordite was stored. It took too long and required much skill and accessories. It might be applied at Woolwich, but it could not be applied on the spot—say, either on land at Hong Kong or on board ship at sea. In that case there was a great deal of anxiety because there were tons of untested cordite both ashore and afloat. The right hon. Gentleman had said that tests were being carried out wherever there was cordite. The Committee was thus misled, and only twenty-five showed dissatisfaction in the division lobbies. There was a considerable danger of being too optimistic on the question. He found in the text-book on ammunition published in 1904 that it was laid down that—

> "After ten years use cordite has proved itself a thoroughly stable explosive both chemically and ballistically, in all climates and under all conditions of service. . . . The experience of some years has proved that these powders can stand severe climatic conditions without showing signs of deterioration and without their ballistic qualities being impaired."

A report of that kind showed that officers and experts in the Army could be unduly optimistic, and he was not sure that if they had not held those optimistic views and had carried out the test more frequently they would not have avoided the explosions which had occurred in our land magazines and on our ships. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give them a reassuring statement and not exaggerate what could be done.

*Mr. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye) wished to say a word or two about the rifles used by the Volunteer Force, and also to refer to what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean on the subject of the German rifle. The German rifle, it was true, fired a very light bullet, but he believed he was right in saying that in spite of its extreme lightness that bullet had a greater stopping power than the heavier and more solid bullet which we used. He believed the advantage was brought about more by the shape than by anything else. He would like to point out one further defect of the short rifle, and that was the extreme weakness of the clip loading outrigger, which was of such a nature that it would never stand active service. He had handled a rifle with one of these attachments for a very short time, and with great care, but the outrigger had even under such conditions become loose, and from his experience he was sure the troops would not be able to get the full use of them. It had been suggested that high scoring at target practice had a good deal to do with the selection of the present rifle, but our short rifle was so inaccurate directly one got beyond 500 yards that it was a general matter of complaint. He made inquiries at Bisley last year of experts who had been in the habit of using the short rifle, and he remarked that they were not using it. They said they did not do so because it was not accurate enough for them. They said it would be useful for this or that purpose, but it was of no use for accurate target firing. He thought that was a very strong argument against the shortness of the rifle.

Dealing with the question of the conversion of the long Lee-Enfield rifle for the use of the Volunteers, in reply to Questions the right hon. Gentleman had said that the converted rifle would not be adjusted with a back sight with a screw adjustment for elevation and wind g uge. He thought that was a great mistake. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman once more to give the best possible back sight on the rifles of the Volunteers. He did not think the question of economy should enter into the matter, because he gathered that in any case the War Office were going to put on a new back sight before the issue of rifles to the Volunteers. What he said was: "Let it be a good one." In January, 1900, a Committee was appointed to inquire into matters connected with small arms, and that Committee ordered an experiment to be made with a thousand of the short rifles which were to be issued to the troops; 500 had the old-fashioned slide and 500 the screw adjustment. The test was an absolute one after a long trial, and the decision come to by the experts was that the back sight which could be fixed to the short rifles with a screw adjustment was a better sight than the long Lee-Enfield sight, it being stronger. The old sight was therefore rejected and the new one accepted. The conclusion come to was that the back sight could be fixed on the short rifles with a screw attachment and was a better sight than that attached to the long Lee-Enfield. Yet in spite of that the rifles to be supplied to the Volunteer Force were to have applied to them the old-fashioned sight without this screw adjustment. He earnestly appealed on behalf of the Auxiliary Forces to the right hon. Gentleman to consider this matter before it was too late. The fact that the matter was still under the consideration of the War Office showed that it was not too late to make a change in the right direction. He also wished to call the attention of the Secretary for War to another serious matter. He had heard rumours from Germany, where they seemed to know all about it, as to the effect of the high explosives we used upon our rifles. He had also heard rumours as to the depletion of the stores of ammunition in this country. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take an opportunity of reassuring the country upon these questions or of taking the House into his confidence. It was of grave consequence that they should not be kept in ignorance of matters about which these rumours reached them from foreign countries who seemed to have more accurate information than we had ourselves.

*Mr. LEVERTON HARRIS (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) called attention to certain discharges at Woolwich. He knew that he was not permitted on this Vote to call attention to the whole of the Woolwich discharges about which they felt very strongly. The men whose cases he wished to bring forward on this Vote were carpenters, and were discharged when they had nearly reached the period at which they would become entitled to a bonus on being discharged. There were also other cases, some of whom were within a few weeks of the seven years, and if they had not been prematurely discharged they would have received a bonus of one week's salary for each year's service, amounting in some cases to eight or ten pounds. The cases had created in the neighbourhood an unfortunate misconception that the authorities at Woolwich had a particular object in discharging the men who would have earned their bonus in a few weeks if they had gone on. The idea, which of course he knew was erroneous, was that they were got rid of in order to save the payment of the bonus. That placed His Majesty's Government in an unfortunate position, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to remove that misconception and remedy the injustice done to men who after working very hard for seven years were discharged without receiving the bonus to which they would otherwise have been entitled.

Mr. HALDANE said the question just raised was not only engaging his attention, but they were making every effort to lighten the hardships inevitable to the cutting down of the establishments. They went on the principle of beginning with the men who had done shortest service, and they tried to keep on men who were getting near the bonus period. He was aware that there were cases of hardship, but they were inevitable, and in what they had done they had gone far beyond the most benevolent private firms.

*Mr. LEVERTON HARRIS asked if it would not be possible to give some small part of the bonus to the men who had almost reached the time for its payment.

Mr. HALDANE said that that would not be possible. It would vary the terms of service, and would lead to innumerable difficulties. The question of lyddite shells referred to by the hon. Member for King's Lynn was under investigation. A certain number of shells had been found defective, and had been rejected. Repeating his former assurances regarding cordite, he said they were sending out to foreign stations and testing it wherever they could. They were getting it home as quickly as possible. With regard to the rifle, it was true that target practice could not be regarded as the sole determinant. War purposes must be considered, and the general military opinion was that the short rifle was for these purposes the most effective. Inquiry had shown that the short rifle's power to consume its charge of cordite within its length was complete or nearly so. A much more serious question raised by the right hon. Baronet for the Forest of Dean concerned the new bullet adopted by Germany and France. The bullet of our service rifle was a cone with a thick end, which, like a certain form of cigar, had a thick end and a body of comparatively parallel sides. The new bullet which was being adopted in Germany and France was a much lighter bullet, and was rather in the form of the other kind of cigar, which was a sharp cone and ended at a point. The charge was considerably greater than ours, but the calculation of the German experts was that they got no more recoil, because the lightness of the bullet balanced the magnitude of the explosion, and in that way they got a tremendous muzzle velocity. The effects were very striking, as he had observed from photographs. At a short distance, 200 or 300 yards, it made a tremendous hole. It did not penetrate; it smashed through. Its stopping power was enormous. It had really much the same effect as the explosive bullet might have. *Per contra*, at distances of about 1,000 yards the velocity of the bullet was no greater than the velocity of ours, and at 1,100 yards it was considerably less. Our bullet was therefore much more effective for long distances. It had to be considered whether in our kind of war, which was mostly under different conditions from those of Continental nations, this new bullet was the best. Nevertheless, the question was serious, and the War Office were closely investigating it. The result might be that they would have to alter their rifle or adopt a longer one. What he was most anxious to do was not to move too quickly. They would like to see it used on a large experimental scale. There had been a long series of experiments going on for months past with the view of determining what was best to be done. With a large charge they might have to modify the breech mechanism of the present rifle. It remained to be seen whether such pressure was consistent with accuracy. As regarded the conversion of the Volunteer rifle, they were adopting new sights. They would not in all respects be what the hon. Member wished, but they would be able to make very considerable improvement upon what at present existed, and the matter was receiving attention. As for the charges, they were not wrong, but the fault was with the bullet head. That part had been rather weak, but it was being attended to and improvements were being made which would meet the difficulty to which reference had been made.

Sir F. BANBURY: Does this short rifle kick more than the old one?

Mr. HALDANE: We went very carefully into that, but we find that it does not kick more than the other.

Sir F. BANBURY asked how the right hon. Gentleman could settle down to the view that it did not kick more if it did.

Mr. HALDANE replied that the recoil was not substantially greater. People were now getting rid of the subjective convictions and were settling down to the view that it did not kick more.

Sir F. BANBURY said he wished to ask a question about the decrease of £267,000 under Subhead K. He did not want to go into the question of cordite again, but he wished to know whether this large decrease was due to keeping an insufficient stock of gun ammunition. The cordite stock, he understood, had to be continually renewed, and they had always to keep a certain amount of it in stock, because it took about a year to mature. If the stock now being provided for was sufficient, would the right hon. Gentleman explain why it was necessary to have a so much larger stock last year and why he was able to reduce it to such a large extent this year?

Mr. COCHRANE (Ayreshire, N.) said the bullet used in the German rifle gave a much higher velocity. In Germany and France they had adopted an ammunition not only with a steel case bullet longer than ours, but also one that gave a greater velocity. The same ammunition had recently been adopted in the United States of America. That ammunition had obviously many advantages if they were able to have a fixed sight at 800 yards which would allow the soldier to aim point blank instead of setting up sights. Had the right hon. Gentleman considered the advisability of adopting a similar system? This was a matter of enormous importance, because it would increase the effective range of the troops and enable them to make a more effective use of their weapon.

Mr. HALDANE said it was not the character of the ammunition. Cordite had more energy of action than the nitro-cellulose used in the United States. The difference was not in the character of the ammunition but in the fact that they used a much larger charge than we do. It remained to be seen whether the twenty-three-ton pressure would prove to be an effective pressure. They certainly could increase their charge on the present breech-block, and they were now experimenting to that end.

Mr. BRIGHT (Oldham) asked whether it was intended that they should adopt in the British Army the German bullet, the effects of which were as great as those of the explosive bullet. Were they going in for a bullet which caused such a tremendous blow as to destroy the greater part of the body? The dumdum bullet having been condemned, it seemed to him that they ought to be ruling out the new bullet instead of adopting it.

Lord BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said during the present financial year only one-sixth of the rifles with which the Territorial Army were to be armed would be converted, so that it would be six years before the whole force had one uniform weapon, and six years was more than the ordinary lifetime of small arms. He therefore hoped that this was only intended to be initial expenditure, and that during the forthcoming financial year the Secretary for War really meant to have an adequate number—say three-sixths of the remaining five-sixths—of these rifles properly converted. That, however, was to his mind less serious than the very slow manner in which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to convert the guns. During this financial year he only allotted £10,000 for the conversion of the fifteen-pounders. That represented nine batteries of four guns each, or only one-twelfth of the big guns with which the Territorial Force was to be armed. That, again, was utterly inadequate. As in the case of the rifle, the experimental stage had long passed, and there could be no excuse for delaying matters on the ground that a small sum only ought to be allowed during the first year. It seemed to him to be utterly wrong to proceed with the conversion of these rifles at the rate of only one-sixth of the total per annum, and of the big guns at the rate of only one-fifteenth. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give them a guarantee that next year he intended to deal with the matter more effectively.

Mr. HALDANE said the Government were just completing the programme for the field guns upon which up to now their energies had been concentrated. When that had been finished they would be in a position to go on mor quickly with the conversion of the short rifle. It might seem terrible that these more effective engines of destruction should come into existence, but if Continental armies were going to use them this country could not stand by to be shot down, and they must have as good a weapon as foreign nations had got. The only check was by combined action of the nations at the Geneva Conference.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) said that as it would be six years before the Territorial Army would be armed with the new rifle he would like to know why the Secretary for War could not set up machinery at Woolwich to convert the rifle instead of discharging the men there. Surely by rearranging the machinery at Woolwich the skilled men who were being discharged could carry out the conversion of these rifles. Many of the men were going abroad and they might be engaged by foreign Powers in doing this very work. He also asked whether this Vote provided for the cost of the machinery which would be necessary in future for the protection of cordite. Did it cover the new refrigerating machinery or merely the stock of cordite? He thought the House ought to know whether the War Office was going in for the same system as that which had been adopted by the Navy.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and gallant Member is not in order in discussing that question upon this Vote.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said he noticed that there was nothing in the Estimates for Brennan torpedoes, and in order to get some explanation he moved to reduce the Vote by £100.

*MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY said he wished to put a question with regard to the bayonets and swords. In reply to numerous questions they had always received the stereotyped answer that the matter was still under consideration. He had the advantage of having served on the Small Arms Committee and he knew something of the difficulties they had to meet. The delay upon the question seemed interminable. He thought a period extending over eighteen months was quite long enough to issue for trial a bayonet and a sword. In his opinion two or three days would be enough to see whether they were all right or not, and he hoped they would receive on this occasion a more satisfactory reply.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BUCHANAN, Perthshire, E.) said questions had been put to him in regard to the delay in issuing bayonets and swords and in reference to the possibility of having the conversion of the rifle more rapidly carried out at Woolwich. With regard to the first question, the swords and bayonets were being considered when the present Government took office, and they had ever since been constantly under investigation. Trials were going on still, and it was impossible at present to come to a final decision. The hon. and gallant Member complained that he had always received the same answer. Surely a certain amount of delay was sure to take place in a matter of that kind. As for carrying on the conversion of the rifles at Woolwich, that would entail setting up the necessary machinery there. At the present time they had machinery at Enfield which did all the work they required, and it would be needless expenditure to fix up machinery at Woolwich for the purpose.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR said he could not understand what the reason was for all the delay. The Financial Secretary said the matter was being investigated, but they were entitled to a better explanation than that. He understood that the right hon. Gentleman was going to rearm the Yeomanry with swords. Did he think that the investigations of the Committee in regard to swords and bayonets would be finished by the time the Territorial Forces Bill came into operation? They were entitled to know what were the reasons for the delay. Why could the results of the investigations not be made known in a week?

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said it was pretty clear from the debate not only that had there been delay in regard to these investigations on the part of the present Government, but that there was also delay for which the late Government were responsible. As this question had been a subject of inquiry during the term of office of the late Government and during eighteen months of the present administration, surely it was time some definite decision should have been arrived at. The cavalier way in which the Financial Secretary had dismissed the whole affair showed that there was no serious intention on the part of the Government to do anything to provide an adequate number of swords and bayonets for the Army. It was clear that if there was the will on the part of the Government a way could be found to provide employment for a considerable number of the expert men who had recently been dismissed at Woolwich by giving them work in connection with the conversion of rifles for the Army. He hoped the Members of the Opposition would vote against the Resolution in order that they might place it upon record that the Government, although they had been shown a way by which they could give employment to the men at Woolwich, had chosen a policy which must lead to the dismissal of more men and a great deal more suffering.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 240; Noes, 60. (Division List No. 248.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt. HonHerbertHenry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker,Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey(Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow,JohnEmmott(Somerset
Barnard, E. B.
Barry, RedmondJ.(Tyrone,N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,Sir J. Williams(Devonprt
Benn,W.(T'w'r Hamlets,S.Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Bethell,Sir J.H.(Essex, Romfrd
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boulton, A. C. F.
Brace, William
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner,J. F. L.(Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn.SydneyCharles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)

Corbett,C.H.(Sussex,EGrinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cox, Harold
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Davies, M.Vaughan-(Cardigan
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur(Edinburgh, S.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne,MajorE.Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Evans, Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Findlay, Alexander
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner,Col. Alan(Hereford, S.
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn. HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B.(Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Harwood, George
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Herbert,Colonel Ivor(Mon., S.)

Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
King,Alfred John(Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever,A Levy(Essex,Harwich)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh,Jeremiah (Down,S.)
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal, E.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Meagher, Michael
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montgomery, H. G.

Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncast'r)
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(TipperaryMid)
O'Connor,James (Wicklow,W.)
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh,Central)
Price,RobertJohn(Norfolk,E.)
Priestley,W.E.B.(Bradford,E.
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Richards,T.F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson,SirGScott (Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel,Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Snowden, P.
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph(Chesh.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor,Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas,Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas,David Alfred(Merthyr
Thomasson, Franklin
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Waring, Walter
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wilson,Henry J.(York.W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Balfour,RtHn A.J.(City Lond.)
Banbury, SirFrederick George
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carlile, E. Hildred
Cavendish,Rt.Hn.Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil,LordR. (Marylebone,E.)
Chamberlain,RtHn.J.A.(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Clark,George Smith(Belfast,N.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Craig,Captain James(Down,E.)
Dalrymple, Viscount
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, GeorgeDenison (York)
Fell, Arthur
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hervey,F.W.F.(Bury S.Edm's
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kennaway,Rt.Hon.SirJohn H.
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.Hon.Col.W.
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Parker,SirGilbert (Gravesend)
Pease,HerbertPike(Darlington)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Randles, Sir John Scurrah
Rawlinson, John FrederickPeel
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sheffield,SirBerkeleyGeorge D.
Stanley,Hon.Arthur (Ormskirk
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson,W.Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley,Rt. Hon C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Lord Balcarres.

Fourth Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

VISCOUNT TURNOUR said he desired to call attention to the scandalous neglect of barrack repairs and construction during the past year. The Financial Secretary admitted in answer to a question in July last year that the barracks at Piershill, Edinburgh, were not in a proper state for the accommodation of troops. His recollection was that the hon. Gentleman stated that the matter was under investigation. There was no mention in the Vote of any provision for the repair of those barracks. He wanted to know whether the hon. Gentleman could now state what was to be done in the matter. Would they be made sufficiently good for the accommodation of a cavalry regiment? On one side of the barracks there was a railway, on another side a sewage farm, and on a third side there was a very insanitary portion of the town. He had the best reasons for stating that owing to the insanitary state of the barracks there had been a considerable amount of diphtheria among the troops stationed there. He wished to know also what was to be done in regard to the Brighton Barracks. The medical report stated that those barracks had for years been in a bad state. The cavalry regiment stationed there was removed in consequence. Having regard to the fact that there was no finer station in the United Kingdom for the training of cavalry, he asked whether it would not have been in the interest of the Army for the Government to have expended on those barracks the comparatively small sum needed to make them fit for cavalry to remain there. He considered that the War Office in this matter was open to a charge of something approaching gross negligence. Last year it was admitted that the barracks were in an insanitary condition, but nothing had been done to make them a proper station for cavalry.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY asked what steps had been taken by the War Office towards getting cavalry barracks in Scotland. The hope had been held out that two cavalry regiments were to be quartered in Scotland. As three regiments of cavalry formed a brigade, he hoped that three regiments would be sent there. It was a healthy country, and the people would be glad to see them. Had the right hon. Gentleman ever considered that in the case of riot it was necessary to have cavalry? The squadrons could be trotted up and down the streets, and they could prevent the mob from congregating in a way the artillery could not. He thought it was high time something was done in regard to the stationing of cavalry in Scotland, and the right hon. Gentleman should give a full and frank statement of what he was going to do. All this putting off was very unsatisfactory. The money spent at Tidworth on barracks ought to have been spent to advantage in Scotland. Barracks should not be placed right away on the downs far from the towns. We did not want our soldiers to be bored to death; if they were they took to drink. He trusted the hon. Gentleman would tell the House whether he was really going to do something to fulfil the hope foreshadowed by the Secretary of State for War in regard to quartering two or three cavalry regiments in Scotland.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.) said that what they wanted to know was whether the Government were going to fulfil their pledges that something would be done to provide cavalry barracks in Scotland, or not. There was a very strong feeling in Scotland in regard to the matter. He looked with great suspicion on the excuses they had heard as to the removal of cavalry from Piershill, Edinburgh. His own opinion was that the excuses were entirely unsatisfactory. The Secretary of State for War was a past-master in the use of language, but when his words came to be analysed closely all the argument was against him. The entire Scottish Press was against the right hon. Gentleman. An hon. Member had alluded to the danger in which the large population of the city of Glasgow would be placed in case of a serious disturbance without the presence of a regiment of cavalry. He had formerly drawn the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to that fact, but with his usual mastery of language, the right hon. Gentleman had turned the laugh against him by saying that Scotland was the most pacific nation in the world. He, however, would direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the fact that there was a very large alien mining population in the immediate neighbourhood of Glasgow. He remembered the time when he himself, in conjunction with the hon. Gentleman who was now in charge of this Vote, made an attack upon a former Government for neglect in repairing the dilapidations of the barracks at Piershill. He wanted to know why the present Government could not remedy that state of affairs. He hoped, if a division was taken, that Ministerialists would not blindly follow the Government Whips on this occasion.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.) asked whether or not it was the view of the War Office that the barracks at Piershill were insanitary. If they were insanitary why were any troops quartered there at all? He was certain that the Secretary for War, when he made the proposal to remove the Greys from Scotland, little knew of the storm which he would excite; and that storm was not growing less. The demand was made in Scotland, "Give us back the Greys." He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that the question was in Scotland entirely removed from Party feeling; and the Scottish Members had a right to demand from the Government a full and specific answer as to the reason why all cavalry were to be taken away from Scotland.

*MR. McCRAE said he agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Member opposite in regard to the state of feeling in Scotland; but he wished to correct him in regard to the subject of retaining the Greys in Scotland. There had been a good deal of misunderstanding in regard to the matter. Anyone who understood the movements of troops knew that the Greys did not come to Scotland once in a blue moon. What was wanted was that there should be one or two regiments of cavalry stationed in Scotland. He never could understand why Piershill barracks had been condemned just at this particular moment. They had never been proved to be insanitary. The right hon. Gentleman had said that they were not capable of accommodating the number of men and horses of which a cavalry regiment consisted. He did not know what provision the Government had made for the Greys in the place to which they were going. Was it to be any better than where they were now stationed? He understood that considerable difficulty was found in obtaining accommodation for the married contingent. He pressed the Financial Secretary to the War Office to dispel what he believed to be the illusion that there was any very definite decision on the part of the Government to deprive Scotland of cavalry. So far as he had been able to gather from his right hon. friend the Secretary for War, and from letters which he had written, his intention was to provide for more than one regiment of cavalry in Scotland. It was said by those who took an interest in military affairs that there must now be concentration of cavalry in brigades; but there were seven isolated regiments of cavalry in England, and why should the one regiment be taken away from Scotland? The Secretary for War, as advised by his military experts, agreed to the general principle of the concentration of cavalry, but where was it going to lead him? There was no part of the British Islands where there was better manœuvring grounds for cavalry than in Scotland. He wanted the right hon. Gentleman to give an assurance that Scotland was not going to be denuded altogether of cavalry. He was delighted to find so much enthusiasm on the other side of the House for the claims of Scotland—an enthusiasm, by the way, which was absent from them during the long years they were in office. He understood that two regiments of cavalry were necessary to provide for efficient cavalry training. [AN HON. MEMBER: "Three regiments."] They had most excellent Yeomanry cavalry in Scotland, so that a proper training could be effectively provided. He hoped that the Financial Secretary to the War Office would state that a sufficient sum would be provided to accommodate one if not two cavalry regiments in Scotland, and for the improvement of the barracks there.

*MR. BUCHANAN said that in the course of the debate the demand for cavalry in Scotland had been in the ascending scale. It was first said that it was absolutely necessary to have one cavalry regiment in Scotland. Then the demand increased to two, and lastly to three regiments. He hoped it would not be considered that he was second to anyone in his desire to do what was within his power and duty for the country of his birth. An hon. Member had argued that it was necessary to have a regiment of cavalry in Glasgow in case of disturbance. He did not think that the reputation of the city was such that for that purpose there was any urgent necessity for cavalry there. He could at once reassure the hon. Gentleman that the Secretary of State for War never intended to take away permanently or for any length of time a cavalry regiment from Scotland. The Greys were still there. As his hon. friend the Member for East Edinburgh had pointed out, the Greys went from

Scotland only in the ordinary course and the next cavalry regiment stationed there would not be that regiment. But it was a stable determination in the mind of his right hon. friend the Secretary of State that there should be a cavalry regiment in Scotland, and he knew that in considering cavalry reorganisation he had had in his mind the possibility of having in that country two cavalry regiments. The continuance of the cavalry barracks at Brighton also depended upon the reorganisation of cavalry. In carrying out the reorganisation of that arm of the service in brigades the War Office would naturally withdraw cavalry from most of the isolated stations. The medical committee that was sent down to inquire into the condition of Piershill Barracks reported that it could not be condemned as insanitary; but still it was an inferior barracks, and everybody who knew anything about Edinburgh or Piershill knew that the latter was not a satisfactory barracks and was near a sewage farm. The death rate was not a high one, but there was a good deal of sickness in the barracks from time to time. The situation generally was not a good one, but it was by no means a barracks in which it was dangerous in any degree to keep troops, and they intended to keep troops there. But it was the intention of the Government, as soon as the Greys were moved out, to have a further investigation, and all the works that were necessary to make it a proper place to keep troops in would be carried out. During the ten years the Party opposite were in power the condition of Piershill Barracks was often brought to their notice; but, though they had an overflowing Exchequer, they considered there were other services of a more urgent character. The present Government were endeavouring, with their much more limited resources for barrack construction, to deal with the more urgent cases, and, moreover, they regarded the building of cavalry barracks of a proper class in Scotland as one of the most prominent needs of our military requirements in the future.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) said he would like to ask the hon. Gentleman a Question. The hon. Gentleman in the first place began by telling them that Piershill Barracks were not insanitary, but that they were bad barracks for troops, and he said they were near a sewage farm. If these were reasons for not keeping cavalry there they were equally reasons for not keeping artillery there. The Government ought to make up their minds whether, if these barracks were unfit for cavalry they were not also unfit for artillery. The hon. Gentleman said they were not insanitary, but they were not healthy.

MR. BUCHANAN said that the word "insanitary" had a technical meaning, and he was referring to the finding of a Committee which they sent down last year to find out whether the barracks were "insanitary" or not, and they found that they were not "insanitary."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he gathered then that Piershill Barracks were not "insanitary" technically, but that practically they were unhealthy. The Latin word was rejected, but the Anglo-Saxon word had much more meaning, and if these barracks were "unhealthy," though not "insanitary," he wanted to know why the Government were satisfied that they were safe, not only for cavalry, but for all branches of the Service. He thought the difficulty in regard to the provision of proper barrack accommodation in Scotland was due to the rigid financial purity of the present Goverment. Assuming, for the sake of argument, it was true that the policy of building works on loans was carried to excess by the late Government, was that a sufficient reason why the present Government should never resort to a loan even to provide buildings which were urgently needed? He might point out, moreover, that a Government which talked about economy very often left works to their successors to carry out, and then accused them of extravagance for doing so. The present Government, having laid down the principle that under no circumstances even the most permanent works were to be built except out of revenue, now found themselves face to face with the situation that they must either expand their Estimates, which they were unwilling to do, or allow troops to live in barracks that were admittedly unhealthy, if not insanitary. The reason was that the Government had not got the money to spend out of revenue, and by their own self denying ordinance they had made it impossible to raise it by taxation, That was a very unhappy and lamentable conclusion in the interest of the health and efficiency of His Majesty's Forces. The victims of this policy were not hon. Gentlemen sitting in this House, but His Majesty's troops, and he was sorry that the Government with this practical illustration before them of the evils which might result from the rigid rules which they had chosen to lay down, should at whatever cost to the health of those who were serving their country insist on keeping them in barracks which, according to their own admission, were not of a nature in which they would wish them to be. He could not have a better illustration of the policy of the Government, and he hoped the Financial Secretary would consider the moral to be drawn from that state of things and communicate it to the Secretary for War, who was not present, and urge upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he might depart from the rigid financial rule which he had adopted and relax it in the interest of those who were engaged in His Majesty's Service.

MR. BUCHANAN: What I said in regard to Piershill Barracks was that as soon as the Greys left, not only will there be an investigation as to the sanitary condition of the barracks, but the works necessary to put them into a sanitary condition are immediately to be taken in hand.

*MR. C. E. PRICE (Edinburgh, Central) thought the Secretary to the Treasury had scarcely given a full explanation of the inquiries which had taken place in regard to these barracks. As he understood, there first was an inquiry by the Government, and the barracks were condemned. Another inquiry was then held by the local authority of Edinburgh and the barracks were found to be in a sanitary condition. A second Government inquiry was held. Now they were told the Greys were to be removed from Edinburgh and another inquiry was to be held. They in Scotland thought the Government had moved in this matter in a very unsatisfactory way, and it was difficult to discover why the right hon. Gentleman who had very early and possibly pleasant associations with the district should have treated Edinburgh in this way.

MR. CLAUDE HAY called attention to the condition of Perth Barracks, which he said was nothing less than a scandal. After repeated complaints from the authorities, and infinite delay, it was promised that a bath should be provided in those barracks, but although some time had elapsed no bath had yet been provided. The buildings were very old and absolutely out of date from the point of view of modern sanitation and comfort. They were buildings which no good employer would tolerate his employees sleeping in for a moment. In the time of the late Government some attempt was made to remove some of the worst of the evils, but since the present members of the Treasury Bench had been responsible nothing whatever had been done. Although the question had been raised by many hon. Gentlemen neither the Secretary of State nor the Financial Secretary had offered a word of explanation on the matter. He could only imagine that that was because neither had given a thought to the subject.

*MR. GULLAND (Dumfries Burghs) entirely agreed with his colleagues from Scotland in the desire that the Government should give a full complement of cavalry to Scotland, and he believed that that was what the Government intended to do. With regard to the Piershill Barracks there were some irrigation meadows adjacent which might have affected those barracks, and the Corporation of Edinburgh had come to the decision to remove the irrigation works. He, however, desired to point out that if the Piershill Barracks were unhealthy, they had not become unhealthy all at once, and that years ago, when the right hon. Gentleman opposite was in office, they were as unhealthy as they were to-day, and that the right hon. Gentleman could not then spare anything for Scotland. It was, therefore, scarcely for him to blame the Secretary of State for not having put them in a proper condition. It seemed to him that the reason why artillery might be put there was that there would be fewer men and horses, and the unhealthiness or the nuisance would not be so great as it might be with cavalry. It was clear there must be a further inquiry, but it must be followed by action. The Scottish Members were only voicing the views of Scotland when they said there should be cavalry in Scotland.

MR. J. F. MASON (Windsor) said he desired to obtain some information upon a subject of great interest in his constituency. He had, some time ago, asked the Secretary of State for War when he intended to rebuild the Victoria Barracks at Windsor, and the answer he received was that the work would be commenced forthwith. Nothing, however, had yet been done. It was a matter of urgent importance to the borough, because eighty-four houses were demolished to make room for the new barracks, and the empty space caused thereby entailed a great loss in rates, for the reason that the Government gave no contribution to the rates until the building was put up. He would like to know when it was proposed to build those new barracks.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, College) protested against Scotland being deprived of a cavalry regiment. The insanitary condition of the Piershill Barracks had been assigned as the cause of removal; but as had been pointed out, an artillery regiment was still to remain, so the statement that the barracks were insanitary must be taken with a grain of salt. Furthermore, in the district to which he belonged there was a barracks waiting for a cavalry regiment. Although the right hon. Gentleman had indicated that he had been in the neighbourhood of the barracks it did not appear to have entered into his consideration, or he had forgotten that there was accommodation for a cavalry regiment there. They all knew that once Scotland was deprived of anything she never got it back. It was not for reasons of economy that money was not spent in this direction, because, so far as prisons were concerned the Government were most extravagant. They were building prisons in Scotland which were entirely unnecessary, and he thought that money might be better employed in building barracks.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the Leader of the Opposition had pointed out that the Government had laid it down as a principle by which they must be bound, that under no circumstances would they borrow for the purpose of erecting semi permanent works. In that his right hon. friend was quite right, but the principles and the practice of the Government were two different things. Even now the Government proposed to borrow £6,000,000 for telegraphic works repayable in the same way, by means of a sinking fund, as money was borrowed and repaid under the Works Acts. What then was the difference in borrowing money for telegraphic works and borrowing for building barracks.

MR. MCCRAE: It was remunerative in one case and not in the other.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that if the hon. Gentleman went through the telegraphic accounts he would find that telegraphs had never paid.

*MR. MCCRAE said that one was yielding revenue and the other was not.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said they were necessary no doubt, but not more necessary than barracks. Whatever might be the principles of the Government in theory, in practice they were very elastic. They had found it not inconsistent with their principles, or at any rate they considered it proper, to borrow money for telegraphic construction, yet they would not take the money to house the troops in barracks which were not insanitary and unhealthy.

MR. BELLAIRS asked whether the Financial Secretary was aware that there was an item of £500,000 in the Military Works Bill supposed to be realised from the sale of old barracks. Probably they would realise about £50,000, and what he wished to point out was that most of the barracks were built under the Works Bill introduced by the late Government.

*MR. GEORGE FABER (York) said he had heard with surprise that this Government of efficiency were going to do nothing at all in the matter of Piershill Barracks, and the interjection which was made by the hon. Member for East Edinburgh seemed to him to be a most extraordinary one. The Government had never when in Opposition favoured the issue of loans for works of any kind. They all had to be done out of income. That was excellent in theory, but unfortunately theory and practice were entirely different things. In practice it was found necessary sometimes to spend money out of capital account by way of a sinking fund spread over a term of years. His right hon. friend the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had pointed out that the Government themselves were doing, in the matter of the telegraphs, that very thing which they reprobated so strongly when they were in Opposition. The right hon. Gentleman had pointed out to the hon. Member for East Edinburgh, who had interjected that the expenditure in telegraph works was remunerative, that they had lost a million last year. That was point number one. Point number two was that this Government of efficiency was actually not going to take into consideration the re-building of the barracks, which were in an insanitary condition, because such a work would not be remunerative. They had heard all sorts of cries about the better housing of the working classes, and had been told that we could not have a great race of men unless we housed them properly. Yet here, in this leading case of the proper housing of their soldiers, the hon. Gentleman said they must do nothing—they must not have any capital expenditure at all, because it would not be remunerative. The Government, in the celebrated phrase of the Prime Minister, uttered the other day in quite a different connection, were too good. They must not be too good. A little bit of vice to set off their goodness would suit them admirably. As regarded finance, at any rate, he advised them not to be too good. Let them try and forget all the wild things they said in Opposition, and practice the rules of common sense. If their barracks were in an insanitary condition let them in heaven's name put them right, and not, merely because in Opposition they preached false economy here, there, and everywhere, take up so extraordinary an attitude in this matter. If these Edinburgh barracks were in an insanitary condition it was the bounden duty of the Government, either out of the Estimates of the year, or by means of a loan, to provide proper funds to put them in an adequate sanitary state.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon) said this was a more important matter than perhaps the House realised. Large sums would have to be spent on barracks. The Financial Secretary had made a very curious declaration of policy, for he had told them the Cavalry in future were to be concentrated in certain solitary places. All he could say, that was not the policy of two years ago or of five years ago. At that time it was thought that the policy of concentrating regiments in melancholy places such as Salisbury Plain was a bad thing for the troops; and, indeed, the staffs, who knew the feeling of the troops, received with dismay the announcement that the Cavalry were to be taken away from the towns and other places, and placed in the middle of Salisbury Plain or at military centres of that description. When the new Militia Force was called into being and required accommodation, he would undertake to say that if the right hon. Gentleman went round the barracks now in existence he would find that a great many required to be put into proper order. An entirely new plan of barrack had been adopted, and funds had been set aside for building on that plan, and the work had been going forward. He had always believed that the barrack at Piershill ought to be transferred to another regiment, as the site was not sanitary at all for a Cavalry regiment. If, as the Leader of the Opposition had told them, what was being done was due to the unwillingness of the Government to spend money on loan, then all he could say was that something very serious would occur. They knew very well that the Dublin barracks were bad, and in fact a part of them was entirely rebuilt; but those who knew the circumstances would remember that at Dublin barracks a serious epidemic broke out and brought misery to many families connected with the regiments. The problem would have to be taken in hand. He did not know what distinction the hon. Member drew between unhealthy and insanitary. Tho whole of the operations at Norwich had been stopped, and up to the present nothing had been done. He had heard that they were going to put up a great building somewhere near Swindon. If that were done, and the great expense incurred, he ventured to say that they would be doing a very unwise thing. Norwich for many years had been a centre of regimental life for the Cavalry, and it been a favourable field for recruiting, while the military feeling in the county was excellent, because of the long association of the soldiers with the civil population. He regretted that the Secretary of State was not present to deal with the matter, though, of course, he did not blame him, for he could not have known that this matter was going to be raised. Still, it would have been far better had he been present, as the subject was one of great importance. There was the question of the Cavalry in Scotland, to which the Scottish Members attached importance, but an even wider question had been raised on which they desired a reply.

MR. PIRIE asked whether it would not be possible, as an earnest of the intention of the Government in regard to the Cavalry in Scotland, to put down a certain sum, £20,000 or £50,000 on account, or ear-marked, against the time when they came to a decision as to where to place the barracks in Scotland.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) said his hon. friend the Member for York had thought it necessary to urge the Government to forget what they had said in Opposition. He would have thought that that was what they were doing, and that they did not require any urging from the hon. Gentleman. But it was not to enforce that point that he had risen. He wished to ask what the Secretary of State had done with the forts for the defence of London in the neighbourhood of Dorking. They were, he understood, very eligible sites for the summer season, which might be very suitable for bungalows and things of that sort. As this session was likely to be prolonged, they might be useful at the week-ends to hon. Members. Perhaps a definite statement would be made on the subject, and also as regarded the forts in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth which had likewise been abandoned. Those forts were erected at great expense. He had seen the remark in the papers, he did not know how true it was, that an American or French syndicate had offered to take over those forts. Had the Government entered into any contract with any foreign power in respect of them. At any rate, the House was entitled to know what was proposed to be done with them? Had they been dismantled of guns, and had they been sold as seaside residences? Since the elaborate statement of the Secretary for War eighteen months ago as to the great economy which he expected to effect by the abandonment of the forts for the defence of London, they had heard nothing on the subject, and he thought they were entitled to a more definite statement. There was another matter upon which the right hon. Gentleman would give them information, and that was the furnishing of the officers' quarters. That was a subject in which for many years he had taken great interest, and he had urged that instead of the enormous expense incurred in carrying about the officers' effects, the quarters should be furnished. He would like to have an authoritative statement on that question.

MR. MOND (Chester) protested against the Scottish Members attempting to make a corner in Cavalry regiments, and asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he would say what the War Office intended to do about Cavalry barracks at Chester. When the right hon. Member for Croydon was at the War Office, the question of building Cavalry barracks at Chester was raised, and one of the points then brought to the notice of the Chester Corporation was that if they would find a site, and present it free to the War Office, the barracks would be built. The corporation went to considerable trouble and found several admirable sites, but they had never been able to get any further assurance or answer as to whether or not the War Office intended to proceed with the barracks. He thought it would be preferable to build new barracks at Chester rather than repair old barracks in Scotland. He hoped he would be told if the War Office were to go on with the matter. He was horrified to find that the late Administration left the barracks in such a shocking condition. Now the Opposition came and solemnly asked the Government to spend money out of loans for repairing barracks. That seemed to him to be the most amazing financial proposition he had ever heard. If the late Government had carried on the business on a sound basis they would have kept the barracks in decent repair out of revenue. They could not have become insanitary in twelve months; it must have been going on for years. Surely no one, not even the oldest financier, would suggest that the barracks should be repaired out of loans.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Member is referring to me, I never suggested that the repairing of barracks should be paid for out of loans.

Mr. MOND said he was not referring to the right hon. Gentleman, but to a number of speeches made by Members. For instance, as far as he could make out the hon. Member for York wished to have a kind of financial rake's progress.

Mr. GEORGE FABER: I was referring to re-building.

Mr. MOND said that that was much the same thing. It is a euphemism for repairing. Further, it was a curious thing to find an ex-Postmaster-General informing them that the telegraph service was not a revenue producing service, because it did not pay. They should make it pay. He quite agreed that the soldiers ought to be well housed, and for that reason he thought very few Members would object to money being spent. But he hoped the Government would not be guided by gentlemen who had set them a reckless example by leaving the barracks in such a deplorable condition.

Mr. COCHRANE said that upon this question he found himself in cordial agreement with his brother Scots on the other side of the House. He thought it was desirable that they should have at least two cavalry regiments in Scotland. It was well known that Scotsmen made excellent cavalrymen. That point ought to be considered in connection with the Yeomanry and Volunteers, because it was desirable that they should have an opportunity of going to a convenient centre to witness how professional soldiers carried out their duties. The hon. Member for St. Andrews Burghs had suggested that a cavalry regiment should be kept at Glasgow, and the Financial Secretary replied that it was not necessary because Scotsmen were such peaceable persons. It was evident from that reply that the hon. Member had not been a member of the Scottish Grand Committee, or he would have observed that Scotsmen, when in a majority, were a very warlike race. At Edinburgh they had always been in the habit of having a cavalry regiment, with a detachment at Glasgow, and to deprive them of those regiments would be considered a national loss. They would like the Scots Greys at Edinburgh, but they did not press for any special regiment there, and there ought to be one or two more regiments stationed in other parts of Scotland. The hon. Member opposite had told them that Piershill Barracks were not insanitary, although they were too unhealthy for a cavalry regiment. If they were unhealthy, why was it proposed to keep an artillery battery there? That point ought to be explained. There was nothing in the constitution of an artilleryman which enabled him to withstand unhealthy surroundings more than a cavalryman. If this was a new method of reducing the superabundant artillerymen it was very undesirable, because it was only killing them off by degrees. He did not think the Financial Secretary appreciated how strong feeling was upon this question in Scotland. He hoped those Scottish Members who thought that in this matter Scotland had been grossly neglected would take an opportunity in the division lobby of expressing their feelings.

Sir F. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich) said he was afraid the hon. Member who had just spoken could hardly have heard the debate, or he would never have accused the Financial Secretary of neglecting Scotland in this matter. Scottish opinion upon it had been abundantly voiced in the House, and the point which had been raised about Piershill Barracks was easy of explanation. Those barracks, it was true, had been declared to be unhealthy, but the causes of that unhealthiness were being remedied. He understood that the sewage farm in the neighbourhood was going to be given up. The premises, as soon as the Scots Greys had left, were to be overhauled and put into a thoroughly healthy condition, and then they were going to quarter the artillery there. There were not so many men in artillery as in cavalry regiments, and although it might not be salubrious to have too many cavalry there, it would be quite right for artillery when the place had been overhauled and the sewage farm taken away. The Government had practically promised that there should be two cavalry regiments kept in Scotland, and what more the Opposition desired he could not understand.

Mr. STANLEY WILSON (Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness) felt sure that the Financial Secretary must have been touched by the appeals which had been made to him from both sides of the House. The Government appeared to have been overcome with a fit of economy towards Scotland. They were depriving Scotland of a cavalry regiment in order to fulfil their election pledges, but he hoped that they would listen to the appeal now made to allow Scotland to keep her cavalry regiment. He trusted that the hon. Member would be able to announce that he had reconsidered the question, and that he would give a pledge to the House that he would see that the barracks were placed in a proper sanitary condition.

Colonel KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport) urged that the main question to consider in the placing of troops was not the interest of Scotland or any other locality, but how best cavalry could obtain training as a part of our national Army. He was tired to death of hearing the complaints of Scottish Members who desired to get these regiments placed in their constituencies. He hoped all such matters would be decided from the point of view of the national Army and national efficiency. All this cadging ought to be put on one side. Was the hon. Member aware that when this lamentable exodus took place from Edinburgh and the Scots Greys were sent to another barracks the condition of the barracks they were sent to was so utterly hopeless and bad that they were condemned and orders were issued to that effect, and the troops were not able to be stationed there? If that was the case, it required attention, not from the point of view of England or Scotland, but from the point of view of the proper housing of the Army. He took an interest, like the hon. and gallant Member for Central Sheffield, in the settlement of the question with regard to the furnishing of the officers' quarters and mess rooms at the various barracks. He had heard that the charge made to the officers to recoup the Government was rather high, but he did not know that of his own knowledge.

*Mr. SPEAKER: It is not in order to refer to the general question of the furnishing of barracks. If the hon. Member will name a particular item, I daresay he will be in order.

Colonel KENYON-SLANEY: I was following the speech you allowed my hon. friend the Member for Central Sheffield to make.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I was trying to find out the item to which the hon. Member was referring.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.) said he sympathised with the claims put forward by the Scottish Members and suggested that they should put aside Party feeling in this matter and vote against the Government. He appealed to the Government to do something to improve the accommodation at Holywood barracks in county Down. There was much more difficulty in recruiting in Ireland than in any other part of the United Kingdom and, therefore, it was most important to make the barracks in Ireland as attractive as possible.

Sir F. BANBURY said that very little progress seemed to have been made in regard to Kingston barracks. He wished to know whether that was in the interest of economy. If so, it was false economy because, the work having been begun, it would be better to get it finished. As long as they dawdled over it the capital which had been expended was useless. He joined in the protest against the absence during the debate of the Secretary of State for War. It was said that the right hon. Gentleman did not know that the matter was coming on, but he must have known because there were only three Votes in Supply set down for consideration on Report. It was not respectful to the House of Commons that the Minister at the head of the Department concerned should not be present when a really important Vote was being discussed.

Mr. BUCHANAN said the items referred to in this Vote had received careful consideration. All the proposals now made were absolutely necessary. The Vote was for what the best military authorities considered most urgent in the interest of the Service. An effort was being made to dispose of the land at Dorking, but up to the present he did not think that any of it had been disposed of.

LORD BALCARRES said he did not agree with the hon. Gentleman that the forts surrounding London, which were now obsolete, must have been erected through lack of proper consideration in the past. He had no doubt that money was being spent this year which the development of strategy would render equally obsolete after an interval of twenty-five years. An hon. Member, referring to the claim made for the repair of Piershill barracks, had said that he objected to the Scottish Members cadging for cavalry. They were not cadging for cavalry; they were cadging for decent arrangements. A perusal of the Reports showed that as compared with the health of those at other barracks, the health of the troops at Piershill was such that the sanitation must be extremely bad. The hon. Gentleman said that an inquiry was to be held. Why could not an inquiry be held forthwith? The fact was that the Government was pursuing a dilatory course in regard to these barracks purely from the point of view of finance. Would the hon. Member tell the Committee what sum was allotted out of this Vote for structural repairs to the barracks in Scotland? Of course, these structural repairs ought to be carried out by way of loan. The fact that a huge Loan Bill was to be brought forward the next day for a purely unremunerative service showed that the Government were not sincere in regard to the expenditure on the structure of barracks. Until the Government made up its mind to meet that expenditure by way of loan nothing would be done for the improvement of the barracks. Question after question had been asked of the Financial Secretary to the War Office as to the cavalry at Maryhill barracks, and the only reply the hon. Gentleman gave was that he himself had been born in the city of Glasgow, that the Glasgow people were very law-abiding, and did not require the presence of cavalry amongst them. But the hon. Gentleman forgot that within a few miles of Glasgow there was a very large population of aliens, including Poles, and in Glasgow itself there were hundreds or thousands of people of foreign birth. He did not think that the presence of a detachment of cavalry in Maryhill barracks would be amiss. The hon. Gentleman had stated that the Secretary for War hoped that there would be two regiments instead of the one stationed in Scotland. Could not they have something more definite than hopes? He knew very well that the policy of putting all capital expenditure on the Votes would seriously delay the erection of new barracks. The hon. Member for King's Lynn had cast in their teeth that the late Government did not erect new barracks where they were required.

*MR. BELLAIRS said that what he had pointed out was that the late Government had erected many new barracks which were now for sale.

LORD BALCARRES said that the late Government had laid down a particular line of policy which was not carried out by the present Government. If the Secretary of State for War determined to quarter no troops in places where the barracks were erected, the blame for the sale of those barracks must be shared by the present Government.

*MR. BELLAIRS said his answer to that was that the sum of £500,000 appeared in the Works Bill of 1905, introduced by the last Government, as the amount to be realised from the sale of the barracks, and he asserted that some of these barracks had been erected by the same Government under previous Works Bills.

LORD BALCARRES said he understood that the Greys were to go to Salisbury Plain in the course of the next few weeks, and that the married establishment of the regiment would be placed at a very considerable distance from the barracks. That would be a very inconvenient and tiresome state of things for the wives. The barracks were five miles by foot walk, often impassable in bad weather, from the married quarters, nine miles by the high road, and twenty-two miles by the railway. Such a state of things was indefensible, and so long as the Government, from a false sense of economy, or from financial purism, charged all structural alterations or new works to revenue rather than to loan, the result would be the discouragement of enlistment of men in particular regiments. As to the money to be spent to effect improvements according to modern requirements at Colonial stations, there were some inconsistencies in the statements made by different members of the Government. They had been told by the Prime Minister and by the Financial Secretary to the War Office that Gibraltar, Malta, Hong Kong, Cape Town, and the Island of St. Lucia were not involved. An hon. Member had asked on what Colonial and foreign stations it was proposed to spend the £10,000 on the Votes; and the Financial Secretary to the War Office refused to answer, on the ground that it would be against the interests of the public to give the information. He would remind the hon. Gentleman that they had already had the names of the places on which the sums were to be spent. The public knew what the "Dreadnought" cost, and everybody knew that there was no strategic secret as to the amount of money which was to be spent on foreign and Colonial stations. He did not know whether this was one of the cases where money voted for one purpose was to be spent upon another. He also wished to protest against the injury which was being done by the War Office to Eltham Common. In the month of March they were told that the works which were being proceeded with on that Common were for the object of erecting buildings detailed in Vote 10. Since then there had been a change of policy, and the Government was adapting this particular piece of land to what was called "facilitating military drill." He wanted to know for what purpose the money was to be spent. The trees had been cut down on the Common, and its natural charm was being destroyed, while thousands of tons of earth were being removed. He denied that the War Office had any right to deal with Eltham Common at all. That was the attitude taken by the borough of Woolwich. The Common was a very small one, less in size than St. James's Park. The Government told them that they were in favour of preserving rights of way and open spaces and commons; but in this case they were acting in the teeth of their own declaration. He did not believe that this particular common was the sole appanage of the district in which it was situated, but that it belonged to the public generally; and he confessed that it would be a satisfaction to many Members of the House, and still more to people outside, if they had some assurance that this work of destruction on the Common would cease.

MR. BUCHANAN said that the War Office were the Lords of the Manor at Eltham Common and the alterations were being made to facilitate artillery training. Every care was taken to preserve the best of the trees.

And, it being a quarter-past Eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further Proceeding was postponed without Question put.

LONDON ELECTRIC SUPPLY BILL [BY ORDER].

Second Reading deferred till Thursday next.

SUPPLY [11TH JUNE] REPORT.

Postponed Proceeding on Question, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the Fourth Resolution 'That a sum, not exceeding £2,436,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for Barrack Construction, for Purchases of Land, and for Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad (including Staff in connection therewith), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1908,'"—resumed:—

MR. BUCHANAN, continuing his remarks, was understood to say that the purpose for which these alterations were being made was artillery training.

*MR. REES asked whether only the item of £13,000 was to be taken for rifle ranges. He had understood that a much larger amount would be taken, and this was a matter that very greatly interested his constituency. He had had occasion to approach the Secretary of State regarding this subject on several occasions, and had always been given to understand that a substantial sum, sufficient to give material assistance in his own and in other constituencies, would be provided. £13,000 would be of little or no use. Help was wanted in many directions.

MR. BUCHANAN said that if the hon. Gentleman would look at the Votes he would find that there were other items in Part II. and in Part III. This amount was taken in Part I.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 184; Noes, 40. (Division List No. 249.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight
Barker, John
Barlow, Jn. Emmott (Somerset
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N.)
Beauchamp, E.
Beck, A. Cecil
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Billson Alfred
Boulton, A. C. F.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Evans, Samuel T.
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hyde, Clarendon
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lamont, Norman
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Crae, George
M'Killop, W.
M'Micking, Major G.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Meagher, Michael
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morse, L. L.
Murray, James
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N (Doncaster
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Philipps, J Wynford (Pembroke
Price, C.E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n)
Richardson, A.
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Watt, Henry A.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlebrough)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George.
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward

Bridgeman, W. Clive
Bull, Sir William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Carlile, E. Hildred
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fell, Arthur
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Nield, Herbert
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Major Anstruther-Gray and Mr. Claude Hay.

SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee:—

(In the Committee.)

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1907–8.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £35,700, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending of the 31st day of March, 1908, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration:"—

Mr. FELL (Great Yarmouth) moved to reduce the Vote by £100. He said he desired to call attention to the Government of the Orange River Colony, to which had just been granted a Constitution almost exactly similar to that granted to the Transvaal. The Orange River Colony as an independent State had been most admirably governed in the past and had never been interfered with from this side. It had no great mineral wealth, as had the Transvaal, but its other resources were steadily increasing. It was an agricultural country pursuing its quiet way, and successfully developing. It was unfortunately dragged into the war in South Africa, and formed the scene of a large portion of the operations which followed. Some of the principal battles took place upon its territory, and it was in its capital that Lord Roberts established his administration, and from that capital that he proceeded to the Transvaal. The Orange River Colony endured great hardships during the war, but it was hoped that the losses it incurred would, so far as they could be, be recouped by monetary payments to the inhabitants, and that they would then be able to continue their quiet and prosperous life. Whether there was any necessity to give them this Constitution it was difficult to say. Had there been any demand for it? Of course it was known that the Transvaal, with its great mineral wealth and other resources, must have responsible government given to it, but the conditions of the Orange River Colony were different. They had no great wealth and could not pay such salaries as would be paid to the officials in the Transvaal. The Government of the Orange River Colony would have to be conducted in the most economical way, if the people were to live at all. It would have to be a most moderate Government with the smallest possible staff and lowest possible salaries. But its cost under the new Constitution would be doubled and trebled as compared with the cost of the Government of the country before the war. He did not think there was any evidence of a demand for a Constitution. There was an enormous preponderance of the Dutch element in that Colony, and when this Constitution was granted the power in the Colony would necessarily be placed in the Dutch. He was doubtful whether the Orange River Colony was sufficiently large in wealth or population to be a self-governing Colony, especially when the effect of the Constitution would be immediately to place all the power in the hands of the Party which not so long ago was classed among the enemies of this country. It was a question whether it would not have been better to have waited the result of a year or two's experience of the Transvaal Constitution before granting the Orange River Colony self-government. The granting of that Constitution was a great, bold, and, they hoped, successful policy, but that had still to be proved, and while he hoped it would be successful, he thought they should have waited a year or two to see how it worked before dealing in the same way with the Orange River Colony. There was in the Orange River Colony a settlement of English settlers who were put there under a grant which was now almost exhausted, owing to its being used for other purposes also, and that was a circumstance which differentiated the Orange River Colony from the Transvaal and a reason why the granting of the Constitution should be deferred. Among those settlers there had been great successes and there had also been failures. The fund, as he had said, had been exhausted, and there were heavy instalments to come from the settlers. He hoped the Government, if these men became hard pressed and unable to pay the instalments on their loans, would see that it was made easy for them, and make them further grants in order to make the settlement a success. He did not know whether the Orange River Colony was to have a portion of the £5,000,000 loan which had been guaranteed for the Transvaal, or whether the Government proposed to grant a separate loan to the Orange River Colony. He imagined that the Orange River Colony would feel aggrieved if their wealthy neighbour received this great benefit while they were left out altogether, and had to struggle on with the small capital they possessed. Then there was the native question. The Orange River Colony had its native question just as the Transvaal had, and that was the question they had to attempt to solve. But while in the Constitution of the Transvaal the Home Government had reserved the native question for their own consideration, they had given much larger powers to the Orange River Colony, where the native question would come very slightly within the scope or under the control of the Government or Parliament in this country. We could not in this country appreciate the position of the white men amongst these coloured people. We could not at all feel as the white men felt who were surrounded by these natives. The Boers knew how to manage them admirably; they were not afraid to deal with them at one time with excessive severity and at another with exceeding kindness. If necessary they flogged them, and the natives would rather have that than be treated in the supercilious way in which Englishmen treated them. The Boers made friends of them, although they punished them; they made them almost as friends of the family. The Englishmen did them justice, but they could rarely get the sympathies of the natives in the way that some of them would like. From London we wanted to treat them exactly as we treated Englishmen, but we could not do that. What we thought was kindness they probably regarded as an insult, and what we thought was friendly to them they thought we only did because we were afraid. The Government were going to give these larger powers to the Orange River Colony instead of reserving the question to the Home Government, as in the case of the Transvaal, and he thought they were doing a wise thing. It was a small colony which was very much admired by Englishmen, with which they had the greatest sympathy, and for which they wished the brightest future. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £35,600 be granted for the said service."—(*Mr. Fell.*)

*MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland) said he desired to call attention to the question of municipal government in Port of Spain, Trinidad. For some years the people of Port of Spain had been appealing to the Government for the restoration of the municipal council which they had previous to the year 1898. Whatever were the causes which led up to the riots in 1893, and to the taking away of the borough council from Port of Spain, he submitted that it was unfair that this Government should identify itself with anything that was going to penalise Port of Spain in regard to taking away its municipal government. The Government had to recognise that whatever dereliction of duty took place the whole of the members of the council had been elected by the middle and upper classes; and in order to justify what he said with regard to the people who elected the borough council at that time, he would quote a few words uttered by the Secretary of State in 1898. The right hon. Gentleman said he found that the municipal constituency of

Port of Spain was only 627 out of a total population of nearly 50,000, and that it was believed that a more extended franchise would produce better results than had been achieved up to the present time. Six hundred out of 50,000! He ventured to assert that a council, elected on such a franchise, was returned by the middle and upper classes. To continue to penalise the people for the acts of those persons, who composed the council at that time, was in his opinion unfair. In fact he thought he was right in asserting that the limited franchise had had a great deal to do with the riots, and in support of that argument he would quote the *Gazette Extraordinary*, issued in 1896, which stated—

> "Our attention was specially drawn to that portion of the Governor's telegraphic despatch of the 24th of March, reporting the riots, in which it is stated that the public excitement had 'been increased by several public meetings called together by those who demand representative Government, and the whole excitement turned in that direction.'"

That being the case, he was sorry to have to admit that the present Government had given its sanction to the course of not restoring the borough council which the people had had for fifty years before 1898, but to create a wholly nominated board for the municipal government of Port of Spain, in which the working classes would have no say whatever. No man would be entitled to sit upon the board unless he had an annual rental of £20. That would practically debar the whole of the working classes of Port of Spain from having any part or parcel in the municipal government of their own town. He was also able to quote the opinion of high officials of Trinidad in regard to the contention that the £20 qualification was too high. He found that part of the Committee who had to do with the question recommended that the franchise should include occupiers at not exceeding £12 per annum; that would ensure a considerable electorate, they said; and, further, they communicated with the Secretary of State, to whom they stated their recommendation. He was, therefore, very sorry that the Government had fixed the qualification at £20, especially in view of the fact that in Trinidad to-day there were smaller towns such as San Fernando and Arima, which were enjoying full municipal authority similar to that enjoyed in Port of Spain previous to 1898. Why the Government should refuse to give assent to municipal government being restored to Port of Spain, which was the capital of Trinidad, he could not for a moment conceive. There could be no doubt that had the report made in 1898 in favour of a wider representation, sent in by the ratepayers of Port of Spain, been received in time, they would not have had this nominated board created. The *Gazatte Extraordinary* went on to say—

> "The fifth enclosure to this despatch is a petition, in original, which was handed to the Governor (Sir Henry Jackson) on 30th March, the day preceding that fixed for his departure from the colony, by a deputation composed of Messrs. Goodwille and David, Dr. Masson and Mr. Lazare. An examination of the signatures appended to this petition will show that it is supported by nearly 700 firms or individuals, comprising with a few exceptions the leading business establishments, professional men and property owners in Port of Spain. The petition protests against the vote of the legislative council; states the opinion that a municipal council, whose members should be elected by popular franchise, is required by local conditions; and begs to support the Governor's suggestion, as detailed by me in paragraph 7 of this despatch. The petition is unquestionably supported by a large majority of those most intimately concerned, and its signatories must be regarded as forming a very highly representative body of men. It is to be regretted, however, that if they held strongly the opinions which they now in this petition express, they should have refrained from giving expression to them at an earlier stage of the discussion. Had the Legislative Council been in possession of a similar strong statement of combined public opinion upon the subject prior to March 14th, it is at least possible that its action would thereby have been very materially affected."

That was signed by Mr. Hugh Clifford, acting Governor of Trinidad. In face of that information, and in face of that opinion, he submitted that the Government should have hesitated before putting on one side the appeals of the people of Port of Spain and saddling upon them, for two or three years, this nominated board. But what applied to Port of Spain unfortunately applied to many of the towns of the West Indies. We failed to trust the people. If we trusted them more, and gave them an opportunity of sharing in the government of the towns we would have better results than we had had up to the present time. It might not be too late to ask the Under-Secretary for the Colonies to give a promise that after this nominated board had existed for a year or two the Government should consider the question of giving an elective council to Port of Spain. He did not think it was too much to ask that they should trust the people of the West Indies with a larger measure of representation. In Georgetown, out of a population of 48,843 there were only 297 voters, and a franchise like that in regard to municipal government was a farce. He appealed to the Government, who had trusted the people in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, to look with a more sympathetic eye upon the people in the towns he had mentioned, because they had a right to participate more in local government. For a number of years they had been introducing into Trinidad a large number of indentured coolies for the sugar planters, who were subsidised by the Government. According to statistics worked out by the Receiver-General of Trinidad the immigration account from the 1st of October, 1904, to the 30th of September 1906, was as follows:—Immigration taxes received on sugar, molasses and rum, £38,708; immigration taxes received on cocoa, coffee, etc., £17,413; indenture fees paid by the planters, £22,151; balance due by the Government to the planters on the 30th September, 1904, £5,882; total amount paid by the planters from 1st October, 1904 to 30th September, 1906, £84,155; total amount due to the Government by the planters on the 30th September, 1906, £1,646; total amount paid by the Government in respect of immigration from 1st October, 1904, to 30th September, 1906, less £1,646 advanced to planters, £41,237. In his opinion there was plenty of room for economy in this respect. At the present time there were about 13,000 labourers in the island out of a population of 300,000. The average cost of introducing these indentured coolies worked out at about £25 per head. The cocoa and sugar planters asked that this year they should be permitted to introduce from the East Indies 2,314 coolies, but he found that the Legislative Council had decreased that number to 1,800. He would probably be told that there had been a failure of the cocoa crops, but if that was the case and a large number of labourers were released, why did the cocoa and sugar planters demand that they should be allowed to have the increased number of labourers they asked for at the beginning of the present year? There was room for a further diminution in the number of coolies for two reasons. In Trinidad, at the present time, there were a large number of residents unemployed, and they were men who were quite willing to do this work provided they were paid a sufficient wage. They could not, however, expect the men of the West Indies to go out and work for 1s. per day, which was the amount of the wages paid to the coolies introduced from the East Indies. That there was plenty of surplus labour in the island was proved by the fact that the Government had given the American Government permission to recruit labour in Trinidad and more particularly in Port of Spain. Owing to this dumping of labourers in Trinidad with the assistance and consent of the Government the wages upon the cocoa estates alone had been reduced during the last twenty years from 60 cents per day to 35 cents per day, or about one-half. Those who had resided in Trinidad for many years had opposed the introduction of the coolies because there was in that town such a large number of unemployed, and that had led to a great decrease in the wages paid. With regard to committals for breaches of the law by these East Indian coolies they were as follows:—1903–4, 1,745 out of 3,629; 1904–5, 1,906 out of 3,955; and in 1905–6, 1,659 out of 3,574, or an average of over 45 per cent. He hoped the Under-Secretary would be able to give his attention to these points.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick) said he desired to call attention to the case of some men who had been imprisoned for nearly four-and-a-half years in South Africa. Early in 1903, after the war was over, a Leinster regiment were coming down from the seat of war, and naturally the usual military discipline was somewhat relaxed. A number of the men went on a "spree" to Pretoria, and when the picket was called out to arrest them there was a row. Whilst the row was taking place a rifle was fired, and one of the pickets was shot and died from the effects of his wound. A number of men were arrested, and five were tried for murder. Finally sentence of death was passed on one man named John Roche, and the charge in the case of the other four was reduced to manslaughter.

Although the jury found all the six guilty they recommended the prisoners to mercy. One of the men was sentenced to death, another got twenty years penal servitude, and three others were sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude. In the early part of April, 1903, it came as a shock to him that two of these men were constituents of his own, and one of them was the man who was sentenced to death. At the time he put a Question to the then Colonial Secretary the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, who gave him a most sympathetic reply. He should never forget the right hon. Gentleman's kindness and practical sympathy during the few days he was trying to get something done for the unfortunate man who was sentenced to death. The result was that the clemency of the Crown was extended to that man, and the sentence was reduced to one of transportation for life. During the year 1906 one of the five men was released. Two petitions were sent last year to the lieutenant-governor praying for mercy towards the four still in prison. From a return in regard to military prisoners in South Africa, he found that the conduct of these four men was marked "exemplary." The unfortunate occurrence in which a man lost his life was not premeditated. It was the result of a drunken spree, and it was not known even now who fired the shot. He really thought that the time had come when something might be done for the men. The crime of which they were convicted was not committed by ordinary criminals. Discipline being relaxed at the end of a long campaign in which these men had been serving this country, they got drunk, and the fatal shot was fired while they were in that condition. He hoped that the Under-Secretary of State would be able to give some sympathetic assurance in reply to his appeal. The prisoners were young men, and if the clemency of the Crown were extended to them now, they would be liberated before they were too old to be of any use in the world.

*MR. MACKARNESS (Berkshire, Newbury) said the hon. Member for Great Yarmouth seemed to have the impression that there was no demand for self-government in the Orange River Colony. There was no ground for that opinion. The hon. Member could not have read what had been going on in the Orange River Colony or he would not have made the statement. There had been meetings held and speeches made in the Orange River Colony in favour of self-government. Moreover, the hon. Member seemed to be entirely oblivious of the fact that the Orange River Colony was a party to the Treaty of Vereeniging in which self-government was promised to it as well as to the Transvaal. The grant of self-government was in every way justified, but he wished to suggest to to his right hon. friend the Under-Secretary that, in regard to the constitution of a Second Chamber for the Orange River Colony, the example adopted for the Transvaal should not be followed. In the Transvaal Lord Selborne nominated a number of gentlemen to form the Second Chamber who were not only out of harmony with the popularly elected Chamber, but were so entirely unknown that, from the beginning, the Second Chamber was an object of ridicule. After the names of the nominated Chamber had been announced, he met a friend who had been living in London for a year or so, but who had lived for many years in the Transvaal. His friend said to him, "How long it must have been since I left the Transvaal! There is hardly a single gentleman I know among those who have been nominated for the Second Chamber." That expression represented the prevailing feeling among others who knew the Transvaal. Nobody could understand upon what principle the Second Chamber had been nominated, and on the very first day it came into conflict with the popular Chamber, it at once had to give way. If it were intended as a check upon the popular Chamber it was utterly useless. If that was the case in the Transvaal, where there was a large admixture of the two races, the position of such a Chamber would be much worse in the Orange River Colony, where there would be a very large Afrikander majority in the lower Chamber. He appealed to the Government, therefore, to wait until the elections had taken place and a responsible Government had been formed, and then, after consulting that Government in a constitutional way, to bring into existence a Second Chamber which would work more in harmony with the popular one.

*DR. RUTHERFORD (Middlesex, Brentford) supported the appeal to His Majesty's Government to wait until they could appoint a Second Chamber for the Orange River Colony in a more satisfactory manner than had been the case in the Transvaal. He congratulated the Government on the bold and wise step they had taken in giving the Orange River Colony full constitutional power. It was a step which would stand out in history as the wisest and noblest they had taken. That reparation was due to the Orange River Colony, just as it was due to the Transvaal. No more criminal act was ever performed by this country than when those two South African Republics were deprived of their freedom. He and those who shared his views rejoiced that at last England was standing up for freedom. A difficult problem with which they were faced in South Africa was the treatment of British Indians. They were suffering from serious disabilities. Protests having been made in South Africa, India, and also in this country, Lord Elgin took a wise and proper course when he disallowed the Transvaal ordinance. He regretted that the Colonial Secretary had since departed from the policy then indicated. He and his friends did not hide from themselves the serious difficulties attending this problem. After all, the Transvaal was a self-governing Colony, and they felt it would be difficult for the home Government to interfere. At the same time the Indians were subjects of the King, and it was for the Imperial Government as the supreme power to do all that could be done for them in the interest of justice and righteousness. He might remind the Committee that there were in Natal 100,000 Indians—55,000 indentured, 15,000 free, and 30,000 freed. In the Transvaal there were 13,000; in the Cape Colony 10,000, and in the Orange River Colony the number was infinitesimal, only some forty or fifty. These British Indians were introduced into Natal in the "forties" as indentured labourers. As a matter of fact the Natal Government voted the sum of £10,000 per annum to encourage their introduction. They had it on the best authority that these men had done a great deal to bring about the success of the Colony at a very critical period of its history. Mr. Garland, a Member of the Natal Parliament, dealt with this matter in the following terms—

> "And at the last, as the only thing to be done, the immigration of Indians was entered upon, and the Legislature very wisely rendered their support, and help to this all important scheme. At the time it was entered upon, the progress and almost the existence of the Colony hung in the balance. And now what is the result of this scheme of immigration? Financially £10,000 has been advanced yearly out of the Treasury of the Colony. With what result? Just this, that no vote ever made of money to develop the industries of the Colony or to promote its interests in any way in this Colony has yielded such a financial profitable return as that shown by the introduction of coolies as labourers into this Colony. . . . I believe the Durban population of Europeans, had no such labour been supplied as was required for Colonial industries, would be less by at least a half what it is to-day, and five workmen only would be required whereas twenty now have employment. Property in Durban generally would have remained at the value some 300 or 400 per cent. below that which now obtains, and the lands in the Colony and other towns, in proportion according to the value of property in Durban, and coast-lands would never have realised what they now sell at."

What crime had the Indians committed? They were told that the Indians had been the salvation practically of the Colony; why then should they be treated in this unjust and derogatory manner? So far as he could understand it was because these men, when they had won their freedom, felt that they had a higher vocation in life and entered into competition with Europeans. What he might call the anti-Indian legislation began in Natal and then passed to the other Colonies. He did not want to deal with all the disabilities imposed on the Indians. There was the Dealers Licence Act. He had asked many Questions with reference to that Act, and the Under-Secretary for the Colonies had told the House how many industrious Indian shopkeepers, who had lived for many years in Natal, had been deprived of their licence by the local authorities, many of whose members were in competition with them, and accordingly biassed against them. The injustice of the Act was revealed in the fact that there was no appeal from their decision to the Supreme Court. Again, under the Municipal Corporation Act the Indians had been deprived of the last rag of their civil rights. They were welcomed as labourers, but directly they rose above that *status* the British made a set against them. In the Transvaal the law passed by the Boer Government would not allow them to hold land, and placed other irritating restrictions upon them. Fortunately that Act was practically a dead letter, at least it was not rigorously enforced, but when the Colony was taken over by the British Government the law was tightened up and enforced. Lord Elgin was asked last year to sanction what was called the "Peace Preservation Ordinance," which was directed against the Indians, and the only reason given for the Ordinance was that it was to prevent a great influx of Indians to the Transvaal over the border from Natal. But the figures in favour of it were grossly exaggerated, because it was proved that they never amounted to more than a hundred a month. But the Ordinance did far more than that, it degraded and drove out Indians, who had been after all for many years a source of commercial development in the Transvaal as well as in Natal. In the course of a discussion on this point in another place Lord Lansdowne said—

> "The question is, does this new law really secure what the noble Earl (Lord Elgin) means by fair treatment? I own that I have a little difficulty in persuading myself that it does, because we have on record the statement of the noble Earl that the Ordinance which His Majesty's Government in the first instance disallowed contained proposals which could not be regarded as affording an adequate measure of relief from the disabilities to which the British Indians were subject in the Transvaal, and therefore fell far short of the reforms repeatedly pressed upon the Government of the South African Republic. Now the noble Earl tells us that the Act which has been passed differs very little from the Ordinance which he denounced in clear and emphatic language; therefore, we certainly cannot congratulate the noble Earl upon having succeeded in obtaining for British Indians what he himself has described as fair treatment."

And the noble Lord went on to say that—

> "Even supposing that a few hundred more of these people had succeeded in crossing the frontier, that is surely a lesser evil than even in appearance to throw over the interests of these Indians, who themselves look to you for protection, and whose fellow-countrymen in India are watching what is taking place."

He realised the difficulties the Home Government had to contend with in dealing with the self-governing Colonies. But he thought the Government ought to have made it one of the conditions upon which the £5,000,000 loan to the Transvaal was to be guaranteed that fair treatment should be accorded to British Indians in that Colony. In Cape Colony equal rights were meted out to the Indians once they got in. There was an educational test in the way of their getting in. Yiddish was accepted as a test for foreigners. He thought that Hindustani should be included in the educational test for British Indians. It was said that that would not make these Colonies a white man's country. That was an impossibility. There were two great laws which provided an insuperable bar to South Africa being made an exclusively white man's country. These were natural and divine. The Almighty drew no colour bar, and he had yet to learn that God had made South Africa for whites and Europeans At present it was practically a black man's country and must largely remain a black man's country. It was a country in which the Indians could live, and they would do great good to the Colonies and bring distinction to this country. The treatment the Indians were at present receiving in South Africa might have serious consequences in India. Supposing the Indians in India retaliated—supposing they said that India was a coloured man's country and that the whites should clear out? He hoped that in the interest of liberty, justice, and righteousness the Home Government would use their best endeavours to get rid of the servile conditions under which British Indians suffered in South Africa.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover-Square) said a good many topics had been introduced, but he made no apology to the Committee for concentrating his observations upon South Africa which still claimed their principal attention concerning Colonial matters. A few days ago the Constitution for the Orange River Colony was promulgated, and he admitted there was nothing in it but what had been anticipated, and there was no doubt that in a few weeks both the provinces annexed in 1902 would pass for the time being under the unqualified sway of Governments against whom we lately strove and prevailed. He did not desire to exaggerate the difference between Parties on this subject; it was right to remember that self-government in the two provinces was the ultimate goal both Parties wished to reach, and in the instrument which sealed the peace Lords Milner and Kitchener deliberately and solemnly recorded that intention. Nor did he desire to ignore the difference that prevailed between Parties as to the time it would be wise or expedient to grant the Constitutions. He and his friends were compelled at the time, by reason, as they thought, of the premature character of the grant, to dissociate themselves from the responsibility that attended the transition from Crown Colony Government to complete independence. But from first to last they had expressed the hope that their misgivings would not be realised, and it would be ungenerous not to acknowledge that General Botha, when he visited this country, earned respect and esteem by the language in which he expressed his future intentions. But there was another aspect of the matter with which it would be wrong not to deal. He did not wish to deal with it in a partisan or unnecessarily controversial way, but it was useless to deny that in the annexed provinces there were two Parties with racial differences. The object of every Party in the House was the ultimate concord and harmony between the two races, but with all the earnestness in his power he said that nothing could be more odious, nothing could be more calculated to weaken the chances of co-operation and harmony between the two races, than for any Government in the country to show favour or undue preference to the one or the other. It was right surely to appreciate in the House, and with a majority constituted as it was—it was right to endeavour to appreciate the British point of view in the Colony as well as that of the Dutch. Hundreds, and he might say perhaps thousands, of men had given up their employment in this country and had sought South Africa after the war, had settled upon land or embarked in business there, or were following the professions of engineering, law, or medicine. They did this full of hope that the country where they proposed to settle would be ruled by British counsels and controlled by British statesman. For years they had been the subject of a storm of controversy, their principal industry had been the subject of menace by Government supporters, and the result had been of late—he did not say it was entirely attributable to that, but disaster had fallen on the country and the offices in which Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen were placed; industry had been arrested and professions depressed, some of them paralysed, ruin and misery overtaking many of those who had made costly sacrifices to settle in the country. Human nature being what it was, it was natural that the iron had entered into the soul of many of the men, and that they should feel bitter resentment against those to whom they attributed the losses they had sustained. These men did not and could not join in the complaisant chorus which in this country had glorified the Government as they thought at their expense; they were not enthusiastic in support of Party Government, to whose success in this country they attributed many of their losses. Indeed, it was not unnatural that they were disposed to attribute to the indifference and the apathy of the many in this country the fact that that interest had been sacrificed. We ought not 6,000 miles away, and, in a manner, secure from the consequences of our own action, to resent this natural feeling of bitterness. The policy which had been undertaken was irrevocable; and therefore it was our duty to look steadily at the good elements rather than the bad. He had a profound sympathy with the feelings of the British in South Africa, and he would offer them this ground of hope and encouragement. The principle of the equality of the white races in South Africa had been asserted. In the last four years a marvellous work of reconstruction and recuperation had been achieved by the British. Their ability, energy, credit, and resource had built up a community desolated by war. This wonderful fabric having been nearly completed, it would be a source of pride for all time to Britons to have said—"Here is our work. Here is the country restored by our toil and sacrifice. We hand it over to you against whom we lately strove; and we do it without advantage or reward." Such a policy might be Quixotic, but no one who had been the subject of that policy could do other than feel that national pride and national self-esteem had been vindicated, and that the race which had done such a thing had a right to hold its head high among the nations of the world. But if we asked the British population of the new Colonies to look at the matter in that light, and to regard the sacrifice with hope, surely it was a corresponding duty on the part of His Majesty's Government to show to that population the most scrupulous impartiality, to be straightforward and open in their dealings, and to abandon all indirect political motive. He wished to put the policy of His Majesty's Government to those tests. No explanation had ever been given as to why manhood suffrage was established in these Colonies. It did not exist anywhere else in South Africa. Previous to the war there was a high property qualification, both in the Orange River State and in the Transvaal. Why was this new precedent started? He did not wish to be put off in this matter by the reading of rhetorical extracts—he would not say platitudes—from Liberal maxim books as to the liberty and general equality of man. That position was now negatived, for, having excluded the natives from the franchise, the Government could not have resort to that argument. Then what was the explanation—and he asked for details—of the financial attitude and policy of the Transvaal Government? He would not attempt to discuss the details of the forthcoming Bill, but he was anxious to consider what the effect of the promise of the Government was, a promise which had encouraged—he would go further and say which had enabled—the Transvaal to put out a loan and to borrow money. Was that policy justifiable, was it even intelligible? What was the financial situation in the Transvaal? There was a population of about 300,000 whites. There was a State debt of £35,000,000, and a municipal debt of £8,000,000, making a total of £43,000,000, or £140 of debt per head of the population. *Prima facie*, was that a country, in the circumstances which existed at present, which they could encourage to borrow and to lay upon themselves a further annual burden of £200,000 a year? The Colonial Treasurer of the Transvaal in June, 1906, stated in his report that the revenues of the Colony showed no tendency towards expansion, that much expenditure was still required to promote the development of the colony, and, if a reasonable rate of progress was to be maintained, substantial sums must be provided annually for the purpose, but in the present financial condition of the colony it would be highly unwise to have recourse to further borrowing. Had things grown better since June, 1906? He found that Mr. Smuts, the Colonial Secretary, in April said that the financial question was the root problem before them; they wanted money; that the fall in the revenue had been progressive, and there was no stoppage to it. In those conditions surely it was extravagant finance to borrow at all, and inexpedient to encourage and enable the Transvaal to borrow. Surely it was unjust to the Cape Colony and to Natal, who both needed money and were about to float a loan, and who could not float a loan with any prospect of success with this guaranteed loan hanging over their heads. Was this encouragement by the present Government of the Transvaal to borrow money treating with scrupulous impartiality and fairness the British population? When he was at the Colonial Office he was told that 85 per cent. of the revenue of the Transvaal came from the mines; in other words, from those who represented the British connection there. Therefore 85 per cent. of the taxation of the Transvaal fell upon the urban population, which was mainly British, and 15 per cent. on the rural population, which was mainly Dutch. This £5,000,000, which was to be added to the £43,000,000 under which the Colony was already burdened, would be paid as to 85 per cent. of it by the urban population. How was it to be applied? He thought his was absolutely the first voice in the country to advocate a policy of pecuniary liberality to the Boers after the war, and he had always favoured expenditure on behalf of the agriculturists in that country. But there must be some measure or limit. He thought £10,000,000 had already been spent on their Dutch fellow-subjects alone in the Transvaal, and they were going to add £5,000,000. The proceeds of this loan were to be applied as to £2,500,000 to land banks, railways, and irrigation—all agricultural purposes. He did not wish to put it bitterly for one moment, for he was glad that they should have money if it could be done without injustice to other people, but what was the position of the Dutch rural population with regard to these land banks? The Under-Secretary would say that there would be the security of the land, and they would be able to pay back the money. But the Dutch farmers were already indebted to the Government of the Transvaal for £2,000,000 in respect of the loans which were issued before their repatriation. They had been given time for repayment of those loans, but he was told that there was little prospect of recovering any part of the £2,000,000. They were going to give to men who were already their debtors to the extent of £2,000,000 an additional sum of £2,500,000, he supposed with an equally small chance of recovering the money. Surely, the House must recognise that that was an interference with and a reversal of the natural economic position of the country. The Transvaal could not have raised the loan without the credit of the Government behind them except upon terms so exorbitant that it would have been impossible for them even to consider it. This free-trade Government had interfered with the natural barrier against a country which was not rich enough to increase its obligations, by standing behind them and imposing upon the British population of the country heavy taxation almost entirely for the benefit of the Dutch. He did not think finance of that kind could possibly be justified. What had been the policy of the Government with regard to land settlement? Parliament voted £3,000,000 for land settlement, for Canadians, Australians, and Britons, and £500,000 of that sum had been arrested. How differently they treated their own population. The Government actually withheld from them the money which had been granted to them by that House. They might have reasons for doing so, but he had never heard them. Let them contrast that treatment with the behaviour of the Government to their Dutch fellow-subjects. Having already given them time to pay a debt of £2,000,000, the Government increased the benefits they had conferred upon them to the extent of several millions more. They placed the whole weight of the taxation, not upon the people who benefited, but on the people who were opposed to their policy, and with whose industry they had seriously interfered. Concurrently with the adoption of this financial measure there had been a modification of the policy of the Transvaal Government upon the labour question. General Smuts in January last was prepared to make an arrangement under which there would have been a native labourer to take the place of every Chinaman before the Chinaman was sent away. In February he said they did not wish to cripple the mining industry, and guaranteed a substitute to take the place of each Chinese labourer. That was again announced in Lord Selborne's speech. General Botha had now obtained a promise of the assistance of His Majesty's Government under the circumstances which he had already stated, of a further borrowing from this country to which they already owed £2,000,000. He was aware that the Under-Secretary in that House, and that, according to the newspaper reports, General Botha also, had denied that there was any bargain with reference to this matter. He accepted their word, but everything depended on the meaning attached to the word bargain. There was a very strong wish, for political reasons, on the part of gentlemen in a certain quarter of that House that the Chinese should be repatriated; there was a strong wish on the part of General Botha to have the credit of the Imperial Government to guarantee his loan. He accepted the assurance that there had been no bargain, as the parties honestly believed; but was the simultaneous gratification of both these wishes a matter of pure coincidence or not? If it was not a pure coincidence, how were the two related? Were they totally independent transactions, or were they one transaction? There were certain wishes so strongly denied by two persons, and so mutually advantageous that they did not need to become the subject of bargaining. He did not pretend to fathom what had happened. Perhaps the Under-Secretary would explain what relation, if any, those two transactions had. He wished very succinctly to put before the House the policy of native labour in replacement of Chinese labour. Everybody would wish that native labour, if its physical conditions were sufficiently strong, and if no compulsion were applied to it, should be employed rather than yellow labour, and the policy of the late Government was never to supplant natives, it was only to supplement them. Of course, every Member who thought must know that there were very many great objections to introducing natives not fitted for the purpose into the mines.

A very little over-pressure in that matter brought about a rate of mortality sometimes three times, always twice, as great as the rate among the Chinese. Therefore they would be carrying on an industry with a death-rate twice, three times, and sometimes even five or six times, larger than that of the Chinese. There was no real difference in principle between the two. Both were indentured labourers and both came from a distance, and the moral question was in the case of many tribes more urgent with the natives than with the Chinese. Therefore, so far as he had been able to apply his mind to the subject, it was a mystery to him how any thinking man could draw any grave distinction between the responsibility of those who indentured Chinese and those who indentured natives. He regretted to say, with regard to the present leaders of theTransvaal,that the policy which they had adopted in regard to the replacement of Chinese by natives was one which the House ought to watch in connection with the expressed intention of the Prime Minister of the Transvaal. In 1903, before the Labour Commission, speaking with deliberation and care in the matter, he said, in answer to the question—

> "Would you recommend the breaking up of locations like Swaziland, Zululand, and Basutoland?" "I would suggest that those countries be given to the white people to live in."

Then the question was put,—

> "You suggest that we should break up such lands as Swaziland, Zululand, and Basutoland? These are great native reserves,"

and he answered,—

> "Yes, I say such places are a serious evil. It is building up a Kaffir kingdom in the midst of us. It is not only bad for the Kaffirs themselves, but a danger for the future." "You want to cut up the lands into farms and give it to the white man and retain the Kaffirs on the farms?" "Yes."

He did not know whether hon. Members appreciated the significance of that. It showed that a few years ago the policy of General Botha was to force the Kaffirs to work by breaking up their reserves. If that method was pursued in the Transvaal, the Party opposite, who thought themselves the Party of morality in this matter, would lend themselves to a transaction which would first get rid of men who were working voluntarily and under the same moral conditions as the blacks, and substitute for them men not fitted for the task, but forced into the mines by having their reserves broken up, and by having taxation placed upon them which they were not able to bear. And they would have the further responsibility of removing the natural barrier protecting the natives against abitrary acts such as breaking up their reserves and forcing them to labour. The consequences of the removal of such a natural barrier was often rebellion which brought disaster upon the community which inflicted the injustice. They were removing that barrier because they had 15,000 British troops there ready to put down any native rising. Therefore, he urged the Government to watch well the responsibility they had in this matter. At any rate, let them not go into the country and endeavour once more to delude the people into the belief, which he thought they had happily given up, that their Party was the Party of high morality in these matters and that the Opposition only had been tinged with the cursed thing. He did not wish to dwell upon that. He wished rather to say, as he said at the beginning of his remarks, that the British population in South Africa had a right to equal treatment, and need not have the slightest apprehension that they would not be allowed to enter into peaceful and harmonious competition with their Dutch fellow-subjects in the country. He would never believe that the people of this country, if they knew it, would permit for a moment an unjust discrimination against them. Whatever their numbers in that House, however small they might be, they would take care to see that their principles were not violated.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): The hon. Member for Sunderland made a speech upon the town council at Port of Spain. I should like to say that the arrangements at present in force are of a temporary nature, and that in a couple of years the whole question of extending native institutions will be reviewed. In regard to the speech of the Member for Limerick on the subject of private soldiers recently in the Leinster Regiment, now in penal servitude in South Africa in connection with an affray some years ago, I could not speak on the spur of the moment on a matter of that kind; but I am of opinion that when a question of this character is raised by an hon. Member in his place on his responsibility, it is a matter which must be gone into specifically by the Department concerned, and I will cause inquiry to be made, but as to what result the inquiry will produce I cannot speak at present. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has confined his remarks exclusively to South Africa; and I am very glad he did so, because I think there is scarcely any part of the wide and various dominions at present administered under the Colonial Office, of our record in regard to which and of our policy in regard to which I should be more confident in making a statement to the House of Commons. What has been the great event of the last year in South Africa? It has been the establishment of government by consent in the two newly-acquired colonies. I was very glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that there was no difference in principle between us. The difference, he said, existed as to time. Yes; and I can quite see that time in such a matter may be an element of vital importance. Sir, there was a policy of delay in granting self-government promised by the Treaty of Vereeniging which would have had most injurious effects. What was that policy? It was a policy of maintaining the authority of the Crown in that country by force, by bayonets, by a great garrison maintained there over a considerable period of years. I have heard it said that you can do anything in the world with bayonets except sit down upon them. But a great garrison was to be kept there a long time, and in the meanwhile efforts were to be made to create a population to outvote the permanent residents in the country. Every effort which Lord Milner's ingenuity and tenacity could suggest was applied. Land settlers were planted regardless of expense upon the soil. A cosmopolitan population of immigrants were encouraged from all parts of the world to enter the country. The great hope of creating an artificial boom in mining shares, and so erecting an artificial state of development, led to the wild experiment of importing thousands of Chinese from the other end of the world. It is scarcely necessary to say that all these plans were utterly visionary. The Chinese, from whose importation such results were hoped, proved detrimental at every stage to the employment of white labour. Whereas before their advent in May, 1904, the employment of white men working stamps was as one to six natives, in March, 1907, it was less than one to nine. And there is scarcely a point of view from which you can examine the gold industry, now that Chinese have been imported and before the period when they arrived, in which there is not a sensible degradation in the industry in the sense of the smaller employment of white labour in proportion to the natives, to stamps, and to output of gold. Of this population which was to be obtained in Johannesburg to outvote the Boers, half the indispensable voters at the election voted for the Party which is now in power in the Transvaal, and against the mine-owners and progressive leaders, who, we have always been told, were the only people entitled to speak for them. And even some of the land settlers who were planted on the soil at so much labour and so much cost have, I am credibly informed, preferred to vote for Dutchmen in certain parts of the country because they think Dutchmen understand better and are more sympathetic to the needs of an agricultural community. So much for these calculations. They must, in any case, have been wrong, but, even if they had been right, what permanent, abiding security would they have offered? You would have had, even if an artificial majority of a heterogeneous character, mostly in passage through the country, had been obtained, all the most powerful, most permanent, and most formidable elements of the country divorced from any share in the responsibility and burden of administration; and when you have the really powerful and permanent elements in the country not effectively represented in its government grave political instability will result. From all this kind of weary, tedious, nightmare pilgrimages it has been our task to recall the mind and the conscience of the country. If we have had any degree of success in that endeavour, it has not been because we have employed any very astute or adroit measures. It is because we have followed a very simple and straightforward plan. We have established a democratic Constitution. We have held a free and open election. We have insisted that the real leaders of the Parliament elected at that election shall forthwith, in their own proper persons, assume the burden of government, with all its labours, with all its difficulties and dangers, and with all its advantages and honour. The right hon. Gentleman complains that we have introduced in our Constitution the provision of manhood suffrage. Well, I am quite prepared to defend manhood suffrage on its merits. But I will also admit that there is much force in what the right hon. Gentleman says of the difficulties of assimilating the different franchises of the different States in South Africa when, as we look forward, federation may come into practical politics. I agree that there is a difficulty as far as the natives are concerned, but it is not a difficulty which cannot be removed. But apart from the merits of the subject, which I should be quite prepared to justify if I had time to go into it, we were endeavouring to make a constitutional settlement as between two races, and many things which the British contended for were granted to them. One vote one value, single member constituencies, six months residential qualification—all these are points to which the British attached special importance; all were secured to them in the Constitution. But, on the other hand, the representatives of the Boers put forward a request that manhood suffrage, which would enfranchise the sons of farmers and the day labourers who worked hard on the farms, should also be admitted; and while I do not say for a moment there was a bargain, I do say that there was a balancing of one set of considerations against the other in our Constitution. That is why it is that manhood suffrage figures in the Transvaal Constitution. When we came to the Orange River Constitution the question arose, should we treat the Orange River Colony differently from the way in which we treated the Transvaal? There were, on the face of it, many reasons for treating them differently; but there was one great reason against treating them differently—you would be exciting suspicion, you would be exciting fear that you were discriminating adversely against the Orange River Colony, because, forsooth! the balances of population in the Colony were not as nicely adjusted as in the Transvaal; and we have felt it was important above all things to preserve that confidence which has been largely extended to us by both sections of the population in South Africa by proceeding on a perfectly simple rule in regard to the Orange River Colony, by treating it exactly the same in all essential particulars as the Transvaal. I would only say, in passing from this subject, that our task has not been the same task as the Party opposite had set before themselves when they were in office. As to their task, I do not comment upon it, but our task was the task of reconciliation, and I am quite ready to admit that we had a great many advantages in that task which were not enjoyed by the right hon. Gentleman who has addressed us this evening. We had this great advantage, that there is at the head of His Majesty's Government a Prime Minister, and there are in it a number of Ministers of high position like my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India, and like my right hon. friend who is present on this Bench, who command a great measure of esteem throughout all sections of the Dutch race in South Africa, and words of peace and amity and reconciliation do not ring false when spoken from their lips. There is another subject on which I think we are entitled to congratulate ourselves. We have reached the end of Chinese labour. It has been decisively condemned by the verdict of the local administration. The House is going to witness within a few days—certainly within a few weeks—the spectacle of live Chinamen in real ships steering eastward. Upwards of 17,000 will have left the country before Christmas, and Sir George Farrer, the Leader of the Progressive Party, speaking in the Transvaal Parliament, has admitted that it is inevitable that the rest should follow. There is only one question upon this subject which I think I will venture to answer now. We have been asked why did we leave it to the Transvaal Parliament, why did we not, feeling so strongly as we did on this subject, utilise our power from this country to remove the Chinese before the new Government came in? Until there was an election in the Transvaal no one had a right to assert what the opinion of the people of the Transvaal was. We might say that it was hostile to the Chinese, but it was open to hon. Gentlemen opposite, it was open to our opponents in the country to assert—and I am bound to say they took advantage of their opportunity—that the Transvaal was strongly in favour of the retention of the Chinamen, that it would be ruined, or would even break out in rebellion if they were removed. Well, we were bound to await the verdict of the locality and of the community directly affected before this question could be settled. The mining interest in South Africa had it in their power by their influence with the Press, and by their influence on their employees before the strike took place, to organise great demonstrations and to create the impression, that we were coercing the Colony, interfering with the internal affairs of the Colony and that we were prepared to sacrifice their interests to our Party views in this country. That view could have been placed day after day, not only before the people of this country, but of all the self-governing Colonies throughout the British Empire. We might have run the risk of losing the support of Canada and Australia, and of those Colonies who are hostile to the principle of Chinese labour and are also hostile to the principle of interference by this country. And we should have run a great risk of uniting all parties in South Africa against what is sometimes called "Downing-street dictation." That is why we have been in this difficult position for the last eighteen months, and that is why we have had to cast out three anchors and pray for daylight.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Five millions.

MR. CHURCHILL: That is why I have had so often to present unsatisfactory cases to hon. Gentlemen with which I entirely agree in this House. But we had faith that when there was an elected Parliament in the Transvaal that Parliament would declare against the principle of servile labour. What a vindication of the policy we have pursued! What a vindication of the action of those Members of the House of Commons who in the last Parliament and in this have persisted relentlessly and tirelessly month after month in their hostility to the policy of Chinese labour, and who have shown such patience and extended such generous confidence to the Government! The repatriation of the Chinese will now be undertaken by those who have an absolute right to decide upon the question; it will also be undertaken by those possessing unrivalled knowledge of the facts. The present Transvaal Government is an authority upon the subject of the mining industry, and of the supplies of native labour which are available, not to be rivalled by any other body in the world. Although it is not a quarter from which I usually obtain much support or agreement, I observe, too, that the money market, which over wide areas is undoubtedly depressed at the present time, exhibits a buoyant tendency in that very South African area where we were told ruin and disaster would break out directly any reference was made to the repatriation of the Chinese. The right hon. Gentleman drew a very gloomy picture of the policy which he thought the Transvaal Government would pursue in regard to labour; how they were going to break up the native labour reserves and almost force the natives into the mines, in spite of a most hideous death-rate. The right hon. Gentleman had no right to attribute such a policy to the Transvaal Government. There is not the smallest ground for such an assertion or for attributing such a policy to them.

MR. LYTTELTON: I did not attribute that policy to the Transvaal Government. I warned the House as to the opinion of the Prime Minister of the Transvaal.

MR. CHURCHILL: The whole point of the right hon. Gentleman's intervention was to show a condition that would redress the admitted evil of Chinese labour. There is another statement which the right hon. Gentleman made in a very delicate and very courteous and correct form, but which has been repeated discourteously, indelicately, and incorrectly outside this House. It was that the Transvaal Government and General Botha had been bargained with, or bribed, to get rid of the Chinese. So far as that charge affects His Majesty's Government, I treat it with the most superb indifference, but I should like to say that it is a highly improper charge to be brought against the Transvaal Government and against General Botha. General Botha has always been opposed to Chinese labour. In 1903, before the Labour Commission, he said in his evidence—

> "I am in favour of keeping this a white man's country. I am in favour, if we are forced to import, of importing whites."

In February, 1904, in a letter addressed to the right hon. Gentleman, General Botha said—

> "The overwhelming majority of the Boer population of the Transvaal are unalterably opposed to the introduction of Chinese labour. It would be a fatal mistake to introduce Asiatic labour without full popular consent."

In the election of 1906, General Botha said there were enough coloured races in South Africa as it was, and the Chinese should be repatriated at the expiration of their contracts. The Het Volk programme included the solution of the labour question by means of the gradual repatriation of the Chinese at the termination of their indentures, and replacement by whites. I have dozens of quotations from speeches of the most responsible members of the Transvaal Government, not only since they have been members of the Government, but long before the Government was formed, and long before there was any question of a loan being raised, in which they condemned Chinese labour and declared their intention of getting rid of it as soon as they possibly could. In face of that I say it is monstrous to say that these men have been induced by some temporary financial convenience granted by the British Government to do what they consider is to the disadvantage of the country for the government of which they are responsible. The right hon. Gentleman spoke about not showing undue favour to the Boers. There is no other colony in the British Empire about whose Government he would have spoken in such unceremonious terms. Now, Sir, I have but a word to say upon the subject of the guaranteed loan. It is open to any responsible self governing colony in the British Empire to float any loan it chooses, whenever it likes; and by an arrangement somewhat unthinkingly made, I have no hesitation in saying that any of these loans would satisfy the requirements of 1907 and would have access to our list of trust securities. Consequently, if the Boer Government had decided, as I have every reason to think they would in any case have decided, to issue a loan for certain important purposes, which I will explain to the House when the loan is introduced, they would have been fully able to place that loan upon the market, and the derangement of our credit system which might arise from the flotation could not have been avoided by any resources at the disposal of the British Government, or by any authority we possess in this House. [An HON MEMBER: "They could not have got the money."] The hon. Gentleman says they could not have got the money. Why, I do not suppose there is any territory in the world which, in proportion to its population, possesses such vast and gigantic riches as the Transvaal. With the most valuable diamond mines in the world, thousands of millions of gold, I have heard, actually in sight, and all the railways in the possession of the State, it is perfectly absurd to suppose that the trade of the Transvaal is not perfectly equal to raising this money without our assistance. [Cries of "Why didn't they?"] The Transvaal could have raised this money in any case. The difference is probably not more than 1 or 1½ per cent. as the result of the guarantee that has been promised. But I hope the House will realise this; I make no secret of it; the effect of the British guarantee has been to make the Transvaal Government independent of the influence and control of those great mining corporations. We wanted to show them that there were other credit resources in the world besides those dependent upon the favour of the Witwatersrand connection. I have not had time to do justice to a great many of the arguments in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, but let me say there are many things in his speech which I welcome; there are many notes which he struck which, I think, justify the representative of the Colonial Office in saying we are this year in a very much better position than we were in when I last presented Colonial Estimates to the House of Commons. I will only say that I trust the right hon. Gentleman will get out of the habit of talking about "our own people," when talking about His Majesty's liege subjects in South

Africa; all that belongs to a past period. The only course which a British Government should adopt is to try to make both races in South Africa feel that they can look across to an equal Sovereign, and find an equal encouragement, not in one Party in the State, but in both Parties, and in the nation, which is larger. In no other way can the sacrifices of life and treasure which have been so abundantly made be brought to their proper and secure conclusion. The right hon. Gentleman has exercised great responsibility in the past in Colonial affairs; and no doubt he will again in the future exercise the responsibility of Government; criticism of administration is all very well, but I do trust the Conservative Party and its responsible leaders are not going to take up an attitude on this loan, on land settlement, and on the Constitution, which will lead them into permanent and declared antagonism with the Dutch race throughout South Africa. I trust most earnestly they will not do so, because if they do so, their advent to power, whenever that may be—[AN HON. MEMBER: Very soon.]—will be watched with great dismay throughout South Africa, and I think the right hon. Gentleman and others who will be in power will feel themselves gravely embarrassed when they have to deal, as they very likely will have to deal some day, with Dutch Ministers and Dutch Governments holding office under the Crown.

And, it being Eleven of the Clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

Motion made, and question proposed, "That the House do now adjourn."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked what final decision had been come to with regard to the situation developed at Question time in relation to the Resolution to be moved on Monday by the Prime Minister.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): said that in the circumstances the Government had no alternative but to propose that the House should meet on Saturday.

MAJOR SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby) called attention to the difficult situation in which the House found itself. The differences were surely capable of adjustment. The noble Lord, he agreed, was acting with the approval of many Liberal Members. The sole object was to prevent a grave abuse of the forms of the House which had almost become a great public scandal. He had seen a document which had been submitted to officials of the House which would meet the views of both sides, and which private Members might accept. If they abolished all blocking Motions the Government of the day might find itself powerless to stop discussion in a grave crisis such as had lately occurred in India; and, secondly, it was possible that any private Member might take away from the time of the House by moving the adjournment. The proposal was that on the Motion of a Minister of the Crown it might be decided without Amendment or debate that a Motion for adjournment should not be accepted. That would meet the case in which discussion would be contrary to public policy. The second difficulty would be solved by an automatic suspension of the eleven o'clock rule whenever the adjournment of the House was moved. Thus such Motions could not be employed to embarrass the Government by the consumption of time. It would be ridiculous if the House were to put itself to the inconvenience of a Saturday sitting because it could not free itself from the fetters which ninety-nine men out of 100 wished to sweep away. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might bring in a Standing Order which, embodying something like the proposals he had suggested, would save the House from a ridiculous position.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.), speaking for himself, thought that some such solution as had been outlined would meet the grievance complained of. He had no desire that a Motion for adjournment under Standing Order 10 should be allowed when a Minister backed by a majority decided it would be against the public interest. He could see no reason why a rule for automatic suspension should not be assented to. He had no desire to put the House to the inconvenience of a Saturday sitting, and if the House should be put to that inconvenience, it would be entirely to save the *amour propre* of the Patronage Secretary. He had no desire to press the matter in a hasty manner, his only desire was for a settlement of the question, and he could not accuse himself of having pressed the matter unduly, having waited for months.

MR. ASQUITH was sorry the noble Lord had used one expression, for there was no question of saving the *amour propre* of his hon. friend. He agreed to everything that had been said by the Government when the matter was discussed some months ago, and he felt that if a little more time were given an agreement might be arrived at. With some communications passing from either side, a conclusion generally acceptable could be arrived at to get rid of what was little short of a public scandal, to get rid of Motions for adjournment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR did not believe that any decision could be arrived at at once. There were more difficulties in the way than had been supposed. It was a far more difficult problem than the right hon. Gentleman supposed. He had given the question a great deal of anxious thought when he was Leader of the House. There were occasions on which the existing rule had been grossly abused in this as well as in the last Parliament. But let not the House imagine that it could deal with a matter of this kind without very serious consideration. If the Government merely contented themselves with saying that further consideration was required, he was inclined to agree, but they had allowed over two months to elapse since the Easter holidays. He did not follow the reasons that the right hon. Gentleman had given; but his private conviction was, though he did not wish to hurt anyone's feelings, that the Government had forgotten all about the subject. He hoped that the Government would not forget it any more.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY assured the House that no communication had reached the hon. Member for the Abercromby Division with his authority. A certain document had been in his pocket all day, but it had never left it. How the hon. Member had seen it passed his comprehension.

MAJOR SEELY said that naturally he had some knowledge of the document, as he was partly the inventor of it.

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at seventeen minutes after Eleven o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 21st June, 1907.

The House sat at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (Additional Capital, etc.) Bill; Barry Railway Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Sutton Coldfield Rectory Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered. To be read the third time.

PETITIONS.

ADULT (WOMEN AND MEN) ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

Petition from Bermondsey, against; to lie upon the Table.

BUTTER AND MARGARINE BILL.

Petition from Manchester, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions for alteration: from Benholm; Boharm; Enzie; and, Rothiemay; to lie upon the Table.

LONDON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLL) BILL.

Petition from Bermondsey, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petition from Upper Norwood, against; to lie upon the Table.

MUNICIPAL MILK DEPOTS BILL.

Petition of the Royal Sanitary Institute, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

NOTIFICATION OF BIRTHS BILL.

Petition of the Royal Sanitary Institute, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

PAUPER LUNATICS (COST OF MAINTENANCE).

Petition from Hexham, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

WEEKLY REST-DAY BILL.

Petitions in favour; from Harlesden and other places; and, London; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

AMERICAN MAIL SERVICE.

Return [presented 20th June]; to be printed. [No. 208.]

EAST INDIA (EXCISE COMMITTEE).

Return [presented 20th June]; to be printed. [No. 209.]

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 31st March, 1907, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 210.]

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Copy presented, of Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, that they are of opinion that the City of Glasgow Order ought to be dealt with by Private Bill and not by Provisional Order [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 211.]

FINANCE ACCOUNTS.

Copy presented, of Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ended 31st March, 1907 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 212.]

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of General Report on the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers 1903–1907, with Historical Introduction [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Draft Order in Council continuing certain provisions in the Order in Council of 6th March, 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Woolwich Arsenal—Service of Men Discharged.

SIR J. RANDLES (Cumberland, Cockermouth): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will circulate with the Votes his statement showing the number of Woolwich men discharged on reduction from 1st June 1906 to 1st June 1907, specifying how many men have been discharged after ten years service and the number of years served by the remainder.

(*Answered by Secretary Haldane.*) Ordnance Factories, Woolwich. Statement showing number of men discharged on reduction from 1st June 1906 to 1st June 1907—

Service *	Total.
Under 1 year	46
1 year and under 2	114
2 years and under 3	85
3 ,, ,, 4	86
4 ,, ,, 5	71
5 ,, ,, 6	147
6 ,, ,, 7	204
7 ,, ,, 8	128
8 ,, ,, 9	98
9 ,, ,, 10	104
10 ,, ,, 11	162
11 ,, ,, 12	66
12 ,, ,, 13	38
13 ,, ,, 14	35
14 ,, ,, 15	54
15 ,, ,, 16	43
16 ,, ,, 17	56
17 ,, ,, 18	50
18 ,, ,, 19	59
19 ,, ,, 20	20
20 ,, ,, 21	32
21 ,, ,, 22	80
22 ,, ,, 23	25
23 ,, ,, 24	15
24 ,, ,, 25	22
25 ,, ,, 26	14
26 ,, ,, 27	5
27 ,, ,, 28	4
28 ,, ,, 29	7
29 ,, ,, 30	6
30 ,, ,, 31	5
31 ,, ,, 32	9
32 ,, ,, 33	14
33 ,, ,, 34	4
34 ,, ,, 35	2
35 ,, ,, 36	12
36 years and under 37	7
37 ,, ,, 38	1
38 ,, ,, 39	4
39 ,, ,, 40	1
40 ,, ,, 41	3
41 ,, ,, 42	1
42 ,, ,, 43	2
43 ,, ,, 44	1
44 ,, ,, 45	1
45 ,, ,, 46	4
46 ,, ,, 47	3
47 ,, ,, 48	—
48 ,, ,, 49	1
49 ,, ,, 50	—
50 ,, ,, 51	—
51 ,, ,, 52	—
52 ,, ,, 53	1
Total	1,952

Irish Land Act and Holdings in Towns and Villages.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the regulations issued for the guidance of the Estates Commissioners in February, 1906, under The Irish Land Act, 1903, have in effect absolutely prevented the complete sale of estates which the owners were willing to sell, so far as regards holdings in villages and towns on such estates, so that many agreements for the sale of such holdings have been dismissed by reason of the Estates Commissioners not being allowed to take into consideration the value of buildings, but only of the sites or of plots of land held therewith; whether he is aware that the intention of the Act of 1903, to enable the owner of an estate which was mainly agricultural or pastoral to sell the whole of such estate, was given effect to in the case of the King-Harman estate, in and near the town of Boyle, county Roscommon, but was frustrated in the case of the estate of the Earl of Huntingdon, in and near the village of Clashmore, county Waterford; and whether he will advise that a new regulation more consonant with the intention of the Act should be framed by the Lord-Lieutenant.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) It is not proposed to frame a new regulation on this subject. In the opinion of the Irish Government the existing regulation is entirely consonant with both the letter and the spirit of the Act of 1903. It is not the case that the regulation has prevented the complete sale of estates mainly agricultural or pastoral, so far as regards town and village holdings. The Estates Commissioners make advances for the purchase of such holdings comprised in estates mainly agricultural or pastoral when they consider the security to be sufficient. In the case of the Earl of Huntingdon's estate, the Commissioners refused to make advances for the purchase of eleven village holdings at Clashmore, because they considered the security to be insufficient.

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* Good service from date of entry (not from attaining age of 16).

Evicted Tenants—Application of Representatives of Maurice Cowhey.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the Estates Commissioners have received an application from the representatives of Maurice Cowhey, deceased, of Ballinaguile, Croagh, evicted tenant on the De Burge Bateson estate, now untenanted land; and whether, when the untenanted land on the Dickson Power estate, situate at Clonshire and Boher-Brada, in the county of Limerick, is purchased by them, they will give the Cowheys some of this land in lieu of their evicted farm.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have inquired into the application referred to, and have decided that they can take no action upon it. The holding in which reinstatement is sought has been sold under the Land Purchase Acts to the occupying tenant, and moreover the applicants are already in possession of a farm of 100 acres.

Payment by Post Office of Pier Dues for Parcels at Innellan.

MR. LAMONT (Buteshire): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is now able to say why the payment by the Post Office for parcel hampers passing over Innellan Pier has been stopped; and whether he will cause such payment to be resumed.

(*Answereed by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The payment of dues in respect of both letter and parcel mails passing over Innellan Pier was discontinued some years ago, as it appeared that the Post Office was exempt. I am advised that the exemption applies to parcels as well as to letters.

Postal Facilities at Southend-on-Sea.

MR. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the number of visitors at Southend-on-Sea during the summer, he can now make arrangements for additional facilities for the sale of postage stamps and postcards and the posting of letters in Cliff Town Road and Nelson Street.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I fear I can do little more than repeat the information which I gave to the hon. Member in my letters of the 29th January and 1st May last, when I informed him that it was not possible to arrange for additional postal facilities in Cliff Town Road and Nelson Street.

Bonded Warehouse Accounts Department of the Customs Service.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can say what are the numbers of the staffs and the annual cost of that branch of the Customs Statistical Office employed in recording warehouse accounts of bonded goods; if there is a similar department in the Inland Revenue service in connection with warehouse accounts; and, if not, why is it considered necessary in the Customs service.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) I am informed that no branch of the Customs Statistical Office is employed in recording warehouse accounts of bonded goods. Such accounts, both in the Customs and Excise Departments, are kept locally under arrangements devised in 1881-3 after prolonged investigation by the Treasury Bonded Warehouse Committee.

Customs Bonded Warehouses.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that in some Customs ports, particularly Liverpool, Customs bonded warehouses and vaults are allowed to remain open without an officer being present therein; and, if so, is this practice sanctioned in the warehousing code issued to the Revenue services; and if any, and what, steps are taken to prevent abstraction of spirits from such warehouses and vaults in the absence of the officer.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) I learn that Customs bonded warehouses at Liverpool and elsewhere, when open for the deposit or delivery of goods, are always under the superintendence of an officer, but that the continuous presence of an officer at every warehouse is not prescribed by the warehousing code, and is not required for Revenue purposes. The warehouse keeper is responsible to the Crown under heavy bond for the duty upon the entire stock, and the Board of Customs inform me that they have no reason to fear that there is the slightest danger to the Revenue under the present system, which was instituted after prolonged inquiry in 1881–3 upon the Report of the Treasury Bonded Warehouse Committee.

Voters Lists in Enniskillen.

MR. DOLAN (Leitrim, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that some months ago a circular letter was addressed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to the clerks of unions, town clerks, and other public officers responsible for the preparation of the lists of voters and claimants, directing them to have inserted in the supplemental lists the names of persons occupying rooms over which their landlords, although residing upon the premises, do not exercise any control; whether he is aware that, notwithstanding this circular, the requisition forms which have been served upon inhabitant householders in the urban district of Enniskillen contain the following instruction: that if the landlord of a house let out in separate tenements lives in the house he must not return the names of the occupiers of tenements in the house; and whether, seeing that the supplemental lists are prepared from the requisition forms, and that this instruction may have the effect of disfranchising a number of occupiers of rooms who would be entitled to votes under the Kent *v.* Fittall decision, upon which the direction of the Local Government Board was based, the Local Government Board will take steps to have the names of all such persons placed on the supplemental lists.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I understand that the facts are stated in the Question with substantial accuracy. I am advised that there will be no necessary disfranchisement of persons as the result of what has happened at Enniskillen, because any persons who may have been omitted from the return can make claims before the revising barrister. The Local Government Board have no power to take the steps suggested in the concluding part of the Question.

Newport (County Mayo) Police Acting as Water Bailiff.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Newport, county Mayo, police have been acting for several months past in the capacity of water bailiffs for the local landlords; that Sergeant Hunnigan and other members of the Newport police have been stationed on several nights, dressed in civilian clothes, at Lettermaghera waterfalls, within two miles of the town; and will he say who gave them instructions to act in such a manner and by whose authority they have been turned into bailiffs.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Inspector-General informs me that the police have not acted as water bailiffs in this case. During the past month policemen have on several occasions visited the place named, with the object of detecting fishing for salmon by means of unlicensed instruments, there being reason to believe that such illegal fishing was taking place. Under the 11 and 12 Vic., cap. 92, section 29, the police have power to demand the production of licences to fish with engines, nets, or instruments, and any person failing to produce a licence on demand is subject to penalties.

Head Constable Magee of Newport, County Mayo.

DR. AMBROSE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he could say how many years service in the Royal Irish Constabulary has been put in by Head-Constable Magee, of Newport, county Mayo; is he aware that this officer attends regularly the meetings of the Orange and Freemason societies which are held in Castlebar, thus absenting himself from duty; is he within his rights in doing so; is he aware that this officer has neglected to prosecute a man named Malley for setting fire to heath belonging to Mr. E. Thomas-O'Donel, of Newport, although six witnesses swore in court that they saw Malley setting fire to the heath, for which a malicious injury claim was lodged by Mr. Thomas-O'Donel, and that another malicious injury claim has been lodged by Mr. Thomas-O'Donel for setting fire to heath on the same farm; and will he see that a sworn inquiry is held into the conduct of the head-constable in refusing to prosecute Malley, who is still at large.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Head-Constable Magee has completed thirty years service. The Inspector-General is informed that the head-constable has not attended any meetings of the Orange or Freemasons societies. The offences referred to in the latter part of the Question were offences against the Game Laws, and the police have no power to prosecute in such cases.

Erection of the New Victoria Barracks at Windsor.

MR. J. F. MASON (Windsor): To ask the Secretary of State for War what sum has been allotted during the present financial year towards the erection of the new Victoria Barracks at Windsor; and how much of this has been expended up to date.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) A total sum of £56,000 has been allotted from Military Works Loan Funds for this service for expenditure in 1906–7 and subsequent years. The total expenditure to date is £107.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE).

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs), who had a Motion on the Paper that the House at its rising adjourn until to-morrow (Saturday), said he had hesitated about proposing the Motion in expectancy that the noble Lord the Member for Marylebone would rise. He wished to ask the noble Lord whether he had any light to throw on the position in which the House had been placed. Of course the Government had no desire to have a Saturday sitting unless it was necessary, though if the noble Lord persisted with his impediment in the way of the coming debate next week, he thought they had no alternative but to clear that impediment out of the way. In order to put the matter in order he begged to move "That this House at its rising to-day do adjourn until to-morrow, at ten of the clock."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House at its rising to-day do adjourn until to-morrow, at ten of the clock."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) said he felt in a great difficulty about the matter. He had no desire at all that the Government should insist on the Saturday sitting, which, it appeared to him, would operate with the least disadvantage to hon. Members on that side, with more disadvantage to Ministerialists, and still more to the officials of the House. It was, therefore, a very bad and clumsy expedient for dealing with the difficulty. He was only anxious to be quite sure that the Government were really going to deal with the question of blocking Motions without delay and in a business-like and proper spirit. It had occurred to him that a possible way out of the difficulty would be for the Government to appoint a small Committee, representing all sections of the House who were interested in the subject, for the purpose of arriving at a common agreement as to how the question should be dealt with. They were told by the Government that they were anxious to deal with it by common assent, and he thought that could not very well be done by a discussion in the House. It was clumsy and difficult to deal with the matter by a long series of negotiations carried on by persons who perhaps were not very anxious for the success of the negotiations, and, therefore, the better plan, he thought, would be to have a meeting of a small number of Members representing the separate sections of the House, not according to their numerical strength, the question not to be decided by a majority, or anything of that kind, for the purpose of discussion and arriving at a common agreement. If the Government assented to some such proposal as he had suggested, he would be very pleased to move that the Order for the Second Reading of his Bill should be discharged.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said the noble Lord had put forward a plan which seemed to him (Lord R. Cecil) to be the best. He doubted if it was the best. He thought that private negotiations and consultations would be quite as likely, perhaps more likely, to attain the result they all desired than a sort of informal Committee. He did not know what the nature of such a Committee would be, but, however that might be, it would be a matter they would have to take time to consider, and in the meantime the debate was to take place on Monday, and the noble Lord's Bill was an impediment in the way of the debate's taking place. He could not understand why the noble Lord, as he had said yesterday, should deliberately commit the offence which he denounced, in order, at the expense of everybody else, to punish the Government for having been dilatory in bringing forward a remedy for this undoubted evil. A Motion such as that passed before Easter usually pointed to a consideration of the question, and ordinarily, according to his recollection, it was usual for all these questions of emendation of the rules of procedure to be dealt with at the beginning and not in the later part of the session, and it was not easy to see why they should proceed in hot haste to amend this rule. If the noble Lord would be good enough to remove this impediment, he was willing to consider the course he had suggested, or any other course, but it required to be considered. As the Leader of the Opposition had said, it was a matter which required considerable thought and investigation before the House laid down a new code of rules on the subject. He would not say that the difficulties were insuperable. But how to attain unanimity was the question. He did not think they could do more than they had done and were in process of doing. They were actively pursuing the matter before they ever heard of the noble Lord's Bill; they intended to go on with it, and he trusted that they might come to a conclusion which would be satisfactory even to the noble Lord. At any rate, he did not think they ought to be forced in any way out of the course they were following by action of this sort hastily taken, and so self-contradictory and so utterly inconsistent as committing in the face of the House the very offence which they were invited to proceed to make impossible. It was not in that way that they would be induced to exercise greater activity, but they were willing to do all in their power. He honestly said so, and the noble Lord ought to take it for granted that they would do what he said they would. They would even consider the noble Lord's suggestion and arrive at a conclusion upon that subsidiary question in the course of a few days. In the meantime he trusted that the noble Lord would have the grace and good nature to withdraw the Bill and depart from the commanding position which he occupied.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) said he was sure that his noble friend would be the last person to doubt the pledges which the Prime Minister had given as to this question. But his noble friend, considering what had occurred in the past, was justified in concluding exactly the very opposite of what the Prime Minister meant, namely, that the Government were anxiously devoting their whole powers to rapidly solving this question. Might he remind the right hon. Gentleman how the situation had arisen? It should be borne in mind that his hon. friend the Member for Norwood had put down a Question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who requested him to defer it. His hon. friend, following the course always adopted where such a request was made by the Government, postponed his Question. In the interval which elapsed between the putting of the Question and the date on which it was to be answered, a Motion was put down, before Easter, on the subject, and it was discussed and carried unanimously, with the support of the Government, who announced their desire to take up the question energetically. Nearly three months had passed since that time, and the energetic proceedings had only gone so far as to see whether any arrangement could be come to between the Front Benches as to the sort of proposals that would require to be laid before the House. He believed the Prime Minister himself would admit that his noble friend was amply justified in taking any course which the rules of the House allowed to bring the matter prominently before the attention of the Government, and he did not believe that the course his noble friend had pursued was seriously condemned in any part of the House. Everybody felt that more rapid procedure was desirable; and if the "hot haste" of the future was not to be hotter than the haste in the past it would be some time before the question was dealt with. His noble friend had suggested an informal Committee, a sort of round table conference, upon the subject. The Prime Minister objected to that; at all events, he saw difficulty in that course. It did not commend itself to him; and, at the first glance, he himself did not say that there were not objections to it, because clearly it was not a course in accordance with ordinary precedent. But he did not quite follow the Prime Minister's objection to dealing with the subject, if not by an informal Committee, at all events by some Committee. The Prime Minister said it was not usual to deal with the Standing Orders in the latter part of the session. He was not aware that there was any rule or precedent on the matters; but certainly it had been in accordance with the practice of the House to have a Committee to discuss procedure towards the end of the session. He rather thought that the Committee which the right hon. Gentleman himself proposed last session, which had for its business to deal with certain very large changes which the Government proposed in the Standing Orders, sat as late as June or rather later. Whether the right hon. Gentleman thought an informal Committee was or was not desirable, or in accordance with precedent, no human being doubted that the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee was strictly in accordance with precedent, and he could not help thinking that if the Government had any real wish to press on this matter a small Parliamentary Committee should be appointed. He had always held that if the Government had a clear idea of what ought to be done in regard to the amendment of the Standing Orders they were justified in taking the responsibility upon themselves, and submitting their plan to the House for acceptance, rejection, or amendment. But in this case the Government had indicated that they had not got a plan, that they only intended to have a plan after they had gone through a certain amount of preliminary discussion, not confined to their own friends, but extended to all quarters of the House. The accepted, orthodox, and familiar method of arriving at such a plan was to have a Committee representative of all sections of the House before which the matter could be discussed. He ventured to say that the Government should follow the principle which they themselves laid down in the last Parliament with great insistence, and which seemed to be the only one, in view of the uncertainty prevailing in their own minds as to the course which they ought to pursue. If they desired to show, as he was sure they did, their earnest wish to deal at once, and effectively, with this difficult position, they had only to get up and say that they would appoint such a Committee. Of course it could not be appointed that day. Notice would have to be given, and the Government must have time to consider the reference. If the right hon. Gentleman would say that he was prepared to refer the question to a small Committee representative of the Whole House, he believed that would solve the difficulty in which they found themselves, and would bring a rather strained position to an amicable conclusion, while they would all be saved the labour of a Saturday sitting. He believed it was the universal and unanimous wish of the House that the debate on the House of Lords should begin without difficulty on Monday next, and the course he suggested would, he thought, afford full satisfaction. He was sure it was a suggestion well worthy consideration, and was in full accordance with Parliamentary tradition.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said they now had two proposals before them. He confessed that the right hon. Gentleman's proposal seemed to be more defensible than that of the noble Lord. But the right hon. Gentleman's proposal had been sprung upon them after the noble Lord had sprung his. The point of the whole thing was that the noble Lord was not willing to withdraw his Bill unless the Government said immediately what they were going to do. If they had made up their minds that would be a small point to yield, but at the present time they were engaged in the process of gathering consent, and he thought that was a regular way of proceeding. Up to the present they had not succeeded in finding any particular remedy, and now the right hon. Gentleman had asked for a Committee. The Government would consider, not unfavourably, the proposal that they should appoint a Select Committee, but it was too much to ask that they should decide the question at once without looking into precedents to some extent and taking into account the general effect of that course. They must have a little time for consideration. The Government would consider the right hon. Gentleman's suggestions, and he did not think he could say any more than he had said. The noble Lord seemed to think that the Government were desirous of running away from the position they had taken up, but they had no such idea, and they were just as anxious to see the thing settled as the noble Lord himself. But the noble Lord's action had to be taken at once. He left him the responsibility for it.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said he understood that the right hon. Gentleman would favourably consider the plan he had suggested. The course which his noble friend had taken had not been fruitless; he had made a clear step towards a rapid solution of the question. His only desire was that the least inconvenience should be inflicted upon the Members of the House, and above all upon the officials, and after what had occurred he ventured to suggest that his noble friend should withdraw his Bill.

Lord R. CECIL said that under the circumstances he would accept the course suggested by his right hon. friend. He would have accepted his suggestion, even if he did not agree with it, but in this case he did agree with it. Without saying anything more which might imperil the good understanding which now existed he would be very glad to move that the order for the Bill standing in his name be discharged.

*Mr. ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): Under the circumstances, Sir, I think that we should have it authoritatively from the Chair that it will be possible to-day to withdraw the Bill.

*Mr. SPEAKER said when the order for the Bill was reached at five o'clock it would be open to the noble Lord to move to withdraw it.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN then asked leave to withdraw his Motion for the Saturday sitting.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BILL.

Order for the Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed—"That the Bill be now read a second time."

*Mr. FORSTER (Kent, Sevenoaks) said that in what he was about to say it must not be taken that he was expressing the opinions of those who sat on that Bench, for he was giving his own views entirely. After listening to the speech of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies in introducing the Bill there were one or two features he would like to comment upon and on which he desired to ask for further information. The Under-Secretary had told them that since the Act of 1867, there had been two or more conferences between the provinces which constituted the Dominion, and that at those conferences the matters which had been settled in the Act of 1867 were discussed. Those conferences found the arrangements made in 1867 were not entirely agreeable or suitable to the provinces, and some changes were made. His first question was, if it was within the power either of the provinces or of the Dominion Government to alter the Act of 1867 without a subsequent Act of this Parliament, why was it necessary they should have this Bill which merely altered the contribution made by the Dominion Government to the provincial Governments? With reference to the exceptional treatment that British Columbia received under the Bill he would like to say a word or two. The speech of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies conveyed the impression that to a certain extent British Columbia feared she would suffer injury under the arrangement agreed to by the other provinces. The Government of British Columbia were unable to accept the arrangement arrived at by the other provinces, and, in fact, there had been a considerable divergence of opinion. When one considered the enormous area of British Columbia, the difficulties of transportation, and how expensive it must of necessity be to carry on the work of Government in a country of such great size, he was not surprised that the Government of British Columbia found themselves in a difficult position with regard to the contributions from the Dominion Parliament. The area of British Columbia was about equal to the area of France and Germany combined. That gigantic territory was peopled by something under a quarter of a million. That alone showed how difficult it must be to discharge all the obligations of Government, unless adequate provision were made by which the Government could be carried on. If it were not for the fact that the population of British Columbia was loyal to the law of the land, if it were not for the fact that they were law abiding to an almost exceptional extent, he believed it would be absolutely impossible for the Government of the country to be carried on on such a small pittance. He would like to refer to a personal experience of his own. A few years ago he was in British Columbia. It was at the time of a strike, which lasted for many months, a strike which affected a large number of working men, and of which strike there appeared to be small prospect of the conclusion. He was told that the strikers, who were inexperienced in the matter of organisation, had sought the assistance of some professional strike organisers from the United States—some of the very men, if he remembered rightly, who had been engaged in those terrible transactions which were being revealed to an astonished public in the American law courts at the present time. The strike had lasted for several months. The time arrived when it was suggested that methods of force should be employed, but to the everlasting honour of the working men of Canada, the moment there was any suggestion of force, the American organisers were boldly told that the working men of Canada did not approve of American methods of settling disputes of that kind. He was happy to say that the strike was settled by peaceful compromise. There were none of those disgraceful scenes which had been unhappily associated with strikes in the United States. Unless the population of British Columbia were essentially loyal to the law it would be impossible to carry on the administration of that country on this basis. They were not only loyal to the law, but he was happy to say they were loyal to the Empire as a whole, and because they were loyal to the Empire, and were likely to become one of the most valuable portions of the Empire, he thought they should meet with sympathetic treatment on the part of the Home Government. But in the part of British Columbia which he knew best they had not been always loyal. He remembered, fifteen years ago, he found in the remoter districts of British Columbia a very strong feeling in favour of annexation to the United States. They looked at it merely from the business point of view at the time. They found that owing to the natural configuration of the ground it was easier to trade with the United States north and south than to trade east and west with the rest of Canada. Everyone who had been in the country knew that it was cut off from the rest of the Dominion by chains of mountains, and, except for a few passes, there were no means of travel east and west. But the feeling in favour of annexation disappeared the moment there was a threatening of trouble between the United States and ourselves with reference to a question about Venezuela. The moment there was that threatening there arose then, and there existed now, and he was confident, unless we did something to forfeit it, there would continue to exist, a feeling of loyalty towards the Mother Country which merited the sympathetic treatment which the right hon. Gentleman had been able to give in this matter. He understood that the earlier drafts of the Bill contained a provision that the arrangements laid down in it were to be final and unalterable. No wonder British Columbia protested against words of that kind. How could it be laid down that an Act of that House with reference to the Dominion of Canada should be final? Who could say what the developments of the next ten years would result in? He was glad to think that the Government were able to delete the words as to the provision being final and unalterable. It might very well happen that in ten years time, when the special grant of 100,000 dollars a year which the Bill gave to British Columbia came to an end, other arrangements would have to be made—arrangements which would be arrived at by a conference between the constituent parts of the Dominion of Canada. He only hoped that then not only the provincial point of view, but the point of view of the Dominion as a whole, would receive from the Government of that day the same kindly and sympathetic consideration which British Columbia had received at the present time.

MR. H. GREENWOOD (York) said he was aware of the urgent necessity of this Bill, and he believed it would meet the desires expressed by the Prime Ministers of the Dominion. He could not without demur allow the hon. Member for Sevenoaks to express what he understood him to express when he said that there was a feeling in favour of annexation in the western or Pacific portion of Canada. It had been his fortune to travel much in that province and to meet many of the leading men there. He could state that there was no sign or tendency in favour of annexation, and he thought the suggestion made by the hon. Member was a little unworthy. There was no sign or tendency except that of allegiance to the Crown on the part of the people of that great province.

*MR. FORSTER: I specifically said that at the present time the feeling in regard to annexation had disappeared entirely. I specifically said that it existed fifteen years ago.

MR. H. GREENWOOD said he was only too happy to accept the explanation, and he apologised for having misunderstood the hon. Gentleman. There was no sign of any annexationist feeling in that province. Of all the provinces in the Dominion, no one had better withstood all forms of annexation pressure than the province of British Columbia. Formerly the province was cut off, as the hon. Gentleman had truly said, but no one talked of it to-day as cut off from the rest of the Dominion. There was now a trans-continental line running through Canada, and two others were in course of rapid construction. The Bill, he thought, was the outcome of a conference of the nine provincial Premiers, and of communications with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister of the Dominion. With the exception of the Prime Minister of British Columbia, the Conference was unanimous in passing the resolutions embodied in the Bill now before the House. The Prime Minister of the province came to England to lay his case before the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He desired to draw the attention of the House to the fact that in these days of uneasy Imperialism these most difficult negotiations had been conducted with credit on both sides without any noise in the Press, and without allegations being made that there was on the part of His Majesty's Government any want of sympathy with British Columbia. These most difficult and complicated negotiations were conducted with sympathy and hearty goodwill, with the result that the Under-Secretary for the Colonies had been enabled to bring the Bill before the House supported by all the Prime Ministers of the Dominion, the Bill containing one provision which left a way open for future terms to be made more satisfactory to the Prime Minister of British Columbia and the people whom he had the honour to serve. In this respect the Dominion of Canada and the Prime Minister of that greatest Colony of the Crown had shown a good example in the way they had dealt with the matter among themselves and with the Home Government.

SIR F. BANBURY said the House was under a debt of gratitude to the hon. Member for having enlightened it a little in regard to the provisions of the Bill. He could not thank the Government for having done so. They were apparently under the impression that all that it was necessary to do was to introduce a Bill, and that there was no need to explain it or to give any information about it.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): Really, the hon. Member does me an injustice. I spoke for nearly a quarter of an hour in introducing the Bill under the ten-minutes rule.

SIR F. BANBURY said he withdrew what he had said, but would ask whether, if a Bill was introduced under the ten minutes rule, and if the right hon. Gentleman spoke for fifteen minutes, that was to be sufficient for all the stages of the Bill. He had read the Bill, and although it was apparently very simple he was at a loss to understand why British Columbia should have been singled out and given apparently an advantage which was not given to the other Provinces. He understood from what had been said by the hon. Member for Sevenoaks that British Columbia was an extremely loyal place, that the population was small, that the industries were not largely developed at present, and that that was the reason why exceptional treatment had been granted. He gathered from what was said by the hon. Member for York that the Prime Minister of British Columbia objected to the Bill as originally drawn and came over to England to have an interview with the Secretary of State. He gathered that the interview was satisfactory, and that now the Prime Minister of British Columbia was satisfied. Was that correct?

MR. CHURCHILL: Since the Bill was introduced a great many objections have been considered. We have had the loyal assistance of the Prime Minister of British Columbia.

SIR F. BANBURY said that information had to be brought out little by little. He understood that the Prime Minister of British Columbia was not altogether satisfied with the proceedings in connection with the Bill. In regard to the ten years limit he would like to know whether objection was taken on behalf of the Prime Minister of British Columbia.

MR. CHURCHILL: I did not intend to allow the Bill to pass without making any observations on it; but I thought that it would be more convenient to postpone my remarks until I could deal with any points raised during the debate. The hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London asked why the Bill came here at all. The British North America Act is the fundamental Act governing the Constitution of the Dominion of Canada, and the different Prime Ministers of Canada voluntarily entered into that union. Adherence to the union was something in the nature of a treaty, and when an alteration in the basis of the treaty is made, as it is by the revised schedule of subventions proposed, it was felt desirable by all the Prime Ministers in conference that such a matter should be ratified by the Imperial Parliament in the most formal way. It is only recently that an agreement has been come to by all the Provincial Prime Ministers and the Dominion Government, with the exception of British Columbia, whose needs, I admit frankly, are different from those of the other States, and require special treatment. That special treatment was accorded to her by the agreement of the other Prime Ministers, but not in such a degree as British Columbia would have wished. The objection of British Columbia was a very simple and a common one; it was that the special payment made was satisfactory as far as it went, but that it did not go far enough. The Prime Minister of British Columbia and others thought that the words "final and unalterable" should not be inserted in the Bill. It is true those words were in the Address of the Dominion Parliament but they were not inserted in the Bill by the Parliamentary draftsman on the ground that they were unusual and unsuitable in an Act of Parliament. I hope the House will realise that there is an element of urgency in the matter, as on the strength of the anticipation that this legislation will go through smoothly the Federal Government has undertaken to pay to the different Prime Ministers the revised schedule of subventions. Consequently, if the Act is not passed by 1st July, inconvenience will be caused in the framing of the Budgets in the Dominion, and I ask hon. Members for some special indulgence in passing as rapidly as possible a Bill which has nothing to do with party politics.

*SIR J. JARDINE (Roxburghshire) said that as one with many interests in Canada he hoped the House would give a Second Reading to this Bill, which would remove possible friction between the Dominion Government and the Provincial Governments. The fact that the Prime Minister of Canada and nine of the Prime Ministers of Provinces had settled the terms of the Bill showed their high statesmanlike capacity; and it was also notable that the Prime Minister of British Columbia had seen his way to accept a compromise. The British Columbian Government objected strongly to the use of the words in the agreement "final and unalterable." They maintained, and rightly, that there was nothing in their Province absolutely final and unalterable, so vast was the area, so vigorous the growth. Two new railways were being built, opening up the far North to the Pacific shores, developments were going on in the island of Vancouver, new steamship lines were being established between Vancouver, San Francisco, and Japan, and there was a growing demand for both labour and capital from this and other countries, so immense was the natural wealth of the vast forests and the mines and ores. The Province was to be congratulated on its great prosperity, and the Bill would make for easy working between British Columbia and the other Provinces and the Central Dominion Government.

Mr. R. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan) said he supported the Bill as one who had great interest in Canada. British Columbia had had its loyalty tested by material inducements being held out to it to join the United States. He hoped his friends on that (the Opposition) side of the House would not obstruct the measure, but give it their hearty support, as it tended in the right direction. If the Prime Minister of British Columbia did not get by the Bill all that he had asked for, at any rate it should be shown that he had obtained the sympathies of the British House of Commons.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Monday next.—(*Mr. Churchill.*)

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS (EXPENSES).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Emmott (Oldham) in the Chair.]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of money provided by Parliament, of the salaries, remuneration, and expenses of the Small Holdings Commissioners and other officers appointed under any Act of the present session to amend the law with respect to small holdings and allotments; and to authorise the payment to the Small Holdings Account of the costs and expenses of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries incurred in pursuance of such Act."—(*Mr. Harcourt.*)

*Mr. CHAPLIN (Surrey, Wimbledon) said he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill one or two Questions which came within the provisions of the Resolution, and they arose in this way. When land was taken on lease for the purpose of this Bill, as he understood it, the agreement for the lease would be regarded as a preliminary expense, and would be paid for out of money provided by Parliament. He wished to elicit from the right hon. Gentleman what were to be the terms and conditions of the lease, and who would be responsible for giving compensation, in the first place, to the farmer, who was to be deprived of part of his land for the purposes of small holdings, and, secondly, to the landlord when the land taken by the county council was surrendered at the end of the first lease. He also wished to know what would be the nature of the compensation. He would take the case of the farmer first. In the first schedule to the Bill there was this proposal—

> "The council may at any time after they have served the notice to treat on the owner, serve on the tenant, if any, of the land to be compulsorily acquired, notice to quit, and such notice shall have the like effect as if it had been given by the owner."

In his opinion, compensation should be made under whichever of the three forms of tenure the farm was held. Under all ordinary circumstances it was when the landlord gave notice to quit that he was responsible for the compensation to the tenant. The first question he wished, therefore, to put was, who was to be responsible in this case for the notice? Was it to be the county council or was it to be the landlord? That was a point which ought to be made quite clear, because he did not think it was so in the paragraph he had read in the Schedule. The second question was what was the nature of the compensation to be paid under the terms of the lease? An existing tenant would be paid compensation either under the Agricultural Holdings Act, or under the custom of the country, or under agreement made with the landlord. In his judgment the compensation to be paid by the county council should be the same as it would be under whichever of these three forms of tenure the farm was held; provided that neither the custom nor the agreement gave less than he would be entitled to under the Agricultural Holdings Act. Under that Act the compensation would be the value to the incoming tenant which would be quite sufficient. But the value to an ordinary incoming tenant and to the county council when the land was required for a different purpose might not be the same. And yet there was no reason why in such a case the tenant should be deprived by a hair's-breadth of the full compensation he was entitled to now. He came to the case of the landlord. If at the end of the lease the county council did not want the land any longer for their particular purpose and it was returned to the landlord, that of course pre-supposed some kind of deterioration in the land. If it had not deteriorated, people would be anxious to take it and the county council to keep it. He had asked a very important question in regard to the breaking up of grass lands, but he had never been able to find any provision of compensation in such a case. He thought before the Bill went upstairs they ought to have some clear understanding on these points, because, although he had searched the Bill, he found no clause or clauses enacting compensation of this nature. It was only in the schedules that they found anything material on the point, and even there there was a very curious provision which he did not remember to have seen before, that where there was a dispute between the council and the landlord as to what the compensation was to be, it was to be settled by one valuer who was to be appointed by one of the parties to the dispute, viz., the Board of Agriculture, representing the Commissioners. Section 30 of the Bill dealt with the question of the county councils receiving compensation, and therefore the omission was all the more curious. He hoped his right hon. friend would be able to give them some explanation upon these points to which he omitted to make any reference on the Second Reading of the Bill. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he made these observations with no view of putting any impediment in the way of the progress of the Bill, but if the right hon. Gentleman would answer his questions it would conduce to the progress of the measure.

*The FIRST COMMISSIONER of WORKS (Mr. Harcourt, Lancashire, Rossendale) said he could remember no sins of omission on his part which made it necessary for the right hon. Gentleman to return to the House and recur to this subject. He thought, however, that he had dealt with the main questions, and if he had omitted to deal with some of the smaller criticisms it was certainly not with any desire to conceal from the right hon. Gentleman or the House the intention and the footing upon which the Bill had been drawn. The right hon. Gentleman had asked how compensation was provided for in the case of a departing tenant. That was specially provided for under Part II. of Schedule 1. Of course the county council would be the incoming tenant, and they would come under the usual custom of an incoming tenant, although the legal remedy of the outgoing tenant was against the landlord. He had no doubt that in such cases the county council would pay directly to the outgoing tenant, but if the landlord paid he would recover it from the county council. The sitting tenant, therefore, would be in no worse position than he was now, either under the Lands Clauses Acts or under the custom of the county in which he was. No difference was made in the position which the tenant was entitled to occupy. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman thought that giving power to serve a notice to treat with the landlord was equivalent to a notice to quit to the tenant, because the intention of that provision was merely to enable the county council to perform the duty which might have been omitted by the landlord. Moreover, the power only applied to yearly tenancies, and did not apply to leases. As to compensation to the landlord for depreciation or possible depreciation of the land at the expiration of the term, all he could say was that given an ordinary tenancy the landlord would be entitled under the ordinary law to compensation for deterioration in the ordinary way, and under the ordinary rule. That was expressed in Part II. of the Schedule. There would be the usual provisions for good culture, and if grass land was broken up that was one of the things which the county council would have to deal with, and they could proceed for waste against the tenant. As to the arbitrator being appointed by the Board, he did not think that any exception could be taken, and a similar course was pursued in regard to arbitrations under the Local Government Board.

*MR. HICKS BEACH (Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury) inquired who was to pay the amount which might become due for depreciation. Would it be necessary for the county council to pay out of the rates the claims for depreciation? He would like to know whether it would not be possible under circumstances when the Commissioners had stepped in and forced the county councils to take the land and create Small Holdings, for the Small Holdings Commissioners to pay out of Imperial Funds the claims for depreciation. He had not been able to obtain a copy of the Resolution, but so far as he could understand, no definite sum was mentioned in it, and very little information was given as to who the Commissioners would be and what salary they would receive. Could the right hon. Gentleman say what sum would be placed at the disposal of the Small-Holdings Commissioners, what salaries they would receive, and what class of men they would be? Would they be Members of Parliament appointed by the Government, would they be responsible to the House for the working of the Act, or would the Board of Agriculture be responsible to the House and the country, and would it be possible for gentlemen to hold these places who had financial obligations with regard to the creation of small holdings in the country.

MR. HARCOURT said the salaries of the Commissioners would be fixed by the Treasury and the Board of Agriculture at whatever sum was necessary to secure people who would perform the duties adequately and properly. No Member of Parliament would be able to act as a Commissioner. The landlord and not the tenant farmer would have had notice to quit in respect of the land used for small holdings, and would have quitted it. The question of damage by severance of the farm could be easily settled.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth) asked on a point of order whether it was in order to discuss on this Resolution the financial clauses of the Bill which were printed in italics.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member can only discuss the clauses in Committee. All he can discuss now is whether the House shall grant this money.

SIR F. BANBURY moved to amend the Resolution by inserting after the word "payment" the words "a sum not exceeding £20,000 per annum." He said that he put the Amendment on the Paper because he thought the Committee ought to know what amount of money they were going to vote. This precedent had always been followed by hon. and right hon. Gentleman opposite when in Opposition. They were most strict in insisting on their right to know, before they voted, how much they were going to vote. It was the more important in this case because when the Bill went to Committee the closure might be applied and it would be impossible for a proper discussion to take place. It was in order to ensure a discussion that he moved this Amendment. He had put in what he conceived to be a large sum, and the only question that seemed to arise was whether that sum was sufficient for the purpose to which the money was to be devoted. He understood that that purpose was the payment of salaries and expenses to which the Commissioners might be put. The expenses to which they were put could not be of any great amount, because the real expenses under the Bill would fall on the local authorities.

MR. HARCOURT: If any.

SIR F. BANBURY: If any. Then he was right in thinking that the expenses under the Resolution would be limited to the salaries of the Commissioners and their clerks and officers and to the cost of any experiments they might make in the institution of small holdings which the Bill authorised. If those were the only objects for which the House was asked to vote the money it seemed to him that £20,000 a year was an ample sum for the purpose. He might be met with the argument that the duties of the Commissioners were all in the future, that such duties had never existed in the past, and that therefore it was impossible to foretell what amount of money would be required.

But such an argument was an extremely feeble one, because they might be quite sure that the Government had taken the trouble to ascertain the amount of expenditure to which they were going to commit the nation. The only other objection would be that the amount was not sufficient; that of course could only be a matter of opinion; the right hon. Gentleman would be able to tell the Committee the grounds on which he founded his opinion, and if he could show that a larger amount was necessary he believed that those who sat in Opposition, and who considered they ought to know how much they were voting, would not be averse to extending the amount to £25,000 or something of that sort. All he said was that these experiments should be temporary and tentative, and that Parliament should not rush on before they knew what the cost was going to be. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment in the spirit in which it was moved, or if he could not accept it he would state clearly to the Committee how much he proposed to spend under the Resolution. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 2, after the word 'payment,' to insert the words 'a sum not exceeding £20,000 per annum."—(*Sir F. Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CAVE (Surrey, Kingston) said that, besides the two objects to which his hon. friend had referred, the payment of salaries and the experimental expenditure under Clause 14, there were the "preliminary expenses" under Clause 15. That was one point on which he wished for information. The words "preliminary expenses" were very wide, and the words of the Bill were quite wide enough to cover the payments out of pocket. Let them take the question of compensation. Was it intended to allow expenses of that kind, which might be a very large amount, to be paid by the Board out of this small holdings account? If it was not, the proposed amount would be sufficient for the purpose, because the legal expenses would not be a very large item. But apart from that it was important that there should be a limit to begin with. There was not in the Bill any limit as to the number of Commissioners, and it would be an advantage to know what number the right hon. Gentleman intended to appoint. The only provision was that they might appoint two or more. Did that mean three or four or a larger number? Then as to staff, was it intended that the Commissioners were to have an office and a large staff of their own, or was the idea that they should be a part of the Board of Agriculture and have a few clerks? It was on all these points that the amount of grant that the Board would require depended, and therefore it was relevant that the right hon. Gentleman should, if he could, tell the Committee what was his view.

*MR. HARCOURT said that the fixing of a limit on the expenditure would hamper the discretion not only of the Board of Agriculture but of Parliament itself, for these salaries would appear year by year in the Estimates. The Small Holdings Fund at the Bank of England was not the fund out of which these salaries would be paid. The Treasury had agreed to allocate to the Small Holdings Fund in the first year £100,000, to be used in providing the experimental holdings set up by the Board of Agriculture, or in paying the preliminary expenses of the acquisition of land by the county councils. Clause 15 was carefully drafted to exclude the payment of charges which were really part of the purchase money, and not of the preliminary expenses. It was necessary to cheapen the processes of land transfer, and a discretion was left to the Board of Agriculture in the payment of expenses so that no payment should be made for excessive costs too lightly incurred.

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.) said that everybody must have been impressed with the inconvenience of this part of the procedure of the House. The right hon. Gentleman had been compelled to answer questions which he said were due to misconception and that was due no doubt to the Committee having in their hands a Resolution which they had never before seen. It was almost inevitable that under the circumstances they should discuss the financial clauses of the Bill and not the financial Resolution. They were much indebted to the right hon. Gentleman for the trouble he had taken in giving the explanation that he had and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman's excellent example would be followed by his colleagues in the future. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to make it perfectly clear that in these preliminary expenses there was to be nothing except that which was part of the expense of acquiring the land. He should be very sorry to assent to any Amendment that first of all would interfere with the right of Parliament to fix and vary the expenditure from time to time, and, in the second place, might have the effect of throwing upon the rates some portion of the expenditure which otherwise would fall on public funds. He therefore asked his hon. friend not to press his Amendment.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said the speech of the right hon. Gentleman had among its many other merits that it was in support of reducing the expenditure to the lowest possible limit, because so much use was made of the unpaid work obtained from the county councils. But apart from that consideration, he thought it would be very unwise in the first place to limit expenditure to enable the county councils to carry out the policy of the Bill; and, if they were not sufficiently active in carrying it out, of course that would involve additional expense. Above all, there was the question of experimental work, which he thought was one of the most important recommendations in connection with small holdings. That experimental work many of the county councils would not always find themselves in a position to undertake, and some considerable expenditure would be highly desirable in the interests of the policy of the Bill for the creation of small holdings. The experimental work should be of a sufficiently comprehensive character to carry out small holdings on the basis of further agricultural organisation. On that ground, therefore, he thought it would be unwise to limit the sum which the Board of Agriculture would be able to spend at discretion. As regarded the valuers, he thought the whole success of the scheme depended on having a single valuer and a low scale of expenditure. There was no difficulty, certainly in the northern part of England and in Scotland, in finding valuers who were not by any means paid officials of any public department, but who were recognised in the different localities as the most capable men that could be selected, and no Government department should go outside those valuers. He thought the scheme, so far, was admirable, but he was very much against limiting the preliminary expenditure which he had indicated.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley) said the hon. Baronet behind him had given good reason for thinking that in certain circumstances the sum to be taken was too large; but the right hon. Gentleman perhaps would give them a further estimate which would enable them to form something like an idea of what the Bill would cost, or such information as to the details of the work as would enable them to form an estimate for themselves. The right hon. Gentleman had referred only to the Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners, but in the event of the Bill being put widely into operation in most of the counties of England, they would like to know how many Commissioners and assistant commissioners would be required; and, under the Bill, it would seem that there were also to be local agents. Did all that come out of the money they were now asked to vote? Then there were all the expenses of the inspectors, of inquiries, and of witnesses. These were matters contained in Clauses 16, 22, and a number of others. Were these to come out of the money they were about to vote? If that were so, he thought £20,000 would not be anything like the sum that the operation of the Bill would require; and he would like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman had in his mind the number of assistant commissioners, who were to go all over the counties, and the number of local agents and inspectors to be appointed, so that they might be enabled to form an estimate for themselves. Under Clause 23 it was provided that if the land taken was not wanted it was to be thrown back into the farmer's possession. Was the compensation, then, to be paid to come out of the money they were now authorising? At any rate, if they could get from the right hon. Gentleman some idea of the extent of the staff of sub-commissioners, inspectors, and local agents, they might be able to form some estimate of the expenditure likely to be involved in this Bill.

*MR. CHAPLIN said, in reference to the Amendment, he thought it could be disposed of if he was right in what seemed to him to be the interpretation of the Bill. Clause 15 was not very clear, but it enabled the Board to—

> "repay, or undertake to repay, the county council out of the Small Holdings Account, the whole or any part of the expenses incurred by the council in proceedings in relation to the acquisition of land for small holdings, etc."

If they turned to Clause 7, it provided that land acquired by the county council for the purposes of small holdings might be adapted to letting and be let for small holdings under and in accordance with the provisions of the Small Holdings Act, 1892. Then, again, if they went back to the Act of 1892—this was part of the inconvenience of drafting by reference—he thought it was quite clear it included in "adaptation" the erection and provision of buildings and the equipment of the farms. It was upon that point that he wanted to have the reply of the right hon. Gentleman, because under Clause 3 of the Small Holdings Act of 1892 power was given for the adaptation of small holdings; and then by Subsection 3 of the clause it was provided—

> "That the county council may also, if they think fit, as part of the agreement for sale or letting of a small holding, adapt the land to small holdings by erecting such buildings or making such adaptations of existing buildings as in their opinion are required for the due occupation of the holding, etc., etc."

If that were true, what it appeared to mean was that, out of the funds provided by Parliament, the county council would have power, as part of the preliminary expenses of small holdings, to adapt and erect buildings, and, generally speaking, to equip small holdings. If that were so, any limitation to such a sum as £20,000 would be a deadly blow to the operation of the Bill, and fatal also, he thought, to the local funds, because, in the absence of national funds, either the Bill would not be carried out, or, if it was, it would be at the cost of the local rates. That seemed to him to be an interpretation which might fairly be placed on Clause 15, taken in connection with the two other sections to which he had referred, and if the right hon. Gentleman concurred, then he would have no hesitation in earnestly recommending his hon. friend not to persevere with his Amendment, and he thought that would meet the general view of those on his side of the Committee.

SIR F. BANBURY said the right hon. Gentleman had not given any reply to his first question as to what the cost of the Bill would be. In reference to the Amendment the right hon. Gentleman said it would limit their power, and that there would be opportunity on the Estimates to discuss the question. But when the Estimates came on, it would be extremely difficult to discuss these matters, as they would not be able to effect any alteration in reference to money already spent on salaries and expenses, and, of course, the majority would support the suggestion of their leaders in resisting any alteration. His right hon. friend the Member for South Dublin had said he could not approve of the Amendment if it was going to cast the expenditure on the rates. But he could not see that his proposal would have that effect. The only possible effect it could have in that direction would be that under Clause 15—which the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill had already assured them only referred to legal expenses—if there was not sufficient money at the disposal of the Commissioners, they would not be able to recoup the county councils in respect of the preliminary expenses.

MR. CHAPLIN: Turn to Clause 7.

SIR F. BANBURY said that Clause 7 referred back to the Act to which his right hon. friend had alluded, and the point in regard to which he presumed the right hon. Gentleman would answer that Clause 15 was so very distinct that he believed he was correct in saying that they would not be allowed to do anything more than contribute the whole or part of the legal expenses incurred in the acquisition of the land. If he was right he really did not see what harm there was in his Amendment. If he was wrong, then it showed the advantage of discussion, because it opened up a tremendous vista. These Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners would be allowed to go about the country to acquire and equip land for small holdings, and the expenditure might run into millions of pounds, under this

Resolution. He did not say that it was at all likely to do so, but he submitted that they must be prepared against eventualities. He did not see why he should withdraw his Amendment unless it were satisfactorily answered by the right hon. Gentleman. He wanted the right hon. Gentleman to tell him how much he was going to spend in a year. He did not expect a precise figure, but a rough estimate. He wanted to know what the Commissioners were going to spend, and he relied on the courtesy of the right hon. Gentleman for more information.

*MR. HARCOURT said the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bordesley had said the sum proposed was an exorbitant one, but he hoped that the Department of Commissioners and other officers would not be an expensive one. It was quite obvious that the number of Assistant Commissioners and other assistants would vary according to the needs of the year and the development and success of the policy. He would be glad if the Bill turned out a success, as he believed it would, for they would then require considerably more assistants in the Commissioners Department for carrying it out. The amount that would be spent would be exactly the amount necessary to provide the Commissioners, who had to carry out the provisions of the Act, with an adequate amount of assistance for the working of their Department, and Votes would be annually submitted to Parliament for consideration. The right hon. Gentleman had no right to ask him to give an estimate; he had told him that Parliament would be informed year by year of the necessities of the case, and those, of course, would become actually known when they appeared in the Estimates. In reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wimbledon, he did not propose to go into the question of legal interpretation, but perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would take the advice offered to him by the hon. Member for the City of London, from whom he could get an opinion for nothing. Under Clause 15 the only expenses that could be paid to the county council by the Board and by the Treasury were expenses in connection with the acquisition of land. But the right hon. Gentleman had referred to the equipment of the holdings under the Act of 1892, and had said that that equipment was among the preliminary expenses of the sale of the holding; but the right hon. Gentleman would realise that the adaptation would not commence until after the acquisition of the land had been effected. The clause only applied to the preliminaries to acquisition, and not to action that might be taken after acquisition.

MR. CHAPLIN: Clause 7 refers to land acquired.

*MR. HARCOURT: Yes; but those terms which were to be made were only processes that took place before the land was acquired, because they were preliminary to the acquisition. He thought the right hon. Gentleman might take it from him that the words did carry out the intention of the clause, which was to pay all the necessary cost of putting the county council on the one side, and the landlord on the other, in the position of a willing purchaser and a willing seller, and, under compulsion, all the intermediate expenses, such as the cost of the inquiry notices, advertisements, arbitration, and so on. The clause was not meant to do more than pay the preliminary expenses leading up to the purchase of the land.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said he had not stated that £20,000 was a sum which could be considered liberal, but what he had said was that in the eyes of those who thought the money was unnecessary it was too large a sum to throw away altogether. But he had added that if the Bill was to be put in force throughout the counties of England, and especially if the county councils showed themselves restive, and they had to do all the work by compulsion, then the army of commissioners, local agents, and inspectors, and the inquiries and so forth, would increase the expenses to such an extent that £20,000 would not at all represent what would be required.

MR. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye) asked why it was necessary to incur the expense of commissioners at all? Why could not the work of these small holdings, an object about which they were all agreed, be carried out by the Board of Agriculture acting through inspectors? He thought if the Board of Agriculture undertook these duties it would mean much more than a saving of expense, because the work would be better carried on than it would be by commissioners. They were all asking who these commissioners were going to be, and therefore he hoped some information would be given upon that point.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.) said that some Amendment of this kind was very necessary. Those who had had experience of the working of the Labourers Acts in Ireland knew how the money under that Act was swallowed up by the salaries of the officials. They were all aware that those who were intended to be benefited by such Acts as these came in last. The cost of the machinery was so great that the amount of benefit to those who ought to receive it would be very slight. He would like to know if this £20,000 limit included the salaries of the commissioners, staff, and so forth, as well as preliminary experiments. He understood that the experimental side was necessary in order to decide whether or not more money should be spent in certain localites. Under Clause 14 would those experiments be based on the lines of the new settler or upon those who were now carrying on similar work? If the experimental work was to take a certain sized farm, put a tenant on it, and then try to find out whether he was able to produce crops of a certain standard, the experiment would be a failure. In drawing comparisons, would the adjoining tenants and the profits they were making out of their farms be taken into account? If that was the system they were going to adopt, they would find all existing small holders would be applying for subsidies, because if they subsidised one class they must treat another class in the same way. A very good parallel was the case of the fishing industry.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: I do not think the question of subsidies comes in at all under this Amendment.

CAPTAIN CRAIG said his argument arose out of what had already been said in Committee. If the Committee decided to authorise this unlimited amount of money they ought to be supplied with some rough estimate as to how far the money would go in the first five years. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that £100,000 was the amount first asked for. He understood that that amount was not for salaries. If he said the amount was to pay for the salaries of the officials entirely, then he felt somewhat in a difficulty, because he would not be able to criticise the matter. If £100,000 was wanted for the payment of the commissioners and the clerks and the rents of their offices, telephones, &c., it seemed to him to be an extraordinary amount which required more explanation.

SIR F. BANBURY said he desired to explain clearly that all his Amendment proposed to do was to insert the words "a sum not exceeding £20,000 per annum." He did not touch either the experimental clauses in the Bill or the £100,000 to which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded. All he laid down was that the salaries, expenses, and remuneration of the Small Holdings Commission should be fixed at not more than £20,000.

MR. HARCOURT thought the hon. Baronet had several times over endeavoured to make clear his Amendment. He was afraid there were some hon. Gentlemen opposite who did not quite understand what the proposition of the Bill was. Although it was out of order, perhaps he might be permitted to say that there were no subsidies provided for smallholders in the Bill. Some hon. Members opposite seemed to think that this £100,000 was intended to provide part of the salaries and expenses of these officers. He had stated more than once that that sum had nothing whatever to do with salaries, because it went into the Small Holdings Account for the acquisition of experimental holdings. He had also stated that all the salaries of these officers would be voted annually by Parliament, and it remained in the discretion of Parliament to fix the amount to be provided for that purpose. He believed that was the proper method for retaining Parliamentary control over these officers. He had been asked why should the Board set up a Commission which was somewhat in the nature of a Land Court. He was afraid that the word "commissioner," which he probably had incautiously chosen, had misled some hon. Members opposite. They were not independent commissioners, but simply persons who made the inquiries, and it would not matter much whether they were called commissioners or inspectors, because they were salaried officers of the Board. The Board must have an agent, and it must employ somebody to move about the country. The word "commissioner" seemed to have misled some hon. Gentlemen opposite. If any of these appointments as commissioner were given to any Member of Parliament he would have to vacate his seat, and he would not be able to enter Parliament as long as he was a commissioner under the Bill. Although he might have unfortunately selected the word "commissioner," there was nothing in the nature of a commission about it; the commissioners were simply inquiring agents under the direct control of the Board, and their salaries would be voted under the usual Vote for the Board of Agriculture.

Mr. WALTER LONG asked whether these commissioners would have any power of initiating inquiries on their own account. The obligation was laid upon them by the Bill of reporting upon the need for small holdings, and that rather led them to believe that the commissioners would have a free hand to hold inquiries pretty much when and where they liked, subject to the condition that they reported to the Department. There was all the difference in the world between an inspector who went down to some place by direction of the Board, and had no power except to report direct to the President of the Department the result of his inquiry, and that kind of officer who could at his own discretion go down and hold inquiries where he liked and report the result of his inquiry. It seemed to him that the commissioners had power to hold their own inquiries, and that was a sufficient justification for their assuming that they were not analogous to the ordinary inspectors. If that were so he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept an Amendment in Committee to call these officials inspectors and not commissioners. It was well known that inspectors had no power to act and hold inquiries on their own initiative. Therefore he thought the right. hon. Gentleman ought to call them what they really were, that was inspectors, whose business it would be to do what the Department told them, instead of allowing them to go marauding about the country, possibly doing a good deal of mischief. If the commissioners were only to act under a Minister responsible to Parliament who could be called to account in Parliament for what they were doing, it was quite clear that the assumption that some form of a Land Court was being set up had no foundation.

*Mr. HARCOURT said he was extremely sorry that the right hon. Gentleman had thought it necessary to draw such a picture as that in which he described these commissioners as being men inclined to maraud about the country, doing a great deal of mischief. He might remind the right hon. Gentleman that that was not at all consistent with what he said at a former stage of this Bill, for he then told them that he had no desire to wreck this measure.

Mr WALTER LONG said he had no desire to wreck the measure, but he thought the words he had used, of which the right hon. Gentleman complained, were perfectly justified. If the Commissioners were allowed to hold inquiries just at their own sweet will, his language was not at all improper. The suggestion he had made to the right hon. Gentleman he was sure would be likely to conduce to the successful working of the Bill.

Mr. HARCOURT pointed out that Clause 2, which set out the duties of the Commissioners, stated that they were—

"Acting under the direction of the Board.'

That was the earliest possible place he could put those words into the Bill. He thought that was the only point to which the right hon. Gentleman's speech was directed.

Colonel LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping) said the right hon. Gentleman had only himself to blame for the discussion which had taken place in regard to the word "commissioners." At a previous stage the First Commissioner of Works stated plainly that no Amendment whatever limiting the scope of the Bill would be accepted in Committee. Therefore he could not be surprised if they elected to bring before the Committee matters of this kind. But apart from the salaries of the Commissioners he objected to their appointment altogether. It was quite true that the second clause provided that the Commissioners should be under the direction of the Board, but those who had been Members of Parliament for any length of time knew the meaning of that phrase.

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Order, order. We cannot discuss upon this Amendment the constitution of the Commission. We are simply dealing with the salaries and expenses of the Commissioners and officials, and the matter of the appointment of the Commissioners and their duties is more proper for discussion when the Bill is in Committee.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD thought he would have been at liberty upon the salary of the Commissioners to discuss the question whether they should receive any salary at all.

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: That is a matter which will come up for discussion upon the Bill itself. The only question which can be dealt with now is the general question of salaries and expenses of the Commissioners and officials. The Resolution is simply an enabling Resolution, without which the Committee on the Bill could not deal with the salaries and expenses.

MR. CAVE said that this was an Amendment to limit the amount of the expenditure, and if instead of being Commissioners these officials were simply inspectors the figure would bear a very different aspect. It was quite true that so far as the first subsection of Clause 2 went the Commissioners must act under the direction of the Board. That meant that the Board must start them on their inquiry, but when started they would see that under Subclause 3 they would be able to act as independent officers.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: It is quite obvious that the hon. Member is discussing the Bill, and you cannot discuss that under this Resolution. The Resolution deals with the expenses in general terms, and the proper time to discuss the matter to which the hon. Member is referring is in Committee.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.) said the statement made by the First Commissioner of Works that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin could hardly be expected to understand the Bill was one which he would hardly wish to repeat on reflection. If his right hon. friend the Member for South Dublin, with his long experience of agricultural matters, could not be expected to grasp the details of the Bill, that must be the fault of the Bill and not of the right hon. Gentleman. What the country wanted to know was the amount which the right hon. Gentleman estimated would have to be voted for salaries and expenses. They ought to know whether the scheme was to be more costly than appeared on the face of the Bill.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said the question put by his hon. friend had not received adequate consideration from the First Commissioner of Works. The Amendment proposed to limit the salaries and expenses of the Commissioners to £20,000, and in refusing to accept that the First Commissioner of Works said that the matter ought to be left to the discretion of Parliament. Parliament was now sitting, and they were now in Committee of the Whole House. Would not the right hon. Gentleman give them a little information to enable them to exercise their discretion now? No doubt the right hon. Gentleman had furnished an approximate estimate to the Treasury, according to the usual practice, and he thought the House of Commons, as well as the Treasury, had the right to be taken into the right hon. Gentleman's confidence. He could not conceive that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Financial Secretary of the Treasury had allowed the First Commissioner of Works to draw a blank cheque on the future in this respect. Why did the right hon. Gentleman refuse to accept the Amendment? Did he or the Treasury contemplate that the official salaries and expenses might amount to more than £20,000 a year? If not, there could be no objection to accepting the Amendment.

MR. FELL said he did not think that anyone would object to fair salaries being paid to the Commissioners. The question raised now was in regard to what the Commissioners were going to do. The Minister in charge of the Bill the other day stated that one of the principal duties of the Commissioners would be to stimulate a desire for allotments throughout the country.

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: The Amendment before the Committee deals solely with the first part of the Resolution, and relates only to the salaries and expenses of the small holdings Commissioners and other officers. The duties of the Commissioners cannot be discussed on this Amendment.

MR. FELL said he had tried to get a copy of the Resolution, and could not. It was not printed in the Papers this morning.

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: No, and that is according to the rule. When the late Government was in power the same thing happened.

MR. FELL said that if the Commissioners were to stimulate a desire for allotments and small holdings throughout the country, and the Committee were passing a Vote for that purpose, they might be letting themselves in for something extremely heavy.

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: That is outside the scope of the first part of the Resolution. That has nothing to do with the salaries and expenses to which the Amendment refers.

MR. FELL: Would not this work come under the salaries?

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: The latter part of the Resolution which is not touched by this Amendment, refers to the costs and expenses incurred in respect of small holdings and allotments by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

MR. FELL said he did not know what the expenses would be if they were not the expenses of the Commissioners going about the country.

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: The expenses of carrying out the Act other than the salaries, remuneration and expenses of the Commissioners and officials concern the latter part of the Resolution, and do not fall under the Amendment.

MR. FELL said he understood that travelling expenses would include expenses for holding meetings, delivering lectures, and giving magic lantern entertainments, if the Commissioners were to stimulate a desire for allotments and small holdings. He had not the slightest desire that the Commissioners should not be adequately paid. Unless they were well paid good men would not be got.

MR. ABEL SMITH (Hertfordshire, Hertford) said a most important question had been raised as to whether the Commissioners would occupy a position corresponding to that of inspectors under the Board of Agriculture, or whether they would occupy a quasi-independent position. He recognised that this was a point for discussion in Committee upstairs rather than now, but owing to engagements elsewhere he would have no opportunity of taking part in the work of the Committee. In view of the provisions contained in Clauses 34 and 35 of the Bill he had come to the conclusion that the Commissioners would occupy a very prominent position, and that they would carry out their duties independently. He had, therefore, reluctantly come to the conclusion not to support his hon. friend's Amendment. It would be unwise, looking to the importance of the position to be occupied by the Commissioners, to limit their salaries and expenses to anything like £20,000. If the salaries and expenses were to be fixed in this way the useful work which it was hoped the Commissioners would be able to do might be limited.

MR. HICKS BEACH said the right hon. Gentleman had been clearly asked whether he could not give the Committee more information as to the Estimate which had been put before the Treasury. He would have thought that a Liberal Government whose members when in Opposition were so fond of preaching economy, would not give up the practice of putting before the Treasury an Estimate in a matter of this kind. If an approximate Estimate of salaries and expenses had been put before the Treasury, surely the right hon. Gentleman might give the Committee a little more information about it. He and his friends did not ask for every little detail down to a halfpenny, but some idea of the amount might be given. He could not understand why the Government did not give the information.

Captain CRAIG said the Government had refused to give any information as to how the money was to be expended. Could the front Government Bench suggest a percentage of the amount that was really to be devoted to administration so that they might all feel they were not voting as much money for the working of the scheme as for the good work which it was proposed to do under the Bill. If £100,000 were to be spent they ought to know that the expenses of administration would not be another £100,000. He thought that 15, 20 or 25 per cent. might be indicated as the cost of administration. That would meet the wish of the hon. Member who moved the Amendment. If the money was to be a splash of money for the creation of various offices, and if the poor tenant farmers were not to get real benefit from it, something should be done to limit the cost of administration. He suggested the limit should be 20 per cent. of the amount paid.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 36; Noes, 215. (Division List No. 250.)

AYES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael HughHicks
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carlile, E. Hildred
Cave, George
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Clark, George Smith (Belfast, N.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S)
Dalrymple, Viscount
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Fell, Arthur
Fletcher, J. S.
Gretton, John
Hervey, F. W. F (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Liddell, Henry
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Starkey, John R.
Turnour, Viscount
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Frederick Banbury and Captain Craig.

NOES.

Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone, N)
Beale, W. P.
Beck, A. Cecil
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W.
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cox, Harold
Crombie, John William
Crossley, William J.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Essex, R. W.
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Findlay, Alexander
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Harwood, George
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)

Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holt, Richard Durning
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lehmann, R. C.
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Sir Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.)
Pullar, Sir Robert
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rendall, Athelstan
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'h
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, A. H (Ashton under-Lyne)
Sears, J. E.
Seddon, J.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Waring, Walter
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said that he objected to sign a blank cheque for a sum which could not be estimated by the House, and as to the amount of which the Government refused to give any information. In his opinion the Board of Agriculture was better fitted to do the work than these new Commissioners, and yet they were asked to vote for the payment of a great army of officials in every county in England, including agents and sub-commissioners, without any idea being given of the amount of expense to be incurred, whether it would amount to £10,000, or £200,000. He made a further appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, in fairness to the House of Commons and the taxpayers of the country, to give some idea of the expense which he thought would be incurred in the employment of this great army of officials.

MR. CHAPLIN asked whether they were to understand that the discretion on the part of the Government was to be absolutely unlimited.

*MR. HARCOURT said that of course there was a sum of £100,000 for the preliminary expenses in connection with the experiment of forming small holdings. The other part which had been discussed was the number and cost of the Commissioners who had to carry out the Bill. Those must necessarily depend on the shape in which the Bill came out of Committee, and on the duties which were imposed upon them by the House. The discretion would be exercised by the Board of Agriculture and the Treasury in the first place, and the House would always have an opportunity, every year, of criticising the amount provided for the salaries and expenses of the Commissioners.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next.

The House resumed, Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair.

TELEGRAPH (MONEY) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

*THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): It will be for the convenience of the House if I make a few observations in moving the Second Reading of this Bill. I should like to say that the Bill has nothing whatever to do with the telegraph service. It refers solely to the telephone service. It has further no connection with the proposed purchase of the National Telephone Company's system in 1911. Its object is merely to enable the post office to carry on and extend telephone service up to that date. I agree with my hon. friend the Member for Preston, who has placed on the paper an Amendment to the Bill, that, from the financial point of view, the telegraph and telephone services should be kept as distinct as possible, in order that we may know how far the telegraph service is carried on at a loss, and how far the telephone service is carried on, on a fair commercial basis, at a profit, and on its own merits. This Bill is merely a continuation of previous Telegraph Acts for the purpose of raising capital for the telephone service. The first of these Acts was passed in 1892, when £1,000,000 was granted by this House for the purchase of the trunk lines from the National Telephone Company. There were further Acts in 1896–98–99 under which £3,300,000 were raised for the same purpose; and finally, in 1904 a further sum of £3,000,000 was raised for the purpose of extending the telephone system. The total amount so far raised for telephone purposes is £7,300,000. Out of that £3,400,000 had been spent on trunk lines, £2,600,000 on the London exchange system, and about £500,000 on the provincial exchanges, the balance being in regard to stores and the purchase of municipal systems. Since the first line was purchased from the Telephone Company the mileage of trunk lines has increased from 29,000 to 145,000 miles, and the total mileage, London and provincial, is now 328,000, showing a very large increase in the telephone system. The further £6,000,000 which I now ask the House to vote will, it is hoped, carry on the extension of the telephone system up till the end of 1911, when the system of the National Telephone Company will be purchased by the State. Whether it is an advantage to have allowed the two systems to be continued so long is a matter of controversy. Though by agreement we might possibly purchase the National Company's system before 1911, I do not think that that would be satisfactory. The chief items of this £6,000,000 which I now ask for are £2,800,000, to be spent on the trunk system, £1,800,000 for the London Exchange system, and £1,000,050 for provincial exchanges. I would point out that this money is to be raised on loan for a very short period. Some of the earlier annuities on which the capital was raised were for twenty years. That was thought to be too long a period for loans of this nature, and we shall now raise the money on terminable annuities for fifteen years. Further, so far as the expenditure of the Post Office is concerned, hon. Members will see that the Treasury has full control over it. Every particular of proposed expenditure has to come before the Treasury before that expenditure can be undertaken. The protection under this loan is, I think, very complete, because the period is very short. I put the Bill before the House as a business proposition. While the telegraph system of this country is unfortunately carried on at a very considerable loss, the telephone system is being carried on at a satisfactory and substantial profit. After providing for 3 per cent. interest on the capital expended, and allowing sufficient for depreciation of the plant, the profit left during the last financial year was £37,200, representing a certain interest per cent. on capital, in addition to the 3 per cent. for which provision had already been made. The London exchanges show a considerable profit, and so do the trunk lines, but the provincial lines show some loss. I can only say that, as far as I am concerned, I think that the telephone service should be carried on on a business basis and that rates charged should provide a substantial profit to the State. It is a great mistake to carry on the telegraph or telephone system in any other way. But everyone who has looked into the figures agrees that in regard to the telegraphs the original capital was inflated, and that at the present moment we are carrying it on at a loss quite irrespective of the interest on the original capital. From that awful example we should endeavour to profit in working the telephone system, which should be conducted on business lines. I beg to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*MR. HAROLD COX (Preston) said that he rose to move, "That it is undesirable to authorise further capital expenditure upon telegraphs or telephones until a full statement has been presented to Parliament showing the financial results of the past working of the Post Office telegraphs and telephones judged from the standpoint of an ordinary commercial undertaking." The hon. Member said the Postmaster-General had told them that this Bill only authorised expenditure upon telephones, but he would remind him that there was not a single word in the Bill about telephones, and that there was nothing to prevent him from spending the whole six millions on telegraphs. The Bill which authorised the right hon. Gentleman to spend six millions of money went back to days before telephones were invented, inasmuch as it referred to the Act of 1863, when telephones did not exist. A much more serious matter was that they had no statement before them as to how the money was to be spent. The right hon. Gentleman had no doubt made a very eloquent and lucid speech in twelve or fifteen minutes, and as he wanted £6,000,000 that was at the rate of something like half a million for every minute he spoke. In his judgment, however, the House should have a little more explanation of what this money was required for. Surely in the case of a Government pledged to economy the House of Commons ought to have a little more explanation. In such a case as this a private company would issue a prospectus, false or otherwise, showing how they proposed to apply the money which they asked the public to subscribe, but in this case they had no details. A demand for £6,000,000 was chucked at the House of Commons on a Friday afternoon without any explanation. The Bill was, moreover, a particularly bad illustration of the vicious practice of legislation by reference; it was a deliberate attempt to to evade examination by the House. This was a Loan Bill, but nowhere was the word "loan" mentioned. It was only when they hunted up the Telegraph Act of 1892 that they found that the Postmaster-General was entitled to borrow this money. It was a very serious thing for them to go into the market and borrow £6,000,000. That represented more than the whole sum hitherto spent on telephones, namely, £5,750,000. The Postmaster-General had said that the amount so far raised for telephone purposes was £7,300,000, and he supposed the difference between the figure he had quoted and that figure represented the unspent balance.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said the figures given by the hon. Member were up to March, 1906. The figures he gave were up to March, 1907.

*MR. HAROLD COX said he begged the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. He did not catch the figures 1907. That explained the difference. The Post Office claimed that telephones were worked at a profit and telegraphs at a loss. It was very difficult to believe that. The accounts were hopelessly mixed up. The telephones were conducted in the same offices as the telegraphs and other Post Office business, and the same girl was sometimes occupied in selling stamps, sometimes receiving telegrams, sometimes issuing Post Office orders and postal orders, and sometimes conducting telephone business. Therefore it was exceedingly doubtful whether an accurate account had been furnished or could be furnished of the cost of working the system.

as between telegraphs and telephones. The Post Office officials, moreover, had a distinct motive for showing that there was a profit on telephones, because they were working in competition with a private company which paid a good dividend. If the Post Office officials did not show good figures in regard to the telephones the public would very naturally ask why it was that a private company charging the same prices made a profit while the Post Office made a loss. Therefore the Post Office had an interest in overcharging the telegraph accounts and undercharging the telephone service. There were, moreover, extraordinary discrepancies in the accounts. He would first take the figures from the appendix of the Postmaster-General's Report. There were three separate accounts, relating respectively to trunk lines, London exchanges, and provincial exchanges. The capital for trunk lines was stated at £2,897,503 at page 86, but a footnote at page 89 gave it as £3,197,000. At page 86 the capital given for the London exchanges was £2,232,588. From a footnote on page 87, however, it appeared to be £2,305,000. The capital for the provincial exchanges was at page 86 given as £403,195 while the footnote at page 88 gave it as £388,000. Then in regard to depreciation he found at page 87 the life of plant at the London exchanges taken at thirty-three years. Was not that an extravagant estimate considering that the industry was rapidly developing and the instruments used were constantly being superseded? In his judgment that was a very enormous period at which to fix the life of the plant. When he came to the trunk lines, however, which were dealt with on page 89, he found the life of the plant was valued at twenty-nine years. Depreciation ought, therefore, to be calculated at slightly over 3·4 per cent. The Post Office took the figures and worked them out at £88,901, whereas he made it £108,698. This probably explained why the Postmaster-General had recently refused to answer a Question of his which involved some calculations in compound interest. Naturally the Postmaster-General would be shy of attempting compound interest when the officials at the Post Office were unable to do simple interest sums.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON denied that he had said that the officials at the Post Office could not do sums of simple interest. His Answer had been that the figures which the hon. Gentleman wanted could be found from the returns and tables which had been supplied to the House.

*MR. HAROLD COX said that what he had gathered was that the refusal to supply the information was due to the reluctance of the officials to tackle sums. He would take the figures, however, as they were. The whole balance which the Post Office officials claimed on the whole account was £43,000, which was about 1 per cent. profit on the capital invested.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Three per cent.

MR. HAROLD COX said that what he meant was 1 per cent. profit after paying 3 per cent. interest. His point was that it was not good business to borrow money on State credit, at 3 per cent. interest, and then only make 1 per cent. profit out of it. It was very bad business indeed, because the National Telephone Company borrowed money by way of debentures at 4 per cent. and paid a dividend of 6 per cent. on their share capital although they charged the same rates for telephonic communication as the Post Office. In addition the National Telephone Company paid a royalty equivalent to more than 2½ per cent. on all its capital to the Government. Moreover the Telephone Company paid local rates which the Postmaster-General escaped paying. The right hon. Gentleman complained that he had to provide plant, a good deal of which remained idle, but that was one of the peculiarities of all telephone business. The Post Office profit of 1 per cent., moreover, was only arrived at by the palpable fraud of taking the life of the plant at thirty-three years. He contended that the figures as a whole were such that no commercial company would tolerate for a moment. He turned to another source of information. That was the Return which the right hon. Gentleman produced at his request, and in connection with it he would like to acknowledge the courtesy with which the right hon. Gentleman and his officials had met his various suggestions and the great trouble they had taken to give the figures which he wanted. It was, however, quite hopeless to get a complete account out of the materials provided, but what he had obtained was sufficient to show that this undertaking was not and had never been worked as a business undertaking. There was no proper capital account and items of capital were mixed up with revenue. He ought to explain that the telegraph and telephone accounts were merged together and did not discriminate between the two services. He also wished to refer to the royalties paid by the National Telephone Company. They amounted to £271,000 odd last year. It might be perfectly justifiable for the Government to make the Telephone Company pay a royalty, but the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster-General ought not to take credit for that as earned money. The sums received were sheer blackmail; justifiable blackmail it might be, but the sums ought not to go to the credit of the Postmaster-General as earnings; they ought to be treated as part of the miscellaneous revenue of the Exchequer. The last year's payment of royalties represented the equivalent of more than 2½ per cent. interest on the capital of the company, yet in spite of this annual drain the company succeeded in paying a dividend of 6 per cent. on its share capital and 4 per cent. on its debentures, while the Post Office, according to their own statement, only made a profit of 1 per cent. over and above the 3 per cent. on their borrowed capital. The blackmail levied upon the National Telephone Company was the result of the Post Office monopoly in the means of electrical communication. At the time of the original proposal for the purchase of the telegraphs in 1868 the idea of a monopoly was scouted and everybody said it would be intolerable to grant one. The provisions establishing a monopoly were subsequently slipped into legislation at the request of the Post Office. The monopoly was afterwards applied to telephones in order to get a sum of money from the Telephone Company for an invention which did not exist when the Act was passed. The aggregate total of the blackmail in the way of royalties which had been levied was over £2,000,000 which ought all to be credited to miscellaneous revenue. Nowhere was there a full statement of the capital expended on telephones and telegraphs, though there was a small footnote at the bottom in which it was said to be £22,299,000; that, however, did not take into account the loss of interest in previous years. But ignoring for a moment loss of interest, and merely adding to the figure given in the footnote the sum of £2,048,783, the royalties paid by the National Company, and the sum of £6,476,000 shown on another page of the Return as the aggregate of the past annual deficiencies, they obtained a figure of £30,824,000. But was it right to ignore the loss of interest? It was difficult to get a precise analogy to the transactions of a business firm because there was no share capital. Let the House, however, imagine the analogy of a private firm working on borrowed capital and backed by a wealthy banker. In this case the British taxpayer was the banker and the Postmaster-General the private firm. If he had to draw upon the banker he ought to pay interest upon all the moneys advanced to him. In other words, there ought to be compound interest allowed on all previous advances and deficiencies met by the taxpayer. If compound interest were charged it would bring up the total he had mentioned to £34,000,000. Of this sum £16,000,000 had been borrowed, and the remaining £18,000,000 had been advanced by the taxpayer. Taking the interest on that sum at so low a rate as 3 per cent., it ought to yield £540,000 a year. Instead of this return in the way of interest we had a loss of £353,000, which with the royalties, £227,000, made a total of £580,000. Thus instead of earning £540,000 we were losing £580,000, which made the taxpayer out of pocket by the transaction to the extent of £1,120,000 a year on a capital expenditure of £34,000,000. He thought that a very serious state of things indeed. It was said that what the State lost by its telegraphs it gained on its postal service, and could afford to do so, but that was not a conclusive argument because the two services might be booked by separate departments as in India. Moreover, he would like to know why poor people who wrote letters and never sent a telegram should be taxed and be compelled to pay for the luxury of rich people who sent telegrams in order to save themselves the trouble of writing letters. Among the largest patrons of the telegraph system were bettors on horse racing. Why should the House of Commons be invited one day to pass a Bill to put down betting, and the next day to subsidise betting telegrams? Press telegrams were sent for 1s. per 100 words and 2d. for every repeat of a message. He did not see why the State should subsidise newspaper proprietors. Being a journalist himself, he happened to know that a great deal of this "stuff" was absolutely useless to anybody. On reaching the newspaper offices it was thrown away and the nation had to pay for telegraphing it. If a loss was justifiable, why should they stop at £1,000,000; why not go on until the whole of the Post Office surplus was absorbed? The Postmaster-General did not venture to argue that a loss was justifiable. On the contrary he professed that though the telegraphs were now past praying for he was going to make the telephones pay. But exactly the same profession was made in regard to the telegraphs. The author of the purchase of telegraphs in 1870 was Mr. Scudamore, and he, when cross-examined by a Select Committee in 1868, assured that Committee again and again that the telegraphs in the hands of the Post Office would be self-supporting from the start, and would ultimately be a considerable source of revenue. That view was sustained by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Ward Hunt, in the debate on the Second Reading of the Bill for buying up the four telegraph companies. That Gentleman said that the net revenue would suffice to pay interest on purchase money, and would repay the debt in twenty-nine years. The Bill was rushed through Parliament, and the companies got excellent terms, but not excessive in view of the large profits they were then earning. Incidentally he would like to point out to the House that the very threat to purchase the companies had added to their profits, because it had compelled them to abstain from extending their capital outlay, and had also frightened away possible competitors. So that during two or three years before purchase the companies were doing an increasing business without increasing their capital, and thus were able to secure high dividends. Before the threat to purchase, the competition of the different companies had reduced the rates by half in the short space of ten years. The opposition of the companies to the purchase was bought out by the high terms offered by the Post Office, so that no hostile evidence was put before the Committee. There was also the curious fact to be noticed that it was not until the terms had been settled that the Post Office and the Treasury officials realised that the companies had only a leasehold interest in a large part of the property. The railway companies had a reversionary interest in the poles and wires erected beside railways, and after the Government had paid to the telegraph companies the terms agreed upon, it had to pay the railway companies for their reversionary interest. But that bad bargain did not explain the present loss. It explained it only to the extent of £50,000 or £60,000 out of a total loss of a million a year. The present loss had been due to the necessary incapacity of a Government Department to manage a business concern on business principles. To prove that there was no desire to run the system at a loss, it was sufficient to mention that the Post Office before carrying the telegraph to villages insisted on guarantees from private persons or local authorities. These guarantees had to provide for the whole of the working expenses, for a sufficient sum to repay capital in seven years, and for a margin for contingencies. It was interesting to compare the period of seven years which the Post Office used to insist upon when supplying telegraphs to villages, with the period of thirty-three years now officially put forward as representing the life of telephone plant. These terms, exacted for many years by the Post Office to protect itself against unprofitable business, were harsher than any private company would have dreamt of exacting, and yet the Post Office could not make a profit. Moreover, the Post Office, by virtue of its monopoly had been able to obtain the benefit of all the inventions made by outside enterprise. Duplex telegraphy had almost doubled the value of the Post Office capital invested in poles and wires; quadruplex telegraphy had further added to the value of the plant. The invention of automatic instruments had rendered possible an immense reduction in the working costs. In 1891 the Postmaster-General reported that the Wheatstone Automatic Receiver enabled 400 words to be sent safely per minute as against sixty or seventy under the old system, and yet the working cost was constantly increasing. The Post Office, armed with a monopoly, able to buy upon its own terms the inventions of all the world, had gone on losing more and more money every year. Before flinging good money after the bad the House should know exactly where they stood. Let them have the accounts put in a business shape, so that the losses could be detected, and the leakages stopped. Socialists were equally interested in this matter. They believed that State management was better than private management. They could not afford to have their theories discredited by this scandalous example of waste and inefficiency. He did not accept those Socialistic theories, but he was much more concerned for the efficiency of the public service and the economy of the national revenue than about any theories. He was willing to work with any man, whatever his theories might be, who would join with him in insisting that this gigantic Department, which controlled the most marvellous inventions of the human mind, should conduct its business on business principles for the benefit and for the credit of the nation. He moved.

Mr. RIDSDALE (Brighton) said he rose to second the Amendment, mainly on the grounds that it was most important in the public interest before this £6,000,000 was voted that the House should have a business-like statement from the right hon. Gentleman of how the business of his Department was conducted. The hon. Member for Preston had given a long history of what had taken place with regard to the telephones, but he (Mr. Ridsdale) would venture to point out that the Postmaster-General was not responsible for the arrangement made by one of his predecessors for the taking over of the telephones, and it would be wrong to blame him for that. But when the right hon. Gentleman came to the House for the purpose of borrowing money to expend on the development of that system he must in justice advance some business-like proposition as to the profit likely to be gained by the State by the operation. So far as he could see from the figures, it appeared to him that the telephone system, at present, was run not at a profit, but at a loss. The number of messages sent upon the combined telephone systems had increased by 10,000,000 during the last ten years, and that being so, one would have supposed that on the very much increased turnover a well-conducted business would have been able to effect a saving on the cost, and that the cost of 1,000 messages sent now would be less than the cost of a corresponding number of messages sent in the past. But if hon. Members looked at the figures they would find that whereas the expense per 1,000 messages, telegraph and telephone, was £34 in the past, it had now risen to £42, or an increase of nearly 20 per cent. in ten years. He did not see how that increase in the cost could have been due to the telegraph messages, and thought it must have been due to the telephones. As the right hon. Gentleman had fairly and frankly admitted that it was necessary to run this Department on business lines, he thought the House was entitled to some more business-like statement from him. Another thing to be considered was that the credit of the country was not so good now as it was five years ago, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman might find some difficulty in obtaining his £6,000,000 on the top of the £5,000,000 already guaranteed by the Government for the Transvaal.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said the loan was to be spread over four years.

Mr. RIDSDALE said he was very glad to hear that, but knowledge that the Government required money was still in the money market, and he was not sure that the knowledge was not quite as detrimental as the obtaining of the actual money

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, and add the words 'it is undesirable to authorise further capital expenditure upon telegraphs or telephones until a full statement has been presented to Parliament showing the financial results of the past working of the Post Office telegraphs and telephones judged from the standpoint of an ordinary commercial undertaking.'"—(*Mr. Harold Cox.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*MR. JOWETT (Bradford, W.) said it was a most unexpected occurrence for a Member holding the views he did to find himself somewhat in agreement with the hon. Member for Preston, but he thought the case which the hon. Gentleman made out with regard to the management of the Postmaster-General's Department was mainly sound. As one who honestly believed that public management was more economical and more advantageous than private management he desired to say that the extravagant and foolish transactions made years ago by the Postmaster-General's Department, and to which the hon. Member had referred, could not be properly attributed to the principle of public management or to the methods necessarily attached to public concerns. They should be attributed rather to the fact that we were endeavouring to run a huge Department on lines that were absolutely impossible of success from a business point of view. Theoretically this huge business, with its £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 a year of salaries and wages, with all the ramifications of so vast a concern, was controlled by a Postmaster-General who probably had had no previous experience of the details of the business itself. But as a matter of fact it was the permanent official who ran the business. Hence it was no matter of surprise to know that time after time the interests of the State had been given away as a kind of present to interested parties, while the officials had taken undertakings from private individuals at a price that ought never to have been paid. Certainly the public and Parliament had never agreed to them, for the custom had invariably been for the bargain to be made first, and the House called upon to sanction it afterwards. He contended that it was necessary to bring these arrangements before Parliament first, and not to leave them to the permanent officials and the theoretical control of the Postmaster-General. Public control should be real and effective in its character. If the right hon. Gentleman wanted to secure a proper Government administration of this business for the benefit of the public let him ask for a Committee of Members of this House to associate themselves with him. In no other way could the public secure effective control over the Department. He supported the Amendment.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham) said he rose to support the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Preston, whom he congratulated on the very clear and able speech in which he had put his case before the House. If he might say so, the many clear, able, and interesting speeches which he had heard from him on all but one subject made him regret that he illustrated in his person the truth of the medical dictum that the ablest and most level-headed people were capable of forming a sane judgment on all subjects but one. He did not know whether the House would agree that they had hardly had a sufficient statement from the Postmaster-General as to how the money was to be spent. In any case this was not a Bill which should pass its Second Reading late on a Friday afternoon. He agreed as to the difficulty of comparing the working of the Post Office telephone system with the working of an ordinary private company, but at the same time it was plain that the result of the working had not been successful, seeing that for the year 1904–5 the difference between the receipts and working expenses was over £160,000. However difficult it might be to compare the working of Post Office telephones with the working of an ordinary public company it was easy to see that the working has not always been attended with success. One of the excuses commonly given by Socialists and others for loss on municipal enterprise was that that loss was small as compared with the benefit conferred upon the poorest people. Such an excuse would not certainly be put forward for loss on the working of the telephones, because no one by the greatest stretch of imagination would contend that telephones necessarily conferred a boon on the poorest people, and personally he thought it was of the utmost importance that the precedent of the working of telephones should be looked into most carefully. Nor could it be contended that the working of the telephones as yet had been in any way democratic. It had been exceedingly difficult in some villages and other places to obtain a telephone system, very hard conditions being very often imposed. He thought they had heard very little justification for the Bill, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman below him would be able to find more excuse for the action of the Post Office and for bringing the Bill forward than the Postmaster-General himself had been able to do. One remark of the hon. Member for Bradford he did not quite understand. The hon. Gentleman seemed to complain that the Post Office was run by permanent officials. The moment before he complained that in his opinion Postmasters General frequently had had no previous experience of working the Department. The hon. Member could not have his cake and eat it. Somebody must be in charge of the Department who had had some experience of working it.

MR. JOWETT: I said that theoretically the Postmaster-General controls it. In reality owing to the limitation of the best of Postmasters-General the permanent officials work it.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR said he agreed to a very large extent, but he understood the hon. Member to complain that that was the case. No one could complain, first of all, of the Postmaster-General having no previous experience, and then that the Department was worked by those who had experience. What Committee of the House would be capable of controlling the Post Office? He would be sorry to see it working under a Committee. He did not think the hon. Member was quite fair in that respect to the proposal, and he was sorry to hear him blaming the permanent officials. He hoped the House would support the Amendment if only on the ground that this was a big question, that they had not had a full statement of how the money was to be spent, and that it was not a Bill which should be passed late on a Friday afternoon.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe) said the House must have been struck by the ardent views of the hon. Member below the gangway, and it illustrated the vicissitudes of political life when they found the hon. Member for Preston, the great disciple of Cobdenism, rubbing shoulders with the leading exponent of Socialism. The Postmaster-General in a brief summary had informed the House of the reason why he required this £6,000,000. He had based his demand on telephones, but there was not a word in the Bill about telephones, and before the House acceded to the demand of the right hon. Gentleman it was right to ask whether his Department carried on its telegraphs and telephones on sound business principles. He made no reflection on the administration of the right hon. Gentleman. He believed that according to his lights the right hon Gentleman did more to advance the public interest and convenience than any other Minister, but at the same time he had been following the procedure and adhering to the traditions of the past, asking for as much as he wanted and giving as few details as possible. He was apparently on this occasion asking for more than he wanted at the moment, because the Bill asked for not only the £6,000,000 but the produce thereof. He heartily concurred in the observations of the hon. Member for Preston who was the high priest of individualism, but as to the suggestion that all those concerns that private competition was more able to carry out should be withdrawn from the State, that was far from being his opinion. All he said was that it was the province of the House vigilantly to scrutinise the expenditure of large sums of money, and where it was not fully satisfied that the sums were properly laid out for the public service to ask for further information.

*MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) said he had listened with much attention to the speech of the Postmaster-General, and in his opinion the right hon. Gentleman had nothing to withdraw. There was however one part of the speech to which he took exception and that was where he agreed with the hon. Member for Preston. The right hon. Gentleman said a Government Department ought to be run as a business concern. That in his opinion was a fatal error. A Government Department which rested on a monopoly could not be run in the same way as a company or a private concession. The object of a man of business was to make a profit, but that of a Government Department was to accommodate the public and to carry on the business of the public. The post, the telegraph, and the telephone were required in every village. They wanted all the people of the country to have every convenience that could possibly be given to them. If the Government had never interfered and left these businesses to those who started them it would have been another matter, but what the Government had to consider now was not the making of a profit but the conferring of the greatest benefit on the public. He thought these things would have been much better conducted if they had remained in the hands of private enterprise, that the nation would have been much better served and the Government would not have lost so much money. But the question now was, was the business carried on well or ill? The loss of £500,000 a year was a comparatively small matter when it was considered that the business of the nation depended on the proper execution of the Department. The business represented a value of £2,000,000,000 a year or more. Our power to carry on this great national concern to the best advantage and in competition with foreign countries depended on our facilities, and the Government must consider not the mere profit of this Department and that Department, which was simply a matter of book-keeping, but the business of the nation as a whole. A business department often showed a loss, when the result of its working really was a profit. For instance, a railway might be made to develop some country, and by its construction the value of the land might be multiplied fivefold, and a large, prosperous, and happy population might be settled on it, whilst at the same time the railway company itself might be a loser, and the shareholders get no dividends. But still, the railway would be profitable to the country. In the same way, as long as the Government claimed and possessed a monopoly of the post, telegraph, and telephone, those Departments must be conducted so as to facilitate the trade of the country and accommodate the social life of the people, so that not only the rich but the poorest of the poor should have the benefit.

SIR F. BANBURY said that in his opinion there could be no more unfortunate way of conducting a business of this kind than that suggested by the hon. Member for West Bradford. No one had a greater respect than he for hon. Members of the House and their talents, but to suppose that twelve or fifteen hon. Members would be able to conduct with efficiency a complicated business like that of the Post Office was absurd. The right hon. Gentleman in his introductory remarks had attempted to deal with the present position, which he admitted was not satisfactory, and said that an inflated sum was originally paid for the telegraphs. No doubt a good deal more was paid than would be paid by a business man, but that it was an inflated sum he denied, because the result showed that out of the first year's working the whole of the interest was met out of profits, and £120,000 set aside for the reduction of the debt, whilst £4,000 was spent on buildings, etc. Therefore any loss that arose from the working of the telegraphs did not arise from the initial sum spent in acquiring them. The hon. Member for Preston had shown that it was very difficult to ascertain whether it was the fact, as the right hon. Gentleman had stated, that there had been a profit made on telephones or not. The accounts had been so mixed up that it was extremely difficult to separate the items. He would like to know, if it was the fact that the number of messages sent had been increased every year and was larger now than ever before, how it was that there was this loss. If the business had increased, and if they had more economical appliances for carrying it on, he failed to see why there should be any loss at all, unless there was bad management on the part of the Post Office. He was not at all sure, however, that it was fair to say that the management of the Post Office was bad. The conclusion he had drawn was that which the hon. Member for Preston had arrived at, viz., that for some reason or other the Post Office officials were more desirous to favour the Post Office than the telephone system. It appeared extraordinary that there should be a loss on telegraphs and not on telephones, and he thought there must be something in the idea that the Post Office officials were desirous of showing that the telephones were not altogether working at a loss. In the Bill there was nothing about telephones, and there was nothing to prevent the right hon. Gentleman from spending the whole of this money on the telegraph service, except his statement that he would not do so. He contended that no Minister should be allowed to say he was bringing in a Bill to appropriate £6,000,000 in that manner. Supposing an election took place and the present Government did not come back to power; what was to bind the new Postmaster-General? He could not be bound by assurances given across the floor of the House by his predecessor. It was a very little Bill, and of little Bills he had his suspicions. He also saw there was in it legislation by reference, and of that too he was always suspicious. Let them consider what it was they were going to do with the £6,000,000 when they got it. It must be remembered that in four years time they were committed to the purchase of the National Telephone Company's system. That arrangement was entered into by the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor in 1905, Lord Stanley. The price was to be fixed by arbitration. When Lord Stanley was asked about what price the arbitration would fix he declined to reply, on the ground that his answer might prejudice the arbitration. He however had gone to the library, and had found out that the capital of the National Telephone Company was £10,200,000, and he might safely presume that that would be the amount given by the arbitration to the company. It followed, therefore, that in the next four years we were going to spend £16,000,000 on the telephone service. If the service up to 1902 was unprofitable, the best thing the right hon. Gentleman could do would be to withdraw this Bill and substitute for it one more moderate in character. He did not say it was not necessary to allow the right hon. Gentleman to raise a certain amount for absolutely necessary improvements and additions, but £6,000,000 was a much larger amount than should be sanctioned for that purpose. And, in view of the fact that in four years the whole of the National Telephone Company's system must came into the hands of the right hon. Gentleman, it would seem to be wiser to wait until he had control of the whole of the telephone systems, before he committed the country to so vast an expenditure. The telephone system was going on all right now, and so far as he knew there was no object in assenting to the Bill now.

And, it being Five of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS (RESTRICTION OF POWERS) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

PETTY SESSIONS CLERKS (IRELAND) BILL.

Read a second time, and committed to a Standing Committee.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Solicitor-General; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Married Women's Property Bill): Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Members from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. Charles Duncan and Mr. Atherley-Jones; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. W. Tyson Wilson and Mr. Silcock.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords]—reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).

Sir HENRY KIMBER reported from the Committee on Group G of Private Bills; That Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, one of the Members of the said Committee, was not present during the sitting of the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Whereupon Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No. 3.

Adjourned at eight minutes after Five o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 24th June, 1907.

LORD LUCAS.

The House being informed that his Lordship was attending with his writ of summons, the Lord Chancellor explained to the House his Lordship's descent. Then his Lordship was called in and took the Oath, and then took his place on the Baron's Bench next below the Lord Byron.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments has laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Sunderland Corporation.

Also the Certificate that no further Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill :—Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 4) [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Hull and Barnsley Railway Bill.—The King's consent signified ; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Annfield Plain and District Gas Bill ; City of London (Union of Parishes) Bill [H.L.] ; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill ; Collooney, Ballina, and Belmullet Railways and Piers Bill.—Leave given to the Select Committee not to sit again till Wednesday next.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

LONDON UNITED TRAMWAYS BILL.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES informed the House that the Opposition to the Bill was withdrawn : The order made on the 5th instant discharged, and Bill committed.

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY BILL.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn : The order made on the 11th instant discharged, and Bill committed.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Committed.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (Additional Capital, etc.) Bill ; Barry Railway Bill ; Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill.—Brought from the Commons, read 1^a, and referred to the Examiners.

Great Central Railway Bill ; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill ; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.] (Herts and Essex Water Order) ; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (West Ham Corporation Order) ; London and North-Western Railway Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills, viz. :—

E. Dartmouth,
L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*),
L. Leigh,
L. Monk Bretton,
L. Hindlip,

agreed to ; and the said Lords appointed accordingly : The Committee to meet on Wednesday next, at Eleven o'clock ; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Neath, Pontardawe, and Brynaman Railway Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES : ANNUAL.

No. 524. Jamaica (Report for 1905–1906).

BOARD OF EDUCATION

General Report on the instruction and training of pupil teachers, 1903–1907, with Historical Introduction.

TRADE REPORTS:

I. ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3834. Russia (Odessa),
No. 3835. Russia (Finland),
No. 3836. Spain (Barcelona),
No. 3837. China (Newchwang),
No. 3838. Turkey (Aleppo):

II. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 661. Germany (Vine Culture and Wine Trade).

TUBERCULOSIS (HUMAN AND BOVINE).

Second Interim Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the relations of human and animal tuberculosis. Appendix, Vol. 1.

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1898.

Return showing the total payments into and out of the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account for the financial year 1906–1907.

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND CORPORATION.

Third Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, for the year 1906.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Order in Council continuing certain provisions contained in the Order in Council of 6th March, 1902.

ARMY.

Declaration by the Secretary of State for War as to classes of persons not to be transferred to detention barracks in the United Kingdom.

PRIVATE PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, under Section 2 of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899—

That the provisions of the City of Glasgow Order are of such a character that they ought to be dealt with by Private Bill and not by Provisional Order.

That, save as aforesaid, the Provisional Orders be allowed to proceed, subject to such recommendations as may be hereafter made with respect to the several orders.

FINANCE.

Finance accounts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the financial year ended 31st March, 1907.

COUNTY COURT FEES (ENGLAND).

Treasury Order, dated 30th May, 1907, regulating fees in county courts.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.

Account prepared in pursuance of the Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 1875, showing the receipts and expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal during the year ended the 31st March 1907.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

Accounts of all deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December 1906; together with statement showing the aggregate amount of liabilities of the Government to depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank on 31st December, 1906, and the nature and amount of the securities held by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to meet those liabilities at that date.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

THE CARRIAGE OF DECK-LOADS.

LORD MUSKERRY rose to call attention to the carriage of deck-loads by British merchant vessels in the winter season, and to accidents and loss of life which had occurred thereby; to ask whether this matter would be considered by the Board of Trade Advisory Committee; and to move for a Return giving a list of vessels carrying timber deck-loads reported to have met with casualties affecting their deck-cargoes during the period from the 1st October, 1906, to the end of April of the present year whilst on voyages from American to European ports; and, also, containing a list of vessels reported to have met with casualties affecting deck-cargoes, of whatever description, sailing from ports in the United Kingdom during the same period.

The noble Lord said: My Lords, again in the interests of our seamen and those who are dependent upon them, I wish to draw your Lordships' attention to the serious dangers of deck-loads carried by merchant vessels. Contrary to my expectations and to the sympathetic utterances of certain of your Lordships on both sides of this House, we now find that the new Merchant Shipping Act perpetuates the evil instead of eradicating it. The law, as it stands, forbids, under heavy penalties, dangerous timber deck-loads being brought into ports in the United Kingdom during the winter season. But when, during the discussion on the Merchant Shipping Bill, I endeavoured to extend the law so that they would be forbidden in the case of continental ports also, I met with pronounced hostility from His Majesty's Government.

The absurdity of the thing is this. Take two ships precisely similar in every respect and with the same dangerous deck-cargo, both leaving the same port in the United States, one bound for an English port and the other for a continental port. They both arrive at the same time, say in Plymouth. The ship with her cargo consigned to the English port will be liable to the heavy penalties, whereas the other vessel can take in coal or provisions, and so long as she unloads none of her cargo she cannot be touched. She then leaves, say for Rotterdam, unloads her deck-cargo there, and returns to the United Kingdom and unloads her underdeck cargo. Now I put it to your Lordships that, if the practice is dangerous in one instance, it must, obviously, be equally dangerous in the other, or even more so, as a greater extent of sea has to be traversed.

I have asked His Majesty's Government to remedy the law, which, as it stands at present, is illogical and foolish, but so far without success. I have pointed out how masters of ships carrying grain cargoes must, before sailing from ports abroad, make a declaration before the consular officer prior to leaving as to the nature of the cargo and the precautions taken in regard to it. But a merchant ship carrying an enormous deck-cargo of unwieldy logs of timber from the United States to the Continent can leave port with impunity, and, sad to say, several have done so, never to reach their destination. I ask your Lordships whether in the name of humanity, and of our sailors and those dependent on them, we are going to permit the continuance of this practice. And I ask whether it is proper that we should still tacitly agree to our ships, many of them carrying passengers, leaving our own shores in the winter time with decks laden with dangerous cargo such as engines, boilers, railway trucks, and other heavy material which, in bad weather, will quite probably break adrift and inflict structural damage to the ship sufficient to cause the loss of herself and all on board.

Of the terrible dangers of these large timber deck-cargoes I have incontrovertible evidence in the decisions of certain Board of Trade inquiries into shipping disasters. These inquiries are held in the interests of public safety, but for all the importance the Marine Department of the Board of Trade attaches to them they might as well be never held, and a large amount of public money saved. The Reports of these inquiries are obtainable from the Board of Trade, and with your Lordships' permission I will refer to remarks contained in their decisions. They are spread over the last four or five winter seasons, and consequently from a comparative point of view the number may appear small, but I ask your Lordships to agree with me that if proof is to hand that only one single life has been lost through a cause which we can prevent in the future, it is our duty to our countrymen to adopt the necessary precautions beforehand and thus avoid further loss of life from the same cause.

So long as there is a sea, so long will life be lost upon it; but there are certain causes for loss of life in the past which we could have rendered quite preventable and for which loss of life the Marine Department of the Board of Trade must be held responsible. For instance, we may take the s.s. "Mobile," which was lost with all hands, twenty-six men. The decision of the Board of Trade Inquiry was that owing to her deck-load, which amounted to 700 tons, she was sent to sea in an unseaworthy condition. The s.s. "Huddersfield" experienced an accident through her deck-cargo being carried adrift, and some of her crew were seriously injured. The Board of Trade Inquiry declared that this vessel was sent to sea in an unseaworthy condition. In the case of the loss of the s.s. "Cardinal" the decision of the Court was that the deck cargo being washed overboard carried away her bulwarks and steering gear, and staved in the hatches, thus rendering the vessel unmanageable and water-logged. The Court said that this was due to the weight and size of her deck-cargo.

Another case where a Board of Trade inquiry dwells on the danger of deck-loads is that of the s.s. "Blenheim." Then, again, there is the s.s. "Salopia," lost with twenty-two lives when carrying no fewer than 825 logs of timber on deck. The Board of Trade inquiry disapproved of carrying a deck-load in the winter months, and said that during the winter period no deck-load ought to be carried. In the case of the loss of the s.s. "Freshfield" with all hands—twenty-five lives—the Court stated that it must be attributed to the deck-load which she was carrying, and that it was another example of the undoubted danger inseparable from the practice. The Court of inquiry which investigated the loss of the s.s. "Nutfield" with all hands—twenty-four lives—was strongly of opinion that it was most undesirable to carry a deck-load, and that it was a serious and considerable danger for vessels to attempt to cross the Atlantic in the winter with a deck-load.

From a Report dealing with the winter season of 1904–5—that is, from October, 1904, to April, 1905—which was agreed to by this House, on a Motion of mine, I find that during that season no fewer than fourteen steamers sustained serious injury through the carriage of deck-loads. The annual Report issued last year of the Liverpool Underwriters' Association referred to this question, and regretted that some of the vessels carrying deck-loads never arrived; and, further, they stated that, as it is a common practice for vessels to carry such deck-loads, thus defeating the purposes of the Merchant Shipping Act, it is hoped that measures may be taken to prevent this practice by the amendment of the law or by representation of the Foreign Office to the other Governments concerned. But despite all this terrible evidence of unjustifiable danger to the lives of our sailors, the Board of Trade have remained immovable, and in fact, under the new law, the deck-loads which it is permissable for British ships to carry to the United Kingdom in the winter season have been increased from three feet to seven feet.

Anybody who peruses with an impartial mind the two latest cases of the Board of Trade inquiries into the losses of the "Nemea" and "Coralie" cannot come to any other conclusion than that the deck-cargoes these vessels were carrying were really responsible for their disasters. The "Nemea" left St. John, N.B., on October 16th last with a deck-cargo which was admitted to be higher than on the two previous voyages. It was said by the master to be 14 feet 6 inches, and by the boatswain to be 17 feet to 18 feet in height. The Court was of opinion that either of these heights was excessive. The vessel, as was quite likely to be the case, met with very heavy weather, and, serious difficulties arising in connection with the engines, the heavy rolling of the ship caused the after-deck cargo to shift and carry away the starboard bulwarks. With such an enormous deck cargo the ship was naturally far more helpless than otherwise, and the carrying away of part of the ship's structure was, I need hardly point out, a very serious matter. Ultimately, a heavy sea struck the vessel and the master, three engineers, and three men were washed overboard, I presume because the vessel's bulwarks were carried away.

In the course of the decision the Court said that they could not obtain any accurate evidence as to the quantity stowed on deck. Surely this is a matter which should be put right. When she left she appeared to have had a list of about six degrees to starboard. There was, the Court states, considerable doubt, according to the evidence, as to whether the vessel had the required freeboard for the winter voyage, whilst the Court also considered that the deck-load was excessive. It is proper to say that the Court appeared to have attributed the disaster to the exceptionally heavy state of the weather. But it is weather such as this that must be anticipated in the North Atlantic in the winter time, and this is just the very reason why these most dangerous deck-cargoes should be condemned by your Lordships.

Coming to the case of the "Coralie" we find that, on leaving a port abroad, she had 400 tons of timber on deck. On this occasion the vessel also met with bad weather and the first intimation to the effect that things were wrong was when the man at the wheel reported to the chief officer that he could not move the wheel. Measures were then taken to effect the necessary repairs, but it seems that the vessel took several tremendous lurches which broke the lashings of the after-deck cargo. A considerable quantity of it went overboard carrying away with it the starboard bulwarks and bulwark stanchions, breaking up the deck on the same side.

Your Lordships will see how the deck cargo was responsible for preventing the necessary repairs being carried out, particularly as the Court says this catastrophe completely disabled the connecting rods of the steam steering gear and threw the vessel on her beam ends. The chief engineer still endeavoured to effect repairs, but according to the Board of Trade inquiry it was impossible to get at the damage as the deck-cargo was moving about freely. Ultimately, the boatswain had the misfortune to break his leg, which remained unset until he reached Hamburg. Some four or five hours after the well-deck cargo shifted, the cargo on the fore deck went, taking the rail stanchions with it. The cargo amidships also shifted, carrying away the coamings of the bunker hatches, the rail stanchions, and the funnel guys. What wonder, then, that in this terrible position those on board had little hope of saving their lives? Fortunately the barque "Alborga," of Christiania, was sighted and the crew were gallantly rescued. The "Coralie" was 2,920 tons and the "Alborga" only 668 tons, but then she had no deck cargo.

Here again the Court of Inquiry appeared to have been impressed by the abnormal state of the weather. They came to the extraordinary conclusion that unquestionably the deck-cargo was not excessive as the vessel had ample freeboard. A more ridiculous decision was never promulgated, for freeboard has nothing to do with the dangers of the deck-cargo. It is not so much the weight of the deck cargo which we complain of, but the serious dangers it causes through breaking adrift in bad weather, such as I have fully illustrated. It also makes the ship very crank and unseaworthy. Further on in the judgment we find that the Court declares that the damage sustained by the ship was consequent upon a considerable portion of the deck-cargo being carried to starboard, destroying in its course bulwarks, stanchions, and steering rods and opening up the deck. This is ample proof of my contention that putting these high deck loads on merchant ships is unjustifiably hazarding the lives of their crews, and it is a practice which must sooner or later be stopped.

If I may anticipate it, the reply I shall probably receive from my noble friend representing the Board of Trade in this House will be a statement showing how few in proportion are the casualties to merchant vessels carrying deck-cargoes. But statistics or percentages teach us nothing. According to the latest Returns, only thirty-two Board of Trade inquiries into shipping casualties were held during the year. Having regard to the fact that there are 11,411 vessels in our merchant service this is really marvellous; but it must be remembered that in this number there are comparatively few ships carrying on the trade I am drawing attention to, and that the numbers include liners, yachts, and, in fact, every vessel on the register. The stand I take is that there is undeniable proof that there has been serious loss of life through these deck-cargoes, and it is within our power to prevent similar loss in future.

After the inquiry into the loss of the "Mobile" in 1900, I brought this matter to the notice of your Lordships both by moving a Resolution and bringing in a Bill. Had the Board of Trade accepted either of these the men who lost their lives in the "Freshfield" and "Nutfield" would in all human probability have been alive now. One reason given for opposing was foreign competition; but we have not yet been definitely told that our sailors' lives are to be considered of less value than the interests of trade. If we are to understand that that is the case, then it is evident that a far less value is put on the lives of our sailors than is attached to the lives of any other classes of the community.

My Lords, we take a serious responsibility in this matter if we decline to avail ourselves of the power we have. It is on the appeal of the Imperial Merchant Service Guild, the representative body of the captains and officers of our merchant service—and none can appreciate more acutely the dangers they are unjustifiably subjected to—that I once more ask for your sympathy and support in this matter. I trust I have not been unreasonably long in bringing the salient facts of their case to your Lordships' notice, and were some of your Lordships to assist me in speaking your minds upon it, you would, I am convinced, earn the lasting gratitude of our seafarers and assist materially in preventing the needless sacrifice of their lives in the future.

LORD KELVIN: My Lords, I believe that if a great many noble Lords present were to express their minds on this matter they would be in thorough agreement with what we have just heard from my noble friend Lord Muskerry. His speech has been most convincing, and demonstrated absolutely that the present legislation has either been not sufficiently applied or is in itself inadequate to guard against the terrible dangers to which he has referred. The danger is not the lowering of the free-board; it is the liability of deck-loads to shift. In normal wintry weather there is considerable difficulty in preventing heavy objects on deck being carried away, in whatever manner they may be secured; but the danger in the case of timber deck-loads when rough weather is experienced is exceptional, and anything that can be done by reasonable legislation to diminish that danger ought to be done. I am sure we are all in sympathy with Lord Muskerry in his long-continued efforts to secure a diminution in the risks to which sailors in the mercantile marine are subjected.

*The EARL OF GRANARD: My Lords, during the passage of the Merchant Shipping Bill, which I had the honour of presenting to your Lordships, the whole of this question regarding the carriage of deck-loads was carefully considered, and the consensus of opinion was that on the whole there was no great justification for the fears entertained by my noble friend. All reasonable rules that we could possibly make were made. In anticipation of the noble Lord's Motion I have had a Return made from the year 1873 to May 31st last, and I find that during the first seventeen years of that period the number of lives lost at sea owing to the carriage of deck-cargoes was 1,329, while in the last period of seventeen years the number was only 426. The total number of lives lost in 1881 on timber ships was 203, while the number in 1906 was only six. I think we can congratulate ourselves on this result. The North Atlantic trade is always dangerous, owing to the weather encountered there, but last year we only lost two vessels—the "Nemea" and the "Coralie." I cannot agree with the remarks of the noble Lord as to the findings of the Courts. On reference to the Reports I find that in the case of the "Nemea" the Court considered that under the circumstances everything was done for the safety of the ship that good seamanship would prompt, and they considered the casualty due to the fracture of the condenser door which necessitated a stoppage of the engines, the ship then becoming unmanageable. As to the "Coralie," the Court stated that her deck-cargo was not excessive, especially having regard to the fact that a large quantity of coal would have been consumed before she reached the Atlantic. In reply to the Question of the noble Lord relating to casualties to vessels sailing from ports in the United Kingdom, I have to say that we only lost one ship last year, and that was a ketch of 98 tons. I am glad to be able to inform my noble friend, in reply to his other Question, that this matter will be considered by the Board of Trade Advisory Committee, who will be asked to state whether they think any modification in the rules necessary before the coming winter. As regards the Return for which the noble Lord has moved, I shall be very pleased to lay it on the Table and to give him all the information for which he asks.

Lord MUSKERRY: My Lords, I am obliged to the noble Lord for his Answer, but, with all respect, I would point out that the Advisory Committee are not competent to deal with this matter. It is one for a committee of experts, but the Advisory Committee is very largely composed of shipowners.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

THE STATE OF IRELAND.

The Earl of ARRAN rose to ask His Majesty's Government whether, in view of the statement of the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on 12th June that he expected owners of property in Ireland to take "the ordinary steps to secure their property," they would define those "steps."

The noble Earl said: My Lords, in rising to ask the Question which stands in my name I venture to express my anxiety not to embarrass in any way the authorities in Ireland in the very difficult situation which now exists in that country. That the situation is a serious one is, I think, generally acknowledged, and it was admitted to be so by His Majesty's Government in the debate which took place the other day following the Question of my noble friend Lord Londonderry. It was natural that His Majesty's Government should take the most optimistic view, but, even taking that view, the best that could be said of the situation in Ireland was that, like the curate's egg, parts of the country were excellent. It was generally admitted that the situation in various parts of Ireland was a very serious one.

I am perfectly convinced of the anxiety and the determination of His Majesty's Government to re-establish law and order in Ireland, but, as has been repeatedly said both here and elsewhere, the impression, wrongful though it is, has got abroad in Ireland that His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with the agitation. We have heard a great deal about Irish ideas and that Englishmen fail to understand those ideas. I would like to remind your Lordships that Irish Nationalists are not the only Irishmen in Ireland, but that we Irish Unionists who live in Ireland claim the same right to that nationality and the same right to understand Irish ideas. I venture to hope that I may show to-night how, according to Irish ideas, the interpretation has come about that His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with the agitation. It has arisen from various speeches which have been made by different Members of His Majesty's Government. Let me once more repeat that I am convinced of this being a wrong interpretation. I do not wish to refer unnecessarily to the debate which followed Lord Londonderry's Question, but in that debate my noble friend Lord Denman in replying for the Government made a remark which has almost become historical. In discussing the Question of cattle driving the noble Lord said, speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that the Government did not consider this to be a serious crime.

***The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (The Earl of Crewe)**: I do not think that is what my noble friend said.

Lord DENMAN: I said that it was not in itself a crime of a serious nature.

Lord ASHBOURNE: In the opinion of the Government.

The Earl of ARRAN: Well, the noble Lord said that, in the opinion of the Government, it was not a crime of a serious nature.

Lord DENMAN: Not in itself.

The Earl of ARRAN: That it was not in itself a crime of a serious nature.

I venture to think the noble Lord's words, as corrected, will serve my argument just the same. My noble friend Lord Donoughmore, in criticising that remark, foretold, with what must have seemed clairvoyance to many Englishmen but which to those of us who know Ireland and Irish ideas was merely reading from an open book, what the effect of that speech would be. It was telegraphed over to Ireland that night and published in every Nationalist paper the following morning; it was read in every Irish cabin, and the interpretation which was foretold was placed upon it. It was used by solicitors in defence of cattle drivers and in justification of their clients' action.

LORD DENMAN: Has it been used in more than one case?

THE EARL OF ARRAN: I know of one case in which it was used by a solicitor in the defence of his client.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: And I know of two cases.

THE EARL OF ARRAN: I feel that the noble Lord cannot have considered their solemnity when he uttered those words so lightly, and unless they are withdrawn I believe that in the coming winter the effect may be disastrous. It is perfectly true—and I recollect with what joy we heard the statement—that the noble Marquess who leads the House, Lord Ripon, assured us that His Majesty's Government intended to re-establish law and order, but I venture to think that Lord Denman's speech has made the re-establishment of law and order more difficult. I most sincerely hope that the remark will be withdrawn, or otherwise the impression will remain, wrongful though I know it is, that His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with this form of agitation. If the story could end here I think it would be sufficiently serious; but to our astonishment, and I venture to think to the astonishment of the agitators themselves, we read in the newspapers a report of some remarks made by the Chief Secretary. I propose to make the quotation from the *Freeman's Journal*, because it is the most widely read Nationalist paper in Ireland, but should your Lordships' wish it I will also quote from the London *Times* and from the *Irish Times*. Mr. Birrell is reported in the *Freeman's Journal* to have said, in discussing this question of cattle driving—

> "The police authorities have offered all possible protection to the holders of grazing farms, and have in many cases succeeded in preventing cattle drives."

I think the inference from that is that in many cases they have not succeeded. Mr. Birrell continued—

> "It must be understood that police efforts are but an adjunct to the primary duty of an owner to provide for the safety of his property."

Mr. Birrell went on to say—

> "The Inspector-General informs me that hitherto the owners of cattle have done practically nothing to protect the farms. The police will continue to afford all the protection in their power, but it is obviously impossible to place a large force of police in every one of the numerous grazing farms in the country."

Later on the Chief Secretary is reported to have said—

> "I think the Inspector-General is perfectly justified. It is the duty of the people in Ireland or elsewhere to protect their own property."

I should like to take the interpretation that would be placed on those words according to Irish ideas. Parts of Ireland are, on general admission, in a very serious condition. The present agitation chiefly takes the form of cattle driving, which, after all, is the depreciation or destruction of a man's property by violence, and has been described by one of His Majesty's Judges in these words—

> "This was actually a conspiracy which on ordinary moral grounds amounted to highway robbery."

Yet one of His Majesty's advisers states in your Lordships' House that this is not, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, a very serious crime; and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the words which I have just quoted—and I take it that the right hon. Gentleman is accurately reported—states that people must take the ordinary steps to protect themselves. My Lords, what are the ordinary steps which a man can take?

In the prehistoric age the responsibility of defending property rested upon its owners, who defended it to the best of their ability. But civilisation, by slow degrees, destroyed these ruder methods, and from time immemorial it has been comfortably arranged that in return for the payment of certain rates and taxes and for the performance of the ordinary duties of a citizen, the law undertakes to protect the individual and his property. Are we to understand that the Chief Secretary for Ireland proposes that we should return to these ruder methods? What are the steps that a man in such a position can take? I would remind your Lordships that in almost every case of cattle driving the man would be under the boycott. To show what boycotting means in Ireland I propose to read a letter from a Unionist magistrate in county Galway. This gentleman writes—

> "Boycotting around me is fierce. Several new decrees were issued by the committee of the League on Sunday night, and all traders were warned not to supply the parties with any goods. Only this morning one of those sentenced on Sunday came and asked me for heaven's sake to lend him £2 that he might go to a place fourteen miles distant in order to procure the necessaries of life. Men in more or less quiet possession of their farms since 1886 were warned to give them up, and orders for strict boycotting were issued against them. . . . It is simply a hideous reign of terror. How it will end God only knows. Well may we say 'God save Ireland.'"

I would ask your Lordships what are the ordinary steps that a man in such a position could take to protect his own property? It does not require any great effort of imagination to picture the position. A man, himself boycotted and with no friends and no assistants except members of his own family, is awakened in the dead of night to find his sheep being driven from his own fields. What steps could such a man take to prevent the drive? There is only one thing he could do, namely, to take the law into his own hands and fire upon the people; but I can scarcely believe that the Chief Secretary intended that the victims of such outrages were to take so extreme and so dreadful a measure.

The impression that all these incidents and speeches are making upon us is that the authorities in Ireland are at their wit's end what to do. We heard from the Government themselves only last week that from fifteen to seventeen outrages had happened during the last two or three months, or, at any rate, during the present year, in connection with which no arrests had been made. It looks as though the ordinary law has completely failed in some parts of Ireland. I know there is another law, but that law His Majesty's Government have declared to be dead and buried, and they seem unwilling to exhume the corpse. Some people attempt to make out that the condition of Ireland is not so bad as it is said to be, but I think the admissions made by His Majesty's Government are sufficient to show that the condition of Ireland—I do not wish to use too strong a word—is dreadful.

I have often wondered why the opinions of Unionists in Ireland, who have always been loyal to the flag, regarding the state of that country should be treated with abuse and contempt—why, to quote another saying of the Chief Secretary, we should be described as "carrion crows." I would remind your Lordships that we Unionists have the cause of Ireland as deeply at heart as any Nationalist. All that we desire is to see the condition of Ireland such as will ensure for the country the prospect of advancement, prosperity, and repose. I know that the accusation has been made against Irish Unionists that we try to make out that the condition of Ireland is worse than it is in order to prejudice the English mind against granting Home Rule. I should be very sorry to think that anyone in a responsible position would stoop to believe a suggestion so baseless.

Many people in Ireland are awaiting with great interest the Answer of His Majesty's Government to this Question, and I venture to hope that we shall receive to-night an assurance to the effect that the words of the Chief Secretary do not bear the sinister meaning which has been put upon them. I also hope that His Majesty's Government will give an assurance, so emphatic and so clear that it will reach to the uttermost ends of the agitated parts of Ireland, of their intention to stamp out the lawlessness that now exists; and I also hope that we may have an assurance from the Government that residents in Ireland, of whatever class, whatever politics, and whatever creed, may depend on the law to defend them and their property with the same reason and the same confidence under a Liberal Government as under a Conservative Government. I beg to put the Question standing in my name.

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, before I answer the Question which the noble Earl has placed on the Paper, I desire to refer briefly, as he did, to an incident arising out of the recent Irish debate in your Lordships' House. It is this, that when I make use of some expression which provokes unsparing criticism from the Party opposite then I am told that I am a Minister. The noble and learned Lord the ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland, speaking with all the weight to which his position entitled him, alluded to me the other day as a Minister.

LORD ASHBOURNE: What I said was that the noble Lord, who was avowedly the mouthpiece of a great Department, was speaking for that Department, and was therefore stating the views of the Government. He was not speaking his individual opinions.

LORD DENMAN: When only Lord Crewe and myself had spoken the noble and learned Lord said that "Minister after Minister," rising from this Bench, had stated—and so on. I also think that Lord Donoughmore alluded to me as a responsible Minister. If noble Lords opposite and the Party to which they belong took the consistent attitude of treating my utterances as those of a responsible Minister, of course I should not complain. Unfortunately that is not the consistent attitude of the Party opposite, because when I say something which might be considered a desirable thing to say then I understand from an influential section of the Unionist Press that had the particular remark been made by a responsible Minister, had it come from any of the responsible Ministers who sit on the Front Bench behind me, it would have carried some weight, but coming from such a lowly and insignificant person as a Lord in Waiting to the King it is absolutely unreliable. That has been the sense in which some of my remarks at all events have been received by the Unionist Press. Again I say that if that were the consistent attitude of the Party opposite, although it might be rather a harsh thing to say, I should certainly not complain. One prominent provincial paper which supports the Party opposite stated that I hold such a *teeny-weeny* office that nothing I said could be treated as reliable. Well, if these different lines of argument are used alternately, or if they are used, as they were in this case, to criticise the same speech, then I say that I have a very real and just ground of complaint, because it amounts to this—that nothing I can possibly say in the eyes of the Party opposite can be right, and everything I say must necessarily be wrong.

SEVERAL NOBLE LORDS: No, no.

LORD DENMAN: Well, I think that is a fair deduction to make. Cheered and invigorated by that thought I will proceed to answer the Question which the noble Earl has placed on the Paper. As hs has told the House, this Question arises out of an Answer given by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in another place, and I should like to tell the House the circumstances under which that reply was given. It had been reported to the Inspector-General of Constabulary in Ireland that in many cases when cattle raids were threatened the graziers had taken no steps to give any assistance whatever to the police. In some cases they or their servants had actually hampered the action of the police; and in other cases when informed by the police that a cattle raid would take place at a given time in a given locality they had deliberately remained absent and thrown the whole burden of protecting the cattle upon the police. At a place in Roscommon where a cattle drive had taken place the police assembled and drove the cattle back. A conflict with the mob ensued, and, while the attention of the police was so occupied, a herd who was employed to look after the cattle drove them away in the direction which the mob desired.

THE EARL OF MAYO: Can we have the place and the name of the farm on which that occurred?

LORD DENMAN: I cannot recollect for the moment the name of the farm, but I can ascertain particulars. I do not pretend to be acquainted with the conditions of life in the West of Ireland, or indeed in any other part of Ireland; but I have never heard of a country in which a man did not take some steps to protect his property if it were attacked. I am asked what steps could be taken. Well, the following steps would materially assist the police. If owners of cattle knew that a raid was going to take place they should be on the spot and assist the police in identifying the persons who were breaking the law. They might also, one would have thought, do their best to employ reliable men to look after their cattle, and give information to the police if they knew a raid was going to take place, which, in some instances at all events, I understand, has not been done. Further, the Attorney-General for Ireland suggests that graziers should sometimes take civil proceedings by way of trespass against the more substantial offenders, when they could recover damages in the county court with an appeal to the High Court, without the intervention of a jury. I rather think the Answer the Chief Secretary made in the House of Commons was almost in the identical words that came from the Inspector-General's office in Dublin. Naturally, the Chief Secretary adopted those words, and he assumes entire responsibility for them. The use of this incident as evidence that the Chief Secretary is indifferent to the cause of law and order in Ireland shows how false and groundless insinuations such as these are.

Some expressions which I recently used have been alluded to. My speech was received next day in a considerable section of the Unionist Press as showing that the Government were determined to maintain law and order in Ireland. That was the impression I had hoped to give. If I had thought the words I used were liable to the misinterpretation which has been placed upon them, I would have endeavoured to express myself in different terms. I can only say that the people who encourage, and the people who continue the practice of cattle driving, besides being engaged in an entirely lawless enterprise, are rendering a grave disservice to the people of the disturbed district, for they render the task of those who are endeavouring by legislative reforms to do something for the unhappy case of these people infinitely more difficult.

*LORD CLONBROCK: My Lords, I was very glad when I saw on the Paper the Question which my noble friend Lord Arran had put down. I was then in the West of Ireland, where there was the greatest possible perplexity as to what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant could mean when he said that farmers were bound to take the ordinary precautions (therefore reproaching them, apparently, for not having done so), and that police assistance was only an adjunct to what the owners themselves ought to do. I therefore anxiously looked for the Answer which would be given to my noble friend's Question by His Majesty's Government, but I cannot say that the matter has been made much clearer to me now that that Answer has been given.

The noble Lord has told us of an instance where, when a cattle drive was taking place, the herd employed by the farmer drove the cattle in the wrong direction. Well, it is rather hard to blame the owner because his herd, who was probably in collusion with the mob and was acting under the orders of the United Irish League, took this action. In other cases owners are blamed because they have not identified the people concerned. Now, that is a matter of the greatest possible difficulty, unless the owner of the farm himself happens to know the people concerned by sight, for he cannot hope to obtain information as to who they are, as his herd and others on the farm would be afraid to identify the offenders. I have read cases where the people whose cattle had been driven off had given information to the police that so-and-so were concerned in it, but when the cases came for trial they swore that they did not know any one of them. Further, the noble Lord stated that it would be the business of the owner of a farm to engage a certain number of people to assist in protecting him. That is only another illustration of the idea, which it seems impossible to eradicate from the English mind, that what applies to England applies to every other country under heaven, and that action which would be successful in England must necessarily be successful everywhere else. Can anybody who has followed the state of things in the West of Ireland think it possible that trustworthy people could be enrolled for such a purpose?

My noble friend who asked the Question read a letter showing the League's power of boycotting, and how persons boycotted are prevented from obtaining the mere necessaries of life. Only yesterday I heard from the county of Roscommon of a case where a man could not get a shearer to shear his sheep, and he sent to his brother, a farmer many miles off, requesting him to send a man. This shearer arrived, but returned the next day, stating that he had been ordered to leave by the United Irish League and was afraid to stay. If a farmer cannot engage a man to shear his sheep, is it likely that he can engage a number of men to protect his property. As long as the United Irish League is allowed to hold supremacy unchallenged, as at present, it is idle to talk of people obtaining any assistance from those around them, or even from a distance, to resist these attacks. The League holds regular courts, it issues decrees and they are blindly obeyed. The League interferes in every relation of life, and orders people to cease working for a man who is unpopular.

It may be asked, Why do people submit to this grinding tyranny? My Lords, they have too keen a recollection of the way in which the party of agitation, whether the Land League, the National League, or the United Irish League, has been accustomed in former years to enforce their decrees. I allude not only to the dark days of 1881, 1882, and 1883, to the terrible times when murders and outrages of all kinds were of constant occurrence, but to a much more recent period. Only a few years ago a neighbour of mine—a farmer—was ordered by the United Irish League to surrender a farm in a distant part of the county. He asked the deputation which came to him who was going to give him compensation. The answer was: "You will be safe and your stock too." He naturally replied: "Then if anything happens to me or to my stock it will be known where it comes from." A short time afterwards, at least twenty of his cattle had their tails cut, not I am glad to say hacked off as has been sometimes done, but so marked that they could be identified as boycotted cattle, and were thereby rendered unsaleable at any fair or market. As long as this tyranny exists in the country it is idle to hope that any progress or improvement can be made.

We are informed that the country is quiet. It is deadly quiet in the sense that outrages of a very serious nature are not committed. The League possesses so thorough an organisation that it is able to maintain its authority without the necessity of committing the outrages which formerly used to disgrace the country. We are told, too, that the ordinary law is sufficient for the maintenance of order. In a normal state of society no doubt the ordinary law is sufficient. But in a state such as exists now it is not sufficient. The ordinary law can protect a man's life, but it cannot protect him from the persecution which renders life intolerable. It can to a certain extent protect his property, but it cannot secure him in the legitimate employment of it whereby alone he can make a livelihood. I would therefore earnestly appeal to His Majesty's Government to put in force the powers which they have in reserve and free Ireland from the incubus of the tyranny of the League which is paralysing the whole country.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord LOREBURN): My Lords, my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary has asked me to say something in the course of this debate, which relates to the administration of the law. I think we ought first to form an opinion as to what is actually going on. What is actually going on is this, that in certain parts of Ireland, almost entirely in Galway and Roscommon, there are unlawful proceedings, principally cattle driving. The extent of the disturbed district is about 23,000 acres, not a very large district.

At the same time I have not the slightest wish to minimise the seriousness of the fact that these cattle drives take place in considerable number. and that they take place by night as well as by day. I do not think my noble friend Lord Denman had the smallest intention of minimising or treating with levity that which has taken place. There is no doubt that a state of things of this kind may be the prelude to more serious things, but it should be borne in mind—and I think that was what my noble friend Lord Denman meant—that there is a favourable side to it, comparatively speaking, and that is the absence, which I am thankful to note, of the hideous and revolting practice of mutilating cattle which was at one time common in Ireland. I am glad that at least this offence has not been accompanied by cruelty and cowardice and brutality, for that is the only language I have ever applied or will apply to the ill-treatment of dumb and inoffensive animals. That is, at all events, satisfactory, and I believe it is due to the progress of civilising influences and to the spirit and temper which pervades Ireland as a whole.

It is not sufficient to see what is being done. It seems to me necessary also to ascertain what is the source of the trouble, what is the original foundation of it. Well, my Lords, I do not suppose there can be any doubt that it is part of the agrarian struggle which has distressed Ireland for so long. In these parts there have been great clearances, and the agricultural holdings which existed in times past have been turned into large grazing farms. I am stating an historical fact, and in the knowledge of that fact is to be learnt the ultimate and real remedy. I do not put that forward in the least degree as any justification of what is being done, but only as a fact in the consideration of which you will find the true remedy for the existing condition of things.

I need not repeat what has been said by my noble friends in the previous debate about the duty of the Government, which is an elementary proposition. The police are patrolling the district, and all is being done, as my right hon. friend assures me, that can be done for the purpose of protecting the grazing farms and the graziers and those in their employ. The noble Earl has criticised the statement of my right hon. friend that there ought to be some self-help on the part of those who own the grazing lands, and it is suggested that this is something new. There are noble Lords in this House who have been responsible for the government of Ireland, and I am sure they will not contradict me when I say that this observation about the duty of persons to assist in protecting themselves has been made and supported and endorsed by leading statesmen on the Conservative side in former Governments, not once, but repeatedly. While the police are bound to extend their protection it is not sufficient for those in possession of these farms to stand supine and offer no assistance. Still less is it justifiable in them to refuse the means of identifying those who have committed offences.

The noble Lord has asked what it is that my right hon. friend Mr. Birrell referred to. Well, I will tell him. The owners in many cases and also the herds have failed to assist the police either actively or by identifying offenders, and they have failed subsequently to give truthful evidence, and on one occasion to which my noble friend referred they have actually played into the hands of the raiders. These proceedings have been repeatedly the subject of complaint by Ministers responsible for the government of Ireland. My noble friend gave one illustration. Let me give another. I do not propose to identify the case, but will show the information to any one who desires to see it. Certain cattle were driven off farms, and in two instances the owners and in others the stewards and the herds witnessed the occurrence. They made written and signed statements to the police and identified the offenders, who were in due course brought before the magistrates, but the witnesses falsified their statements and the cases had to be dismissed. It is and always has been a legitimate subject of observation that assistance of that kind has not been given to the police. I think myself that a certain amount of moral courage, firmness, and self-reliance may fairly be expected from those who are owners of property. At the same time I quite admit that they are entitled to the protection and assistance of the police.

While it is necessary to maintain the law—and the law will be maintained—it is also necessary to apply other remedies. The remedial policy of the Government, which will not be either accelerated or retarded or affected by the existence of this lawlessness, is by fair and honest methods towards the owners to obtain the land which is necessary for the purpose of the population of these districts, and that, I think, will be the real source of satisfaction and quiet in these parts of Ireland. I do not deny that there is intimidation in some parts, but I believe it is in a narrow compass. I remember an observation made by the late Lord Salisbury in regard to boycotting, which is a process I have never defended nor am I likely ever to defend it. Lord Salisbury said—

> "It is extraordinarily difficult to check and to bring under conrtol."

I always feel, when I am speaking or thinking about this subject, that we do not realise that Ireland for the last forty years has been going through a real agrarian revolution. This social and agrarian revolution has proceeded in Ireland under Acts of Parliament for which both Parties have been in common responsible. In the first place there was the Act of 1881, which was a Liberal measure, and then came a series of Acts known as the Ashbourne Acts, and other measures have since followed. There still remains other work of the same kind to be done, and I certainly hope it will be done in as liberal and generous a spirit by purchasing honestly and on fair terms land which can be made available.

I will not dwell further upon the subject, except to say that it would, to my mind, be a very great misfortune if any debates in this House led the public here or in Ireland to think that there was any sympathy with lawlessness on the part of His Majesty's Government, which, I need hardly assure your Lordships, there is not. What we desire to do is to amend the condition of the people of Ireland by methods analogous to those which have been already been adopted in agrarian laws, and for my part I should most willingly and happily take part in that pending the time when what I believe to be the far superior and the only real remedy can be applied—namely, to allow Irishmen to manage their own affairs.

Lord Loreburn.

***Lord ASHBOURNE**: My Lords, the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack has delivered an interesting speech, but he has not applied himself much to the question which was brought under the notice of the House by my noble friend Lord Arran. The noble and learned Lord spoke of the necessity of showing moral courage and self-reliance. Those are excellent words. I wish that His Majesty's Government would show moral courage and self-reliance in this matter. It was to induce the Government to recognise their duty and not to shut their eyes to plain facts that my noble friend Lord Londonderry initiated a debate the other day, and with the same object in view my noble friend Lord Arran has recurred to the subject to-day.

The Lord Chancellor has not, I think, sufficiently recognised the gravity and the extent of the present disturbance in Ireland. The noble and learned Lord quoted a figure as representing the acreage of the disturbed district. I am not going to criticise the particular figure, but I do take exception to the broader declaration that the present state of affairs is confined to two counties. On the previous occasion when this matter was discussed as many as seven or eight counties were mentioned where lawlessness was proceeding. The West of Ireland is at the present moment so disturbed as to be in a state almost of civil war. It is not suggested that there is a wide state of general crime in the seven or eight counties where lawlessness exists, but it is asserted that there is what amounts to a conspiracy to make the lives of those who own these grass lands a burden, and either to compel them to surrender their lands, or to induce them, when their lands are reduced almost to the zero of value, to sell at a gross under-valuation.

The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack said his view was that remedial legislation should be carried on by fair purchase on honest terms. We have never dissented from that. Abundance of land can be obtained in the West of Ireland now, in the very heart of the disturbed districts, if you go into the market and say you are prepared to give fair and reasonable terms. But that has not been done. It has been said that this is an agitation which has been going on in consequence of clearances over a great many years. I do not recognise that statement. This agitation is of comparatively recent date, and it has become more accentuated unfortunately during the last eighteen months. It has been going from bad to worse, and there is now a spirit of rampant lawlessness afoot. My noble friend behind me stated in the previous debate what is the most painful aspect of the whole matter—namely, that it is believed in Ireland that the object of this agitation is looked at by the Government with sympathy. The Lord Chancellor said that he sympathised with what it is intended to attain, but what is really aimed at is the dispossession of the present owners of the land by those who are now intimidating them.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: What I said could hardly, I think, have been misunderstood. I stated that the policy of the Government, quite apart from all these cattle-driving performances, was to acquire land on honest terms for the purpose of improving and enlarging holdings. That is a policy which was pursued by the late Government for many years.

*LORD ASHBOURNE: Yes, but this agitation is to take a short cut to purchase by intimidating owners and reducing the price of land to zero. Instead of the owners being given an honest price they are to be given it is hoped only such a price as will be deemed sufficient compensation for land the value of which has been reduced by what has been going on. I do not believe the Government sympathise with this lawlessness, but the effect of this agitation has been to cut down the value of land enormously, and so little has been done effectively to cope with the agitation that the belief is strong in the West of Ireland that the Government sympathise, not with the crime itself, but with what it is intended to attain as the result—the depreciation of the value of the land.

The people should be made to understand that intimidation will not pay. It would be a monstrous thing after intimidation and lawlessness of this kind that those who were the leaders in this campaign should be allowed to benefit as a result of the consequent depreciation in the value of the land. This is a matter which Mr. Long when he was Chief Secretary applied himself to, and he indicated that the Estates Commissioners should take intimidation into account and see that properties in connection with which there had been intimidation were not given at any rate priority and were put back. I understand the noble Earl the Lord President stated, towards the close of his speech the other night, that he concurred in the opinion that those who had been guilty of intimidation should not get the benefit of that intimidation; in other words, that intimidation should not pay. The noble Earl said—

> "I think the proper remedy is not to stop the sale of the estate, but to see that the persons guilty of intimidation do not obtain any allotments on that estate, and that is the course which I am led to believe is likely to be pursued."

I think those words represent what should be the plain justice in the matter. I am very glad that the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack used words that amounted to the same thing.

The position in parts of Ireland is very serious, and when you have a house or a wide district on fire the best thing to do is to stop the fuel. What efforts have been made in this case to stop the fuel? This is a common action to defy the law and to show that there is some power in these districts which is stronger than the law; that people need not fear the law, but must fear the other power which is not the law. That is the fuel which feeds the fire that is destroying the West of Ireland at the present time. It is all very well to say that in this state of terrorism landlords and farmers should display moral courage. Moral courage is very easy at Westminster, but it is very difficult in Roscommon. With regard to the statement made the other night by Lord Denman on the subject of cattle-driving, I was very glad to hear him explain that he would not have used those words if he had contemplated the meaning which would be attached to them.

How keen and active this campaign is appears from a statement in *The Times* of to-day that a Sligo County Councillor made a speech inviting the people who were present to—

> "follow the Roscommon example and let the bullocks wander; and not be satisfied until the land was won for the people."

When such speeches are made by responsible speakers they let in a flood of light on the condition of Ireland, for there is no suggestion of the delightful euphemism of "an honest price." What light has the Lord Chancellor thrown upon what Mr. Birrell had in his mind when he used the words "ordinary steps"? I do not like to suggest that Mr. Birrell had nothing definite in his mind when he used those words, because that would be indecorous and probably would not be entirely accurate. But what meaning had he? What is a poor man to do who is living in a disturbed district which has been allowed to get out of hand and in which this state of terrorism prevails? Everyone, of course, should have moral and physical courage, but I am confident that if the minds of many of your Lordships were zealously scanned by an earnest seaker after truth it would be discovered that the moral courage which you would exhibit would not be greater than that displayed by these poor people who have to think of their lives and of their wives and families.

I can imagine the conversation which took place between Mr. Birrell and the Inspector-General of Constabulary. Mr Birrell probably asked: "Why on earth don't you put down this thing?" and the Inspector-General no doubt replied: "I have not enough police. The men should help themselves." I should like to ask whether the strength of the police force and the resident magistracy is being kept up in Ireland. There is some economy which is the dearest thing in the world. If you have reduced the police to a point when the law-breakers are more powerful than the police, is that right? Benevolent words have been used to-night by the Government. But what is wanting is courage, energy, and determination. I think it might be as well if the Irish Government were to try and borrow the vigour of Mr. Morley for two or three months in Ireland.

Lord Ashbourne.

*The Earl of Mayo: My Lords, having listened to the speeches which were delivered by Lord Denman and by the Lord Chancellor, I ask myself, what answer have we got? Lord Denman told us that the Attorney-General recommended that civil proceedings should be taken by the graziers for trespass. Anybody who knows Ireland would state at once that a grazier who took civil proceedings for trespass might as well leave the country. There would be an end of him altogether, and he would never have a chance of holding another grazing farm in Ireland. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack stated definitely that the district in which these disorders were taking place was only 23,000 acres in extent. The truth of the matter is that the disorder is prevalent in nine counties in Ireland, and is not confined to anything like such a small area as 23,000 acres.

The LORD CHANCELLOR: What I said was that the grass farms in connection with which disturbances actually exist amount to 23,000 acres—I ought to have said 22.410 acres.

*The Earl of Mayo: I could give your Lordships chapter and verse to show that the disorder exists in nine counties. The Lord Chancellor further stated that the graziers should display the quality of self-help and should not stand supine. I venture to think it is impossible to contemplate a crowd of 700 men and not stand supine. I do not think the Lord Chancellor fully realizes the position. I have a farm which I let on the eleven-months' grazing system. The ordinary protection on that farm is my own herd, who is responsible for the cattle. If 400, or even fifty, people came on a Sunday afternoon or in the middle of the night to drive the cattle off, what could the herd do? He could do nothing at all. If an attempt of this kind to drive cattle took place in a parish in, say, Wiltshire, in England, the suggestion would never be made that the farmer must take the necessary precautions himself. If a man identifies an offender in Ireland he becomes in many cases what is known as an "informer," and if he is not actually shot he is told to get out of the country as quickly as he can or he will be shot.

That is the reason why people are afraid of giving evidence which in Ireland is becoming an informer.

The noble Lord who represents the Irish Office has suggested that the graziers should take civil proceedings for trespass, and the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack has declared that the population are eventually to have these lands and that the process will not be accelerated by cattle-driving. Those, my Lords, are the two things which the Government have given us to think over. After the very decisive words of the noble Marquess the Leader of the House the other day, in which he said that the Government were determined to restore law and order in Ireland, I really do not think the answer which has been given by the Government to-day is at all satisfactory. To show how the chickens of Mr. Birrell have come home to roost, I would like to read what a solicitor for the defence in a prosecution at Athenry said. He stated—

> "One could not help seeing that the person responsible for the government of the country—the Chief Secretary—had himself said that the people in charge ought to do something to protect their own property; yet the Bench were asked to return the defendants for trial when the owner had not made any attempt to protect the stock."

The Crown witness was the policeman who was on the land guarding the sheep. The people opened the gate and drove the cattle out. Informations were refused, and the prisoners were not returned for trial by the magistrates. I consider, as one living in Ireland, that the answer given by the Government to-day is not half as satisfactory as the reply which we received the other night. We should like to have something definite. To suggest civil proceedings for trespass is merely to laugh at us in your sleeves. Therefore, in the name of those who are bullied and harrowed by the United Irish League, I ask for more information as to the definite steps they should take to protect themselves from these cattle-driving raids.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, before the noble Earl opposite replies I would like to ask a question, but as a preliminary I wish to enter my protest against one statement which was made by the noble Lord who represents the Irish Office when he blamed us for certain things appearing in the Press which usually supports us. The noble Lord drew a lugubrious picture of his own position, in which he claimed that he is, so to speak, always minimised when he is good, and magnified when he is naughty. But that is not our position. We accept him as the responsible speaker—I use this word as he objects to the word "Minister"—holding the brief of the Department, and we accept everything he says as representing the voice of the Irish Office, and we shall follow no other course. But if the noble Lord is going to hold us responsible for everything that may be said by some small section, which he does not specify, of the Unionist Press, we may be tempted to retaliate and hold noble Lords opposite responsible for everything that is said by the Press which usually supports them, and in that case I do not think we should have the worst of the bargain.

I remember a certain Amendment to the Irish Labourers Bill last year, which we accepted as a compromise at the suggestion of the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council, and we were rather surprised when that Amendment reached the House of Commons to find the Chief Secretary himself moving that the House of Commons should disagree with it. Similarly we have been a little frightened as regards the statement which my noble and learned friend Lord Ashbourne has quoted of the noble Earl the Lord President in the recent debate. The noble Earl told us that arrangements were going to be made by which agitators should not be allowed to profit by the result of their agitation in the case of sales. I am told—I have not actually looked up the quotation—that the Chief Secretary in another place has refused to say anything about any regulation being forthcoming to that effect, and I therefore beg to ask if the Government can tell us when the draft regulation which it will be necessary to make will be laid on the Table of your Lordships' House.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: My Lords, this debate has wandered over a considerable field, as debates are accustomed to do in this House, and Irish debates in particular. The question as put by the noble Earl opposite was simply and solely a police question, and I say so because it has been already stated by my noble friends who have spoken that my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary, in giving the answer he did, made it at the desire of the police authorities in Ireland. The noble and learned Lord on the Front Bench opposite seemed to think that the Chief Secretary had forced this opinion on the police, and that it was not a voluntary opinion on their part. I can assure him that he is entirely wrong.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I did not wish to convey that. I rather suggested that I thought it possible that there had been a conversation in which the police authorities intimated that they could not do more without additional police.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I will deal with the question of more police in a moment. I can assure the noble Lord that it is entirely wrong to suppose that the Chief Secretary had forced upon the police the opinion that owners of property should take the ordinary steps to secure their property. I should have thought that any one who had been at any time concerned with the government of Ireland would know that this is a very old story indeed, and I challenge contradiction from the noble Marquess opposite—the Marquess of Londonderry—who is equally familiar with these matters, when I say that it has been a frequent subject of complaint on the part of the police that the whole responsibility is thrown upon them for the protection of property. There were well-known cases in which on large farms one caretaker was placed in charge of a large quantity of stock. That caretaker had to be guarded by a body of police, who were nominally there to protect the caretaker but who were in reality desired by the owner to act as assistant herds; and that was a process naturally resented by the police.

It is perfectly true, of course, in these particular Roscommon and Galway cases, that there are certain things which the graziers cannot do. Although a great many of them are fairly substantial men, they cannot, as though they were American millionaires, have an army of Pinkerton detectives to protect their stock; but they could employ men of sufficiently resolute character to be willing, not only to identify, but to swear to the identity of those who lead and are mainly responsible for these raids. Your Lordships know very well that in the course of your own affairs you employ a large number of people to watch game. You take care to employ people of sufficiently resolute character, who would not be readily frightened by threats, and generally you recognise it to be your duty to look after your property as far as you can. If you were to expect the county police to parade your covers in large numbers to look after your pheasants, I am afraid you would find that the chief constable of the county would object to undertaking that duty, and after a time most of the pheasants would not be there. In Ireland, however, in the districts in question, it is the case that the graziers as a class have not attempted to take any special steps to meet this, I admit, extremely difficult and troublesome form of agitation. They would no doubt be put to some extra expense for it, but that is a matter which I fear could not be avoided. They have not attempted, for instance, to drive their cattle together in many cases; they allow them to wander at night over farms in a great many cases imperfectly fenced, and therefore they facilitate——

*THE EARL OF MAYO: You cannot perfectly fence in heavy bullocks.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I know the character of Irish fences. Then the noble Lord opposite, Lord Clonbrock, admitted that in a great many cases those who could identify marauders would not stick to their identification when it came to be a matter of doing so in a Court of law.

*LORD CLONBROCK: They are terrorised by the League and are afraid to do so.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: That is exactly what the police complain of. I quite admit that owing to the extremely strong force of public opinion, often, I am afraid, of an illegitimate kind, which exists in these parts their lives might not be made entirely pleasant for them; but, at the same time, these people know perfectly well that they would be adequately protected. I think we are entitled to ask, in return, what any kind of law will do for people who refuse to give evidence. Under the strongest system of coercion Government could do no more than supply people with adequate police protection, and, in the absence of all evidence, I confess I do not see how you can hope to convict marauders.

The noble and learned Lord who spoke from the Front Opposition Bench referred to the wide extent of the disturbances, but my noble and learned friend on the Woolsack was perfectly within his right in stating, as he did, the acreage of the grass farms involved in the present agitation. The noble Earl Lord Mayo speaks of nine counties, but he knows as well as I do that the real weight of the disturbances rests upon two districts—parts of Roscommon and the East Riding of Galway, though I quite admit there are sporadic outbursts in other counties. The noble and learned Lord objected to the Lord Chancellor's history. It is perfectly true that these have to a certain extent been grazing districts for a great number of years, but the noble and learned Lord must surely be aware that within the last sixty or seventy years there have been very large clearances in Roscommon, and that the area under grass in that county is very much larger now than it was.

The noble and learned Lord will also realise that there has been a tendency to keep land in grass which might have been otherwise employed. He will know what I mean when I mention the limit of pasture farms which enabled a landlord to keep out of the Land Act of 1881. The utterly unintended and unforeseen tendency of the section in question undoubtedly was to encourage landlords to keep lands in grass which otherwise they might have been willing to employ differently. The noble and learned Lord also said that intimidation ought not to pay, and he alluded to an expression which fell from me in the last debate. It was understood to be the view of the late Government, at any rate of Mr. Long, that in cases where intimidation had existed sales should not take place, and that appeared to be a rather singular method of proceeding.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I think it was that they should be postponed.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Postponed until all other cases had been disposed of. In any case that seemed to me a somewhat illogical proceeding because you could not be at all sure that you would punish the right persons. I entirely hold to what I said as to the desirability of preventing those who are convicted of intimidation from profiting by it. It seems to me a most proper and reasonable course to pursue, but I think it is important to be clear upon this point. You ought not to attempt to punish an entire district because there has been some intimidation in it, and the only people who in my view ought to be subject to disability are those who have been actually found guilty of intimidation. As the noble Earl Lord Donoughmore knows, I am not at the Irish Office, and therefore if he will kindly put down his Question on this point in the terms in which he asked it in his speech, either I or my noble friend Lord Denman, will be happy to answer it.

The noble and learned Lord opposite fell somewhat foul of my noble and learned friend on the Woolsack for the manner in which he spoke of the agitation. It would be utterly unreasonable to accuse my noble and learned friend of expressing the faintest kind of sympathy with any agitation of a lawless character. What he did was to attempt to account for it, which is an entirely different matter. I am entirely at one with my noble and learned friend on the Woolsack in everything he said as to the remedy which ought to be adopted for this unfortunate state of things; and I also agree that if that remedy is the right one, that is to say the purchase of these lands for the purpose of being added to uneconomic holdings, it ought not to be postponed on account even of lawless agitation. I do not know whether noble Lords opposite will accept that, but it is a proposition which I should lay down. If a particular course of policy is right in itself it ought not to be either postponed or hurried on account of agitation of any character. To my mind the policy of postponing reforms in Ireland on the ground that the country was lawless has been most fatal in its results. I do not know anything which to those who read the past history of Ireland more fully accounts for the Irish difficulty than that most suicidal course which Governments, not on one side only, have been disposed to take.

Then the noble and learned Lord asked a question with reference to the police. The police, as the House probably knows, have been considerably reduced, but they have not been reduced by this Government. I think, speaking from memory, that there are a few more police now than when we came into office. My impression is that there are now some two or three thousand fewer police than when I left Ireland in 1895, but no reduction has been made by the present Government; and, so far as I am aware, the forces at the disposal of the Chief Secretary for this purpose have proved adequate, and there is no case in which protection has not been afforded on account of the insufficiency of the police. I think I have dealt with the various points raised by noble Lords opposite. I confess to having been sorry that the observation made by my noble friend Lord Denman during the last debate was not allowed to rest. The noble Lord was, I think, wilfully misunderstood by two classes of persons. He was wilfully misunderstood by some people in Ireland who chose to regard what I thought a perfectly straightforward and intelligible phrase as affording some kind of colour for their lawless proceedings. He was also, I am afraid, somewhat wilfully misunderstood by friends of noble Lords opposite who, in search of a dialectical advantage, did not quite realise the harm that they themselves were doing in Ireland by putting a colour on my noble friend's words which we maintain they did not bear.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Will the noble Earl tell us whom he means?

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I mean the Press which supports the noble Earl and his friends.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: They only re-echoed our words. Did we wilfully misrepresent what the noble Lord said?

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I hope not. I certainly did not accuse noble Lords of misrepresentation. But I do say this, that if there was any dialectical advantage to be obtained against my noble friend it was pressed with rather less generosity than I, in my longer experience than that of the noble Lord, have known in this House, particularly where younger Members of the House were concerned.

LORD ASHBOURNE: If the noble Earl had withdrawn the expression on the last occasion the matter would have been put right.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: But my noble friend has not withdrawn it now.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I was not referring to Lord Denman, but to yourself.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I certainly did not withdraw the words, and I should not have withdrawn them if I had said them. I am sorry my noble friend was misunderstood, and I think he has explained, with the utmost fairness, that if he had supposed that his words would have been misunderstood he would have chosen others. There is nothing singular about finding one's words read in different ways in Ireland. I did not happen to come across the comments in the Irish papers on the speech I made myself in the last debate, but I am told that whereas the papers which support noble Lords opposite spoke of that speech as being extremely mischievous and showing neglect of the duties of a responsible Minister in relation to law and order, the Nationalist newspapers spoke of it as being of the rather truculent and tyrannical character which they would have expected from its author. Consequently, I do not think my noble friend need greatly mind if his words, too, have been received in more than one sense. The noble Lord who introduced this subject used one phrase to which I am entitled to allude, if we are to be such great purists in regard to expression. He said the condition of Ireland was "dreadful." That is a phrase I should be very sorry to see go out, because I do not think it is one which can be fairly sustained in argument.

THE EARL OF ARRAN: I only used the expression as applied to those spots which His Majesty's Government admit to be in a bad state.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I quite recognise that, but those were the words he used, and I allude to the expression more as an instance of the kind of statement which I am afraid does harm. I have regarded this debate all through as being rather more a criticism of the police than a criticism of His Majesty's Government, and that is one of the reasons why I am sorry it has taken place. We all, I am sure, would desire to strengthen and support the hands of that fine force, the Royal Irish Constabulary, in every conceivable way, and I am obliged to remind noble Lords that the observation of the Chief Secretary to which attention has been drawn was an observation made, not out of the inner consciousness of my right hon. friend, but at the absolute desire of the police themselves.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: My Lords, though this debate, as was stated by the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council, has ranged over a very wide field, I do not consider that my noble friend who has asked this Question has received an Answer of a satisfactory character from either of the noble Lords who have addressed us from the Government Bench. All that I could gather from their speeches was that the people in those parts of Ireland which are under the tyranny of the United Irish League should defend themselves and render assistance to the police; but noble Lords behind me who have had experience of these districts will confirm me when I say that it is quite impossible for a small minority in an isolated position to defend themselves or to give evidence before the magistrates without the greatest risk. In parts of the country there exists a reign of terrorism as great as that which existed in 1886. The noble Earl the Lord President told us that the Answer of the Chief Secretary was given on the representation of the police, who had declared that they could not get the people to give evidence or assist them in carrying out their duty, and he appealed to me whether I had not had experience of the reluctance of these people to come forward. I certainly have had that experience. These people do not dare give evidence or their lives would be in danger. My noble friend who raised this question this evening stated with great truth that when men paid rates and taxes they naturally looked to the authorities for protection. In England this is fully recognised. There was a case some time ago in which a man was imprisoned for mutilating horses. The search for the miscreant who perpetuated this offence was initiated by the police, and the offender was eventually brought to justice. Then there was the case of the Park Lane robbery the other day. What happened? The gentleman whose goods had been stolen reported the matter to the police, who took the case in hand and never left it until they had discovered the thief. Why, I ask, are people in Ireland to be treated differently in this respect and to be expected to defend themselves? Moreover the people in question cannot afford to provide the extra assistance which would be necessary to protect their cattle from wilful injury of this description. The noble Earl defended the statement which Lord Denman made in the last debate that in the opinion of the Government the driving of cattle could not of itself be considered a crime of a very serious nature. The noble Lord who used those words read them from a written paper, so I suppose they were provided by the Irish Office.

LORD DENMAN: The words were my own words, and I accept full responsibility them. They were not given to me by the Irish Office.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: Well, do the Irish Government repudiate that statement? They have not done so publicly, or I would not have again referred to it. The noble Earl the Lord President put forward extenuating circumstances for the expression, and stated that, after all, cattle driving was not nearly such a bad crime as cattle maiming. Both are contrary to the law and would not be tolerated for a moment in this country. I understand that since that expression has been used in your Lordships' House there has been an increase of cattle driving in that part of Ireland. One gentleman who had sold all his land in the West of Ireland to his tenants, retaining for himself only one farm, had his cattle, notwithstanding, driven off that farm. And why? Because the people in that part of the country do not believe that the Government are in earnest in desiring to stop these raids. I venture to say that any supporter of the Government in the House of Commons who represented an agricultural constituency and went down there and stated that he endorsed the view of the Government that cattle driving off farms in that constituency was not a serious crime would stand very little chance of being again returned to Parliament.

Attention has been drawn to the rule laid down by Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Long that no property should be sold to a man who had been guilty of intimidation, and the noble Earl opposite said on a former occasion that he considered that when land was broken up no one who had broken the law should be allowed to become the owner of any of it. Since then the Unionist Members in another place have been inquiring of the Chief Secretary whether he endorsed the views of the noble Earl, but the Chief Secretary has fenced with the question. He has never said yes or no. Therefore I think I am justified in asking the noble Earl whether it is the intention of the Government to act on the noble Earl's views.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I do not think the noble Marquess heard the question put to me by Lord Donoughmore on the same point. I stated, in reply, that if a Question on that subject were put down I would answer it.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: I think the point is an important one, and one upon which we should have an answer. I now come to the serious question as to what the Government really intend to do to restore law and order in Ireland. We have not moved in this matter for any Party reason; our only desire is to see Ireland prosperous and contented, and we will assist the Government in every way in our power in arriving at that result. I hardly like to quote a case which is at the present moment *sub judice*, but I notice that Mr. Kelly, who made a violent speech, has been arrested. What is to be the result? We have seen men brought before packed benches of magistrates and their sympathisers on the bench have declined to convict. There was the Luttrell case. Three times has that case been tried, but owing to the packed nature of the bench no decision has been arrived at, and on the third hearing the Crown solicitor said—

> "The Attorney-General will send the case for trial himself. We are not going to have three or four adjournments for nothing."

Prosecutions carried on on present lines are simply burlesques and bring the law into contempt. I maintain that until strong measures are taken law will not be respected in that part of the country. In 1886 and 1887 Ireland was in a state very much as it is now, but we then had no powers whatever to cope with that condition of affairs. Crime constantly stalked unchecked and unpunished, but in ensuing years we obtained the necessary powers of dealing with it, and by using those powers with fearlessness we restored law and order in the country. Why cannot the Government do the same now? You have the power to proclaim the United Irish League, and their meetings would then be illegal. You would then have the power of prosecuting anyone who took part in this illegal driving and of bringing them before two of the resident magistrates, who could send them to a distant part of the country where an impartial trial would be secured. The Government have in the Act of 1887 powers which would enable them to cope at once with the present condition of affairs, and I venture to think that if they do not take advantage of them they are not recognising the responsibility which rests upon them.

THE MARSHALL ISLANDS.

*THE EARL OF JERSEY: My Lords, I rise to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can state what progress has been made towards obtaining a settlement of Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co.'s claim against the German Government on account of the Marshall Islands incidents. It will not be necessary for me to deal with the merits of this case. They have been discussed on several occasions in your Lordships' House during the last two or three years, but the main point is that since His Majesty's Government presented the claim of Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co. to the German Government that Government does not seem to have done very much in the matter. It is very hard indeed on this firm. The delay of the German Government in dealing with this matter has created strong feeling in Australia, as the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies knows. It is felt there that the German Government has not been acting exactly in a friendly and reasonable manner. I wish, however, to make it perfectly clear that no blame at all attaches to His Majesty's Government, as I am aware that the noble Lord the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has done all he possibly could to bring this matter forward. I hope he will be in a position this evening to inform us that some steps have been taken towards coming to a final conclusion.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord FITZMAURICE): My Lords, I have to thank my noble friend for the kind terms in which he has spoken of the action of the office which I have the honour to represent in your Lordships' House. I am quite aware that there is a great desire in the Australian Colonies to have this matter satisfactorily and promptly settled. The present position is this. His Majesty's Government have repeatedly called the attention of the German Government to this claim, but so far have not been able to obtain a definite reply on the question of compensation. The German Government stated, in January last, that a detailed examination of the company's claim had already been begun, but that this examination would, in the nature of things, take a considerable time. Since that date His Majesty's Government have twice reminded the German Government of the claim, and they trust that, as some months have now elapsed, the German Government will endeavour to come to a decision in the matter at an early date. In these circumstances I hope that my noble friend will for the present be satisfied with the statement that the question is being carefully watched and being pushed forward by the Foreign Office.

INTERNATIONAL LOAD-LINE.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can give the House any information as to the progress of the negotiations for an international load-line. I put this question to my noble Friend in the course of a debate the other day, and he very reasonably asked for notice. Accordingly I now ask the Question.

LORD FITZMAURICE: My Lords, I have communicated with the Board of Trade, which, with the Foreign Office, is the Department responsible for this question, and the reply which, with their concurrence, I am able to give is that it is not possible at present to make any full communication with regard to the progress of negotiations for an international load-line. The negotiations are now in progress with Germany. The amended tables of freeboard adopted by the Board of Trade and issued early in 1906 were communicated to the German Government, and, in reply, the German authorities suggested that a conference of British and German representatives should be held at Hamburg on the subject. The officers of the Board of Trade and the experts of Lloyd's Register, the British Corporation and the Bureau Veritas accordingly considered the matter, and the result of their deliberations in comparing the British and German regulations was communicated in May last to the German Government, with an intimation that the British representatives would be prepared to meet the German representatives at Hamburg as suggested. We are now awaiting the reply of the German Government to this communication.

Viscount ST. ALDWYN: Can the noble Lord state whether any other Government has been approached with a similar proposal?

Lord FITZMAURICE: I understand that the Board of Trade considered it would be very desirable to come first to an agreement with the German Government on the principal points involved, and that they would then be in a more favourable position to approach other Governments.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I understood that there were indications that the Governments of Spain and Norway were both favourable to some arrangement of this kind, and I would ask whether steps have been taken to push the matter forward in those quarters.

Lord FITZMAURICE: That statement is quite correct. But the view of the Board of Trade is that it is desirable, for reasons which they hold to be valid, to push on the negotiations in the first instance with the German Government.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: When does the noble Lord expect to get the reply of the German Government?

Lord FITZMAURICE: If I had been able to state that definitely, I should have done so just now.

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY—POSITION OF THE MILITIA.

The Earl of WEMYSS: My Lords, I rise to ask the Under-Secretary of State for War whether the men composing the Militia Force who enlisted for home service, and who can now volunteer for service over-sea, will be free to leave the Militia if not disposed to accept compulsory foreign service as now imposed upon them by Mr. Haldane's Army Bill; whether by this change in the conditions of Militia service the constitutional powers of compulsion for home defence can practically no longer be applied to a force thus made liable to foreign service; and whether, consequently, the Government propose to repeal the existing Militia Ballot Act.

Your Lordships are no doubt aware that in another place, by an arrangement between the two Front Benches, the Militia has been taken out of the Territorial Force, and is no longer coupled with the Volunteers and Yeomanry. But, although the name of the Militia remains, its constitution has been completely altered. The Militia is now to be a reserve for the Army. I need not tell your Lordships that it is a complete revolution to place the Militia in this position, and to put it at the beck of the Government of the day to be sent anywhere at any time for foreign service. It seems to me that the points raised in my Question will naturally arise out of this greatly changed state of things, and I beg to put the Question.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (The Earl of Portsmouth): My Lords, my noble friend has put to me three Questions. In regard to Question No. 1, any individual of the present Militia who is unable or unwilling to accept service under the new conditions, can either transfer to the Territorial Army, or complete the period of his present engagement. In the latter case, he would probably not be called out for training. As regards the second Question, the present Militia, in so far as it accepts liability for foreign service under Part III. of the Bill which we propose to discuss on Second Reading to-morrow, ceases to be a part of the Home Defence Army, and to that extent compulsion for home defence becomes impracticable. My noble friend's third Question has reference to his particular pet lamb, the Militia Ballot. We do not propose at present to take any steps to repeal the existing Militia Ballot Act.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 24th June, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—North British Railway Bill [Lords]; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill [Lords]; Merthyr Tydfil Stipendiary Justice Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz. :—Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (Surrey, etc.) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time To-morrow.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed.

Harrison's Patent Bill [Lords]; Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Aberdeen Corporation Electricity Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed.

Coventry Corporation Bill (Lords]; Glasgow Corporation Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed.

National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty Bill [Lords]; Oxford and District Tramways Bill [Lords]; Sheffield Corporation Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed.

St. Neot's Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Tynemouth Corporation (Water) Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read a second time, and committed.

Ladybank Sewerage Drainage and Water Provisional Order Bill.—Considered; to be read the third time upon Thursday.

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill (by Order).—Read a second time; and ordered to be considered upon Thursday.

Lower Thames Tunnel Railways Bill.—Order [13th June] that the Lower Thames Tunnel Railways Bill be committed, read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn. —(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to :—Grays and Tilbury Gas Bill, without Amendment.

Taff Vale Railway Bill; Great Yarmouth Port and Haven Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act for further promoting the revision of the Statute Law by repealing enactments which have ceased to be in force or have become unnecessary." [Statute Law Revision Bill [Lords.]

Also a Bill intituled, "An Act to enable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and

Citizens of the city of York to acquire the rights of the freemen and others in or in respect of certain lands or strays known as the Micklegate Strays, and to make provision for the management thereof; and for other purposes." [York (Micklegate Strays) Bill [Lords.]

And also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to declare legitimate certain children of Thomas Hamilton Sabine Pasley." [Pasley Children Legitimisation Bill [Lords.]

York (Micklegate) Strays Bill [Lords]; Pasley Children Legitimisation Bill [Lords.]—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PETITION.

CONGO FREE STATE.

Petition from Fulham, for protection of the Native Races; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Paper [presented 21st June] to be printed. [No. 213.]

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND CORPORATION.

Copy presented, of Third Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation for the year 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TUBERCULOSIS (HUMAN AND BOVINE) (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Second Interim Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the relations of Human and Animal Tuberculosis. Appendix, Vol. I. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3836 to 3838 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 661 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY.

Copy presented, of Declaration by the Secretary of State for War as to classes of Persons not to be transferred to Detention Barracks in the United Kingdom [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1906, together with a Statement showing the aggregate amount of the liabilities of the Government to Depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks on the 31st December, 1906, and the nature and amount of the Securities held by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to meet those Liabilities at that date [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 214.]

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.

Copy presented, of Account showing the Receipts and Expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal during the year ended 31st March, 1907 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 215.]

COUNTY COURTS (ENGLAND) (FEES).

Copy presented, of Treasury Order, dated 30th May, 1907, regulating Fees in County Courts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1898.

Copy presented, of Return showing the Total Payments into and out of the Local Taxation (Scotland) Account for the financial year 1906–7 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Maximum Wage of Adult Messengers at General Post Office, London.

MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can state whether the maximum wage of the adult messengers in the General Post Office, London, have remained stationary for the past forty-six years; and whether the wages of porters and other classes have not been increased during the past twenty years.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The maximum of the salary of the adult messengers attached to the head-quarters offices of the Post Office is now 40s. a week, as it was in 1862, but the minimum has been raised from 21s. to 24s. The scale of pay of porters rises now to 30s. as it did in 1887, but the minimum has been raised from 18s. to 24s.

The O'Donel Estate, County Mayo.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the O'Donel estate at Newport, county Mayo, has yet come before the Judge of the Landed Estates Court for sale; and, if so, why was it not sold.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I beg to refer the hon. Member to my Answer to his Question on this subject on 1st March, when I indicated that the Congested Districts Board were prepared to make an offer to purchase the estate as soon as it should be ready for sale. The solicitor in charge of the proceedings for sale has since been in communication with the Board on the subject, but the matter has not yet reached a stage at which the Board can make a formal offer for purchase. The Land Judge has directed that the matter shall be expedited as much as possible.

Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Thomas Bridgeman.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Patrick Noonan, evicted tenant, of Cunigar, Askeaton, in the county of Limerick, was allotted some of the untenanted land on the Mountshannon estate in lieu of his evicted holding; that, subsequent to the allotment being made to him he died, leaving it to his nephew, Thomas Bridgeman, of Cunigar; whether he is aware that this allotment has been given to another evicted tenant, thereby depriving Bridgeman of it; and whether, under all the circumstances of the case, he will ask the Estates Commissioners to reconsider Bridgeman's case and give him some of the untenanted lands that will be next available in the county.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) Patrick Noonan was one of a number of evicted tenants who, about two years ago, applied to the Estates Commissioners for holdings on the Mountshannon estate. He was not given a holding, as the Commissioners did not then acquire the property. They subsequently purchased it, and the untenanted land was distributed last month. Noonan had died some months before, and therefore his name was not included.

The Southern Motor Club's Hill Climbing Competitions.

MR. C. H. CORBETT (Sussex, East Grinstead): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Southern Motor Club will hold a hill-climbing competition on Captain Kydd's Hill in Sussex on Saturday next; whether any steps are being taken to prohibit such competitions on a public thoroughfare or to lay down special conditions under which they may be held; and, if no such steps are being taken, whether he will consider the desirability of introducing legislation to prevent competitions between motors on the public roads.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The Chief Constable of East Sussex has been in correspondence with the Southern Motor Club respecting this competition, and has warned them that if there is any obstruction on the highway, or if the speed limit is in any case exceeded, proceedings will be taken against the offenders. Assurances have been given that there shall be no breach of the law.

Cause of Delay in Construction of Armoured Cruiser "Defence."

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty to what cause must be attributed the delay in the construction of the armoured cruiser "Defence," which, although laid down within a month of the "Minotaur" and "Shannon" of the same class will not be ready for sea until nine months later than those vessels.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The time for the completion of the "Defence" was extended to avoid undue fluctuation in the supply of work to the yard.

Post Office Servants—Seniority of Transferred Officers.

MR. RICHARDSON (Nottingham, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the dissatisfaction and friction existing among the staff by allowing some transferred officers to retain their seniority and thus supplant the local staffs, he will take steps to meet such cases by monetary payments and disallow seniority.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) This matter was raised before the Select Committee on Post Office Servants; and until the Committee have made their Report and I have had time to consider it, I cannot entertain any change in the present practice.

Registered Clubs.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state the number of clubs of all classes registered, on the 1st January, 1903, and the number so registered 1st January, 1907; how many full and how many off-licences were extinguished during those five years; how many new full and off-licences were issued in the four years ending 31st December, 1906; and how many clubs have been removed from the register by legal process under the Act of 1902, giving the number struck off the register for each year.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) All the information available in answer to this Question, is to be found in the volume of Licensing Statistics for 1906. 6,371 clubs were registered in the year 1903, and on the 1st January, 1907, there were probably about 6,680 registered clubs in existence. This latter figure is arrived at by deducting from the number existing on the 1st January, 1906, the number struck off during the year. The expression "full licence" means, strictly speaking, public-house licences as distinguished from beer-houses and other on-licences, but if my hon. friend desires the figures for on-licences generally, as against off-licences, I may say that on the 1st January, 1903, there were 100,766 on-licences, and on the 1st January, 1907, four years later, there were probably, as I informed the hon. Member for Lincoln on the 27th May, about 97,700. There are no figures of off-licences available for the 1st January, 1903, but for the 1st January, 1905, the number was 25,405, while for the 1st January, 1907, it is estimated at 25,100. New on-licences have been granted as follows:—In 1903, 240 (approximately); in 1904, 121 (approximately); in 1905, 53; and in 1906, 56. 192 new off-licences were granted in 1905, and 211 in 1906. Figures for earlier years are not available. The number of clubs struck off the register is as follows: In 1903, 67; in 1904, 73; in 1905, 62; and in 1906, 41.

Grant to Central Unemployed Body for Women's Workrooms.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Central Unemployed Body asked for a grant of £2,500 last March to carry on the women's workrooms; if so, what amount was granted them; and what information, if any, was contained in the Local Government Board's letter of 28th March.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. The £2,500 asked for was in addition to a sum of £2,000 which had already been granted for the purpose referred to. I stated in the letter of 28th March that I was not prepared to direct a grant to be paid in aid of the cost of carrying on the workrooms throughout the summer, and that the grant on this head would accordingly be limited to a sum of £500. This was done.

New Post Office Site at Ilfracombe.

MR. WALROND (Devonshire, Tiverton): To ask the Postmaster-General what is the present rental of houses recently purchased for a new post office building at Ilfracombe; and what price was paid for the site and buildings.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The purchase is not yet completed, and it is not customary, nor do I think it would be advisable, to publish information such as that desired by the hon. Member.

Irrigated Lands in the Madras Presidency.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): To ask the Secretary of State for India what proportion of the land sold during the last year for which Returns have been received, for arrears of revenue in the Madras presidency, is irrigated and what proportion unirrigated, and what is the average assessment of the holdings in question; whether he has any official Reports showing that such holdings are taken up as a speculation and practically abandoned whenever rains fail, and that the subsequent sale of such holdings in order to the correct maintenance of Government records in this behalf is an advantage to the registered proprietors, who thereby escape liability for the assessment.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) The figures for 1905–6 are:—Dry land sold, 19,906 acres; average assessment, nine-tenths of a rupee; irrigated land sold, 6,463 acres; average assessment, $4\frac{3}{5}$ rupees. With reference to the last part of the Question I would refer the hon. Member to the Report for Madras forming one of the Papers appended to Lord Curzon's Land Revenue Resolution of 16th January, 1902. The practice mentioned by my hon. friend is there stated to be one of the causes of sales of poor and valueless land for arrears of revenue.

Evicted Tenants in County Cavan.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will now state how many evicted tenants have made application for reinstatement in county Cavan; how many of these claims have been investigated, and with what result; and in how many cases have the landlords where the evicted farms are on their hands refused to entertain the intervention of the Estates Commissioners or their inspectors.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The information asked for in the Question is contained in the Appendix to the Special Report of the Estates Commissioners on Evicted Tenants which has been laid upon the Table, and will, I understand, shortly be circulated.

Ireland's Share of Customs and Revenue Duties.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Inland Revenue and Customs duty on intoxicating liquors and licences in Ireland for the year 1905 yielded the sum of £5,878,392, and that of this amount only £110,788 was allocated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Ireland under The Local Taxation Act, 1890; will he say how much of the latter sum mentioned was applied to educational purposes; and whether he can see his way to securing a large portion of this refund for inebriate reformatories, and a further grant in the next financial year to provide for the reformation of habitual drunkards in the country.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The share of Ireland in the Customs and Excise duties for 1905–6 amounted to £126,133 15s. 3d.; namely, Customs, £15,345 19s. 7d., and Inland Revenue, £110,787 15s. 8d. The sum of £78,000 was paid to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, and the balance, £48,133, to the Board of Intermediate Education. Ireland's share of these duties and the application thereof are governed by statute, and no change in either respect could be made without legislation.

Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of John M'Manus.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have received an application for reinstatement from John D. M'Manus, only son of John M'Manus who was evicted from his farm on the Brackenbridge estate, Florencecourt, county Fermanagh, in 1892, and who died in Glasgow in 1897; will he say who is in possession of this farm, and what fine was paid; and what prospect there is of this young man getting back to his dead father's home.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners have received the application referred to, and have had the case investigated. The holding in which reinstatement is sought is at present in the occupation of another person, who is unwilling to surrender it. The Commissioners have placed the name of the applicant's mother on the list of persons suitable to receive an allotment of land if such should be obtained. The applicant himself is only fifteen years of age.

The Irish Education Act, 1892, in County Cavan.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the urban district council of Cavan and their predecessors have continuously enforced the Irish Education Act of 1892 since 1894; is he aware that this Act has cost the council and commissioners a rate of about 1d. in the pound annually, but that the fines and costs of proceedings have been paid to the credit of the local rates, to the smooth working of the Act and general satisfaction of the local bodies; and whether, in view of the fact that an order has been issued that only one-third of the fines under the Act in the future are to be lodged to the credit of the local rate, and in view of the effect upon the Education Act of this order, he will say what steps he proposes to take in the interest of education.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I would refer to my Answer to the hon. Member for North Londonderry on 17th instant.† My right hon. friend the Attorney-General for Ireland is instituting proceedings in the High Court with the object of obtaining an authoritative decision upon the construction of the statutes regulating the application of the fines in question.

Completion of Sale of Estate of Mr. J. Singleton.

Mr. NOLAN (Louth, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether notices for the sale of the estate of Mr. John Singleton, at Mell, Drogheda, have been filed for the past two years; and, if so, whether he can say when the necessary steps for completing the same will be taken; and whether, in effecting the sale, care will be taken to give the sub-tenants on the estate the full benefit of Section 15 of the Land Act.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that their surveyor is at present engaged on the estate referred to, and it will shortly be visited by an inspector. When all the facts are before the Commissioners they will consider the case of the sub-tenants in accordance with the provisions of Section 15 of the Act of 1903.

Repairs of Barrack Bedding at Dublin.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will explain why the order made in 1896 that all the repairs to barrack bedding at Dublin should be undertaken by the Army Ordnance Department is now upset and a new staff of women taken on at the Royal Infirmary Laundry; what is the pay and what are the emoluments of the superintendent of the laundry; and how many members of his family has this superintendent employed in the public service immediately under his own control, and what are the wages of each from public funds.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) It was decided in 1906, in order to save time, labour, and transport, that a portion of the barrack bedding and linen up to that time washed by contract and repaired by the Army Ordnance Department should be washed and repaired at the military laundry, provided that no increase in the staff of that institution was involved. This procedure has been followed with most satisfactory results. The pay and emoluments of the superintendent for work connected with the laundry are 3s. 6d. a day with free quarters. One of his daughters is employed in the laundry as a calender hand at 9s. per week.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxvi., 124.

Army Pensions—Case of Hugh Craig.

MR. W. BENN (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether Hugh Craig has now sent a medical certificate stating that he is unfit to undergo an anæsthetic; and whether, in view of these circumstances, Craig can be granted a renewal of his pension.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) This case has been very carefully considered. It is too complicated to be dealt with adequately in reply to a Question, and I will communicate with my hon. friend about it by letter.

Expenditure on Production of Vaccine for the Army.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): To ask the Secretary of State for War what is the amount of the expenditure on the production of vaccine matter for the Army; and under what heading of the Estimates is the expenditure included.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The estimated yearly expenditure from Army Votes for the production of vaccine matter amounts to £410, towards which the Admiralty make a contribution of £250 for the vaccine supplied to the Navy. The expenditure is shown under Vote 1 Q (Pay, etc. of the Army Veterinary Service), p. 38.

Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine—Government Grants.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what amount is contributed by the Imperial Government towards the maintenance of the Tropical School of Medicine at Liverpool; what is the total cost of maintenance of that hospital, and what amount is contributed by the Government of the Congo; and what sum, if any, is contributed by the Government to similar hospitals in London.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) A sum of £500 a year is contributed by the Imperial Government to the Tropical Diseases Research Fund, administered by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and an annual grant is made from this fund to the Tropical School of Medicine at Liverpool. The amount of the grant for the present financial year is £500. The school is not a Government institution, and I am unable to say what is the total cost of its maintenance and what amount is contributed by the Government of the Congo. An annual grant is also made from the fund to the School of Tropical Medicine in London. The amount of the grant to that school for the present financial year is £1,000, with an additional grant of £1,000 to be spread over three years, for the purpose of creating the appointment of a pathological entomologist at the school.

Exchequer and Audit Department Luncheon Room.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Exchequer and Audit Department is the only Government Department which prohibits the staff from lunching outside the building; if so, will he explain why; whether he will state the amount of the Treasury allowance towards the up-keep of the luncheon-room in this Department, exclusive of free housing accommodation, fire, and light; whether the managers of this luncheon-room have now nearly £300 profit to their credit in the bank; if so, will he explain why this profit has not been paid into the Exchequer; and, seeing that this profit has been made because of the prohibition to lunch outside the building, will he consider the advisability of bringing this Government Department into line with other Government Departments by allowing the members the option of lunching where they please.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The amount of the allowance is, as shown in the Estimates—

	£
Servants - - - -	50
Maintenance of Plant -	26
Total - - -	£76

I am informed that the balance of about £300 on the 31st March, 1907, was produced by exceptional causes and is now in process of reduction. It is not payable to the Exchequer, because it is the property of the members of the Department. Such matters as arrangements as to lunch are within the discretion of the heads of Departments.

Reorganisation of Exchequer and Audit Department—Treatment of Officials.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will grant a Return showing the age and length of service of each of the men belonging to the old examiner class in the Exchequer and Audit Department who, on the recent reorganisation of that Department, were informed that they could hope to derive no benefit under the new scheme and would be given facilities for retiring on pension; whether he will explain why such treatment was meted out to capable and experienced officials; whether one of these officials was subsequently promoted; and whether due consideration will now be given to the claims of the remainder of these officials.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The information asked for is as follows—

	Age on 1/11/05.	Length of Service.	Remarks.
1	59	36½ years	Since retired.
2	57½	38½ ,,	Since retired.
3	59	41½ ,,	Since retired.
4	57½	39½ ,,	
5	51	31 ,,	
6	52½	30½ ,,	Since promoted.
7	50½	30½ ,,	
8	50½	30½ ,,	
9	48½	30½ ,,	
10	50	30½ ,,	Since retired.
11	49	30 ,,	
12	47	30 ,,	
13	49	30 ,,	Since retired.

The course referred to in the Question was adopted in the interests of the officers themselves and of the Department, but of course the claims to promotion of all who elected to remain are considered with those of the rest of the establishment.

Exchequer and Audit Department—Allowance and Pension of Private Secretary to the Comptroller.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether allowance as private secretary to the Comptroller and Auditor-General is allowed under the Superannuation Acts and regulations bearing thereon to count towards pension; whether £50 of this allowance has now been merged, or is about to be merged, in the salary of the present holder of this position; if so, under what authority; whether this £50 will be included in calculating his pension on retirement; and, if so, seeing that the salary of this official is now nearly

£700 per annum and that there are so many subordinates in the Department with small salaries, will he explain the reasons for this procedure.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. On the abolition of the post of chief clerk the officer referred to was required to perform part of the duties, and a pensionable allowance of £50 a year was accordingly added to his salary under Treasury authority, his secretarial allowance being reduced by a corresponding amount.

Saturday Half-Holiday in Government Departments.

Mr. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether a weekly Saturday half-holiday is granted in any Government Department; if so, will he state the Departments in which this concession is made; and by what authority, and under what conditions.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) I have nothing to add to numerous Answers which I have already given on this subject during the present session.

Marking of Imports of Foreign Yeast.

Mr. FIELD: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that, owing to yeast being one of the exempted articles under the Merchandise Marks Act, Foreign yeast imported into Ireland and England is not marked as such, and that it is being sold as of home manufacture, thus injuring the producers of yeast in Ireland and Scotland, and whether he can arrange that measures shall be taken to identify imported yeast.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The hon. Member is mistaken in supposing that yeast is exempted from the operation of the Merchandise Marks Act. I am informed by the Commissioners of Customs that, so far as they are aware, no yeast is imported bearing marks which contravene that Act, which, as the hon. Member is doubtless aware, does not require all imported goods, whether marked or not, to bear an indication of their origin. The sale of foreign yeast as yeast of home manufacture would be an offence against the Act, and if any specific cases of such sales are brought to my notice under the Board of Trade Regulations, I will have them carefully considered with a view to prosecution, should the circumstances justify such a step.

Road Signs in England and Wales.

Mr. MARNHAM (Surrey, Chertsey): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state the number of signposts denoting dangerous corners, cross roads, and precipitous places, set up by each of the county councils in England and Wales, under Section 10 (2) of The Motor Car Act, 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The numbers are shown in the following table. The total of them is 9,025—

County Council.	Number of Signposts.
England:	
Bedfordshire - - -	222
Berkshire - - -	490
Buckinghamshire - -	60
Cambridgeshire - -	68
Isle of Ely - - -	17
Cheshire - - -	425
Cornwall - - -	None
Cumberland - - -	53 *
Derbyshire - - -	None †
Devonshire - - -	None
Dorsetshire - - -	None
Durham - - -	217
Essex - - - -	510
Gloucestershire - -	1‡
Herefordshire - -	80
Hertfordshire - - -	218
Huntingdonshire - -	12
Isle of Wight - -	18 §
Kent - - - -	675
Lancashire - - -	420
Leicestershire - -	61
Lincolnshire Holland) -	None
Lincolnshire (Kesteven) -	143
Lincolnshire (Lindsay) -	92
London - - - -	3
Middlesex - - -	985

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* The number is increasing every month.

† The county council have taken over many cyclist notices.

‡ Lamp on Chepstow Bridge.

§ The county council have also taken over the signposts belonging to the Cyclists Touring Club and the National Cyclists Union.

|| Thirty-three will shortly be erected.

County Council.	Number of Signposts.
England—*continued :*	
Monmouthshire - -	None
Norfolk - - - -	None
Northamptonshire - -	104
Northumberland - -	355
Nottinghamshire - -	23
Oxfordshire - - -	48
Peterborough (Soke of) -	27
Rutlandshire - - -	8
Salop - - - - -	165
Somersetshire - -	None §
Southampton - - -	29
Staffordshire - - -	None
Suffolk (East) - -	48
Suffolk (West) - -	None
Surrey - - - - -	420
Sussex (East) - -	198
Sussex (West) - -	145
Warwickshire - -	50
Westmorland - - -	308
Wiltshire - - -	None ¶
Worcestershire - -	102
Yorkshire (East Riding) -	142
Yorkshire (North Riding)	314
Yorkshire (West Riding) -	630 **
Wales :	
Anglesey - - -	9
Breconshire - - -	6
Cardiganshire - -	20
Carmarthenshire - -	None
Carnarvonshire - -	52
Denbighshire - -	122
Flintshire - - -	80 ††
Glamorganshire - -	595
Merionethshire - -	116
Montgomeryshire - -	19 ‡‡
Pembrokeshire - -	None §§
Radnorshire - - -	120

Poor Law—Maintenance of Relatives.

MR. REES: To ask the President of the Local Government Board, whether he proposes to amend the Law relating to the maintenance of relatives, by giving magistrates power to award imprisonment with hard labour to persons who fail to comply with a magisterial order to contribute towards a relative's support.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) As I stated in reply to a previous Question, the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws have before them the subject of the contributions which should be made by persons for the support of their relatives, and I do not think that legislation should be proposed with regard to the matter pending their Report. I have brought under their notice the representations which I have received on the subject.

Ex-telegraph Messengers at Dundee—Appointments as Postmen.

MR. WILKIE (Dundee): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that there are a number of ex-telegraph messengers at Dundee with long service as assistant postmen who are not yet appointed as postmen; and whether steps will be taken to give these men full-time appointments at an early date.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) There are nine ex-telegraph messengers at Dundee who have been employed as assistant postmen for over three years. I hope shortly to be in a position to give seven of them established appointments, and I hope that it may be possible to provide the remaining two with similar appointments at no very distant date. All of them were warned when they were nominated as assistant postmen that they would probably have to wait four years for established posts.

Irish Department of Agriculture—Appointment and Duties of Veterinary Inspectors.

MR. DELANY: To ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether temporary veterinary inspectors are about to be appointed by the Department; and, if so, can he state the number and what special duties they are appointed to discharge.

(*Answered by Mr. T. W. Russell.*) Three temporary veterinary inspectors are about to be appointed. Advertisements have been issued inviting applications from qualified veterinary surgeons. The duties to be discharged are those of a professional nature which arise in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of the Diseases of Animals Acts and the Orders thereunder relating to swine fever and other diseases of animals.

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§ The county council have also taken over the signposts belonging to the Cyclists Touring Club and the National Cyclists Union.

¶ The county council have taken over signposts belonging to the Cyclists Touring Club.

** Including some in course of erection.

†† Exclusive of seventy notices "Drive slowly through the village."

‡‡ Nine more are in course of erection.

§§ The county council have voted £40 for the purpose of erecting signposts.

MR. DELANY: To ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether a vacancy exists in the permanent veterinary staff of the Department; and whether it is proposed to import a man to fill the position.

(*Answered by Mr. T. W. Russell.*) There is no vacancy at present on the permanent veterinary staff of the Department.

Ships Undergoing "Extensive Refit."

MR. NIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he will state the names of the ships of the Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean Fleets which, since effect was given to the redistribution scheme, have been placed in dockyard hands for repair or refits, and the names of the ships by which they have been temporarily replaced in their respective squadrons; whether all such ships have been replaced; and, if not, what are the reasons for departing from the rule laid down.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The rule laid down is that ships undergoing "extensive refit" will be replaced in their respective fleets. The ships which have undergone such refit since the last redistribution of the fleet are—

Channel Fleet—

"Commonwealth" replaced by "Mars."

"Dominion" replaced by "Hannibal."

"Juno" replaced by "Gladiator."

Atlantic Fleet—

"Exmouth" replaced by "Caesar."

Ordinary repairs have been proceeding as usual in all fleets, but these do not entail the replacement of the ship concerned.

Ammunition Allowance to the Fleets.

MR. NIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the annual allowance of ammunition for ships of the Channel, Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Home fleets is the same for each fleet; whether the three divisions of the Home fleet are each allowed the same quantity; and whether the regulations framed for governing the target practice of the Home fleet are identical with those for the other fleets; and, if not, in what respect they differ.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The allowance of ammunition and the regulations governing the target practice are the same for all fully-manned ships in the fleets. For the ships not fully manned the time of firing is adjusted to meet the slight reduction in the allowance of ammunition.

Sentence on Henry Byne.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can see his way to recommend the reduction of the sentence on Henry Byne, a first offender, eighteen years of age, who on 9th March was sentenced by Sir Ralph Littler to twenty-one months' hard labour, and is now in Borstal prison.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The circumstances of this case have already been under my consideration. The prisoner was convicted of two serious offences of house-breaking, committed on different dates, and the case appears to me to be a proper one for the special treatment which the prisoner is receiving at Borstal. The Commissioners of Prisons have repeatedly called attention in their Annual Reports to the uselessness of short sentences in the case of prisoners for whom the Borstal treatment is considered desirable, and I regret that I do not feel myself justified in advising any reduction of the sentence in this case.

Result of Experiments with Natural and Synthetic Indigos.

MR. REES: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he can give the House any information regarding the results attained by the experiments made at Cawnpore as to the relative merits of natural and synthetic indigos, the publication of which might be of advantage to the native industry and the natural dye.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) A full account of the experiments is given by Mr. C. Bergtheil, of the Bengal Agricultural Department, in the " Indian Trade Journal," of the 11th April, 1907. He reports that the experiments, so far as they went, were favourable to the natural indigo as a dye for woollen piece-goods, but that they required to be repeated and supplemented by other experiments before a definite judgment could be formed. It is understood that experiments will be carried out by the Agricultural Department of Bengal.

Education of Children on Indian Tea Plantations.

MR. HICKS BEACH: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether Reports have yet been received from the officers appointed in Bengal and in Eastern Bengal and Assam to inquire into the subject of the education of children on tea gardens; and what steps have been taken in regard to this matter in Madras and the Central Provinces.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) As regards Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Reports are being considered by the Government of India in consultation with the local governments. There are no tea estates in the Central Provinces. In Madras the area under tea is less than 8,000 acres, and I am not aware that any special measures are necessary to secure the education of children. Of course the ordinary primary schools of the country are open.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Saltburn Gun Practice Accident.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will ascertain why the commander of H.M.S. "Cæsar" failed to reply to a letter, dated the 6th February last, from the clerk to the Roskeen Parish Council, representing that a young girl residing at Saltburn, Ross-shire, had been seriously injured by gunners from H.M.S. "Cæsar" during gun-practice last summer; and will he state why the letter was not submitted to the Board of Admiralty with a Report thereon.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. LAMBERT, Devonshire, South Molton): No letter dated 6th February last from the clerk of the Roskeen Parish Council can be traced as having been received by H.M.S. " Cæsar."

MR. WEIR: I will forward the hon. Gentleman a copy of the letter.

Home Fleet's Target Practice Ammunition.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if there has been any change of policy with regard to the amount of ammunition for practice purposes allowed to the Home Fleet since it was announced by the First Lord of the Admiralty, on 1st May, that the amount of ammunition allowed per annum to this Fleet, including the Nore Division, was only thirteen-sixteenths of that allowed to other Fleets; and if it is now the case that the Nore Division of the Home Fleet is allowed the same amount of ammunition for practice purposes as the Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean Fleets, will he state on what date the new order came into force.

MR. LAMBERT: The Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleet having represented the desirability of the three-sixteenths increase, it was sanctioned on 17th May last; and the reply to the second part of the Question is in the affirmative.

Chatham Dockyard.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if, in addition to the work in progress at the dockyard at Chatham and the ordinary current repairs, it is proposed to lay down there any new battleships or cruisers during the current year.

MR. LAMBERT: No, Sir.

Chatham Dockyard Channel.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if the channel to the Chatham dockyard is to be deepened so as to allow of the passage of the " Dreadnought" and other battleships of great draught of water.

MR. LAMBERT: The Answer is in the negative. I may add that the

Sheerness Bar is to be dredged to allow deep-draught ships to pass over it at half-tide.

MR. FELL: What about the "Dreadnought?"

MR. LAMBERT: The "Dreadnought" can get up to Chatham at certain states of the tide.

MR. ARTHUR LEE: Can she enter Chatham dockyard at any state of the tide?

MR. LAMBERT: I said she could get up at certain states of the tide.

Ships' Magazines—Refrigerating Machinery.

MR. ARTHUR LEE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can give an approximate estimate of the sum that will be expended during the current financial year on refrigerating machinery for magazines in His Majesty's ships.

MR. LAMBERT: The approximate estimate is a sum not exceeding £200,000.

MR. ARTHUR LEE: And is that sum to be provided out of the Shipbuilding Vote as it stands, or is there to be a supplementary Estimate?

MR. LAMBERT: My right hon. friend will make a statement on that on the Shipbuilding Vote.

The Channel Fleet.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, besides the four armoured cruisers absent in America, the Channel Fleet has been short of four battleships since 26th May, and from 5th May to 19th May the Channel Fleet has been three battleships short, so that its fighting strength has for a long interval been reduced from fourteen to ten or eleven battleships.

MR. LAMBERT: My information does not coincide with that in the hon Member's Question. The Channel Fleet was four battleships short only for five days from 10th June. This can hardly be termed a long interval. In any case, the circumstances were exceptional, and the Admiralty must be permitted to exercise their discretion as to these matters.

MR. BELLAIRS: I adhere to my information, and I should like to ask the hon. Member if he still adheres to his Answer on 17th June, when he said that since February, 1907, only three battleships had been absent. He never said anything about a fourth.

[No Answer was returned].

MR. GEORGE FABER (York): How many are absent now?

MR. LAMBERT: None, Sir.

MR. GEORGE FABER: Is the "Scout" which on paper is attached to the Fleet with it at present?

MR. LAMBERT: If the hon. Gentleman will put down a Question, I will get him full information.

H.M.S. "Triumph."

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, in view of the official announcement that H.M.S. "Triumph" will be a period of seven weeks absent from the Channel Fleet, whether he will state why this ship has not been replaced in accordance with the Board's Memorandum of 23rd October, 1906, to the effect that any vessel in the Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean Fleets requiring an extensive refit will be replaced temporarily by a ship of the Home Fleet.

MR. LAMBERT: As stated by my right hon. friend the Secretary to the Admiralty last Thursday, the "Triumph" is undergoing her usual annual refit, and this does not come under the category of extensive refits contemplated in the Admiralty Memorandum referred to.

MR. BELLAIRS: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the Channel Fleet used to consist of seventeen battleships, and that when the number was reduced to fourteen it was provided in the Memorandum that any vessel away for refit should be substituted by another one? Is not that to be done when a ship is away six or seven weeks?

MR. LAMBERT: The Admiralty Memorandum is very clear. It provides that when a ship has to undergo an extensive refit another shall be substituted. In this case the "Triumph" was only undergoing her usual annual refit.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham): Is not a seven weeks refit an extensive refit?

[No Answer was returned.]

Rates on Ordnance Factories.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the fact that, whereas the War Office in the charges for the ordnance factories include proportionate charges for the payments in respect of contributions to local authorities in lieu of rates, the Admiralty, in the work of building and repairing ships at the Royal dockyards, do not allow for these payments; and whether the Treasury will take steps to request the Admiralty to conform to the business methods of the War Office, in view of the fact that the payments for local rates are in both cases borne by Civil Service Estimates, and there exists no valid reason why the same methods should not be pursued.

MR. LAMBERT: Contributions in aid of local rates in respect of the ordnance factories are not borne by Civil Service Votes. The amount is repaid as an appropriation in aid. No such repayment is made in respect of the dockyards.

Dockyard Rates.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury the total sum paid in lieu of rates for one year in respect of the five dockyards of Chatham, Sheerness, Portsmouth, Devonport, including extensions, and Pembroke.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury): The total amount of the contributions in lieu of rates in respect of the five dockyards during the year ended 31st March last was £58,028. This sum does not include any payment on account of the new extension at Devonport, as the valuation basis was not agreed upon with the local authorities until after the close of the year.

Abel Heat Test.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary for War whether the Abel heat test, either in its ordinary or any modified form, can be usefully applied to cordite containing mercuric chloride; and, if so, what are the changes in the test necessary to make it effective.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): I have been informed that the Abel heat test can be applied successfully provided that the proper modifications are made—but the matter is of such importance that further experiments of a searching character are being carried out, and in a short time I hope to be able to give the noble Lord further information.

LORD R. CECIL: When will it be convenient to have the Question put again?

MR. HALDANE: It will take some little time to carry out the experiments. I will communicate with the noble Lord.

General Officers and Staff Salaries.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if any alteration has been made during the present financial year in the salaries and emoluments of general officers and members of their staff.

MR. HALDANE: There have been practically no changes in the salaries of general officers and their staff since 1905. A few minor alterations have been made this year in the pay of the staff of educational establishments.

Lyddite Shells.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can give any information as to the report of defects recently discovered in the steel supplied to the War Department for the manufacture of lyddite shells for His Majesty's service, which involve the danger of a shell-burst in the gun; how many such shells are in store; and what steps are being taken regarding them.

MR. HALDANE: I would refer the hon. and gallant Member to the replies

I gave on this subject to my hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn on the 13th ultimo and 19th instant,† to which I have nothing to add.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the bursting of a shell in the howitzer battery at Lydd on Saturday? Was that due to defective steel?

MR. HALDANE: I have no reason to believe it had anything to do with it.

Piershill Barracks.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what sum is to be spent during the present financial year upon the barracks at Piershill.

MR. HALDANE: £2,250 will be spent on these barracks during the present financial year. The bulk of this expenditure is in connection with their re-appropriation for artillery.

MR. GEORGE FABER: Is that a sufficient sum for the proper and complete repair of the barracks?

MR. HALDANE: Yes, I think so.

MR. GEORGE FABER: Will the barracks be put in proper sanitary condition?

MR. HALDANE: Yes. The great difficulty is the situation and the antiquity of the buildings, which makes the barracks unsuitable for a whole cavalry regiment.

Reserve Rifle Ammunition.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many rounds of small arm ammunition per rifle we have in reserve.

MR. HALDANE: It would not be in the interests of the public service to give the figures asked for by the hon. Member, but I can assure him that the requirements of the troops have been fully provided for.

MR. BELLAIRS: Is the reserve calculated for a full Expeditionary Force of 167,000 men?

MR. HALDANE: I should think so, but would prefer to have notice of the Question.

New War Office Flag-staff.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham): On behalf of the hon. Member for East Down, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state for what reason a flag pole was erected on the new War Office building.

MR. HALDANE: For the purpose of flying a flag.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR: On what occasions is it proposed to fly the flag?

MR. HALDANE: On the appointed days.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR: Will it be flown on the anniversary of Waterloo?

MR. HALDANE: Oh no.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR: What are the appointed days?

MR. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): The 1st April.

The Aldershot Review.

MR. PAULTON (Durham, Bishop Auckland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say what arrangements are proposed to be made for affording to hon. Members an opportunity of visiting Aldershot on the 4th July.

MR. HALDANE: I have been in communication with Sir John French on the subject, and he has most kindly undertaken to arrange as interesting a programme as possible calculated to show hon. Members the nature of the training received by the troops, and the condition of life in barracks. If enough hon. Members signify their intention of going a special train will be engaged. Sir John French has promised to see to transport arrangements at Aldershot during the visit, and luncheon will be provided.

Woolwich Arsenal Discharges.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many men were discharged from Woolwich Arsenal during the week ending 22nd June; and how many received notices to take effect at the end of the following two weeks.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxiv., 608, clxxvi., 449.

MR. HALDANE: Fifty-six men were discharged during the week ending 22nd instant, fifty-six men have received notice to take effect on the 29th instant, and up to the present eleven men to take effect on the 6th proximo.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the discharges will terminate?

MR. HALDANE: I cannot give the exact time, but it is not very far off now.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if, in the discharges taking place at Woolwich, consideration is given to the cases of those who would shortly be entitled to receive bonuses on leaving; and whether any inquiries or representations on this head have been received.

MR. HALDANE: Representations on this head have been received and each case receives individual consideration.

MR. FELL: Do the authorities give consideration to the cases of men who are on the point of becoming entitled to their bonus—I think it is after six or seven years service?

MR. HALDANE: In such cases we do all in our power to keep them on.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the workmen discharged at Woolwich each receive a card giving advice as to emigrating; and if, in doing this, the authorities have considered the fact that every skilled artisan is estimated to be worth at least £300 to the country which may secure him as a citizen.

MR. HALDANE: I explained on the 13th ultimo, in answer to a similar Question from the hon. Member for Stoke-on-Trent, that workmen discharged at Woolwich receive cards informing them that, should they wish to emigrate, the Emigrants' Information Office will supply them with the most reliable information. This action is taken in the interests of the men, and to prevent their being misled by bogus agencies.

Orange Colony Upper House.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will consider the advisability of postponing the actual appointment of Members of the Upper House in the Orange River Colony until the country as a whole has elected its representatives, in view of the importance of ensuring the harmonious working of the two Houses.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): No, Sir. As I informed the hon. Member on June 17th, the Transvaal precedent will be followed in all respects.

Repatriation of Chinese Coolies.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, if Chinese coolies are repatriated in opposition to their desire to renew their contracts for a further term, who will pay the cost of returning them to China.

MR. CHURCHILL: The employer will be called upon to pay in accordance with the bond entered into by him.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if the Home Government has any financial liability during the present year for the repatriation of the Chinese coolies from the Transvaal; and, if so, if any sum has been provided in the Estimates.

MR. CHURCHILL: Any expenditure incurred under the repatriation notices posted last year will be borne by His Majesty's Government, but I cannot say whether any expenditure will actually be incurred. No other liability exists.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): Has any provision been made for this service in this year's Estimates?

MR. CHURCHILL: It is not possible to make provision to defray the cost of any particular service until there are some data available for knowing what the cost of that service is to be.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): Has the right hon. Gentleman any knowledge as to the number of coolies who asked for repatriation?

MR. CHURCHILL: No, Sir. I do not know that any new information has come to hand. No doubt applications are made from time to time. If the hon. Member will put down a Question I will make inquiries.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Sir Richard Solomon, the Transvaal Agent-General in London, telegraphed to the Transvaal Government that the Imperial Government would veto any retention of the Chinese after March, 1908; if so, whether such a telegram was sent with the cognisance or under the authority of His Majesty's Government; and whether His Majesty's Government have intimated or caused intimation to be made at any time, through any channel, that it is their view that a time limit should be set for the presence of the Chinese.

MR. CHURCHILL: The Secretary of State for the Colonies has no control over or responsibility for any correspondence which may pass between an Agent-General and the Colony which he serves. Such correspondence, whatever its nature, is private correspondence; and even were I fully informed upon it, I could give no information to the House. All official communications are transmitted from the Colonial Office to the Transvaal Government through His Majesty's High Commissioner Lord Selborne. The policy of His Majesty's Government upon the subject of Chinese labour has for many months past been before Parliament in its entirety.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON asked for a specific answer to the last part of his question, whether at any time, through any channel, the Government had expressed the wish or the hope that a time limit should be set or the presence of the Chinese.

MR. CHURCHILL: I have answered fully the last part of the Question when I say that the policy of His Majesty's Government on the subject of Chinese labour has for many months been before Parliament in its entirety.

SIR GILBERT PARKER was understood to ask if duplicate copies of the correspondence sent to the Transvaal Government were placed in the hands of the Agent-General for the Colony in London.

MR. CHURCHILL said he had frequently talked to the Agent-General on matters of public interest, but he was not aware how a question of this character, affecting confidential communications passing between the Agent-General and his Government, could be answered in that House. As a matter of fact no suggestion of a time limit for the repatriation of the Chinese had ever come from the Government. He would like to draw attention to the very singular manner in which the affairs of that Colony were dealt with in the House as compared with the affairs of other Colonies in the British Empire.

Opium.

MR. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to a notification recently published in the province of Chihli, telling the poppy farmers to go on with their cultivation of poppy and pointing out that the suppression of opium would cause great loss of revenue, and whether he has any official information that the Chinese Government will take any really effective steps to put down opium smoking if the Government of India restrict their export of the drug.

MR. RUNCIMAN (for Sir EDWARD GREY): My right hon. friend's attention has been called to the notification issued by the Opium Tax Bureau of Chihli, which is doubtless that referred to by the hon. Member. Although it urges the farmers not prematurely to stop the cultivation of opium, it states that a time limit of ten years exists, within which opium cultivation must cease, so that it is not actually in disagreement with the terms of the Imperial Decree. With regard to the second part of my hon. Member's Question, my right hon. friend is unable at present to offer an opinion as to whether the regulations which have been issued will prove successful or not.

Taxation of Unworked Mining Rights.

MR. WEDGWOOD (Newcastle-under-Lyme): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been drawn to the formation in the Transvaal of a league for the taxation of unworked mining rights; and whether the Government will consider the advantage of similar taxation or rating in this country with a view to increasing the supply, and reducing the price, of coal.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): I am aware that the suggestion is one which has been canvassed in the Transvaal; but I do not think that the political and economic conditions of the two industries are sufficiently similar to make the analogy drawn by my hon. friend a very close one. His suggestion shall, however, receive due consideration in common with other proposals for improving the incidence of taxation.

The Transvaal Loan.

MR. ASTBURY (Lancashire, Southport): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can say at what date the £5,000,000 guaranteed loan to the Transvaal will be required; and what form the issue will take.

MR. ASQUITH: I understand from the Transvaal Government that the sum required by them for the purpose to which the loan is to be applied during the next twelve months is not likely to exceed £1,000,000. In these circumstances, I do not contemplate an issue of Transvaal stock in the current financial year. But it is proposed that the Transvaal Government should, in the Act which authorises the raising of the loan of £5,000,000, take powers to borrow temporarily, in anticipation of the issue of the permanent loan, by means of some form of short-dated security to be guaranteed by His Majesty's Government, and to be repaid out of the proceeds of the permanent loan when it is issued. I may add that arrangements are being made by which any fresh public issue, either of local loans stock or of guaranteed 2¾ per cent. stock for Irish land purchase, before 31st December next will be avoided. The raising of £1,000,000 for the Transvaal, either in one sum or by two instalments, by securities of not more than one year's currency, thus represents the maximum demand which is likely to be made upon the money market, in respect of new loans for which His Majesty's Government is either directly or indirectly responsible for some time to come.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) asked when the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to introduce the Transvaal Loan Bill.

MR. ASQUITH: In the first place, the Bill cannot be introduced until there has been a Resolution in Committee and it has been reported; and that Resolution cannot be moved in Committee until the Transvaal Legislature has passed its own Act.

Finance Accounts.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can inform the House when the Finance Accounts and the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for the year 1906–7 will be distributed to Members.

MR. ASQUITH: The Finance Accounts will be distributed in about a fortnight's time, but I am informed that the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue will not be ready before August.

Workmen's Compensation Act—Female Medical Referees.

MR. FERENS (Hull, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in considering arrangements for the appointment of medical referees, under the new Workmen's Compensation Act, he will consider the propriety of appointing competent lady practitioners, having regard to the large number of females who now come under the Act as domestic servants and otherwise.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): At the same time may I ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, having regard to the increased number of female workers affected by the new Workmen's Compensation Act, it is proposed that at least one medical referee in each district should be a woman doctor?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): The question of appointing women medical referees for the purposes of the new Workmen's Compensation Act is under my consideration.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD: When is the right hon. Gentleman likely to be in a position to make a statement on the subject?

MR. GLADSTONE: Probably on the Home Office Vote.

Case of John Commerford of Gateshead.

MR. J. JOHNSON (Gateshead): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the case of John Commerford, a miner, who, at Gateshead on 10th June, was charged with being drunk and disorderly, but against whom the case was dismissed; whether Commerford was taken from his own house through the streets only partly clothed; and whether he will inquire if any compensation has been offered to the man for the treatment he received and the expense he incurred.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have made inquiry into this case, and I find that the man was arrested in the street near his own house, not fully dressed, on a charge of being drunk and disorderly, and was taken to the station 250 yards off. He had been previously warned to go into the house and keep quiet, but had refused to do so. The charge was dismissed. I am not aware that any compensation has been offered to the man, and in view of the facts of the case and of his record I certainly think he deserves none.

MR. J. JOHNSON: Then on what ground did the magistrates dismiss the case?

MR. GLADSTONE: I suppose they exercised their discretion on the facts.

Edalji Case.

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department on what grounds he has decided to withhold from the House of Commons Papers which have been before the Edalji Committee and which will be referred to on the Home Office Vote.

MR. GLADSTONE: The reason for my decision is that all documents and communications, which are received by the Home Office in relation to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, are strictly confidential; and that it would be contrary to the public interest if they were not so treated.

LORD R. CECIL: May I ask if the documents submitted to the Edalji Committee are in the same position as Home Office documents relative to the prerogative of mercy?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir. All the documents at the Home Office were submitted to the Committee.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: Will the Papers be referred to on the Home Office Vote?

MR. GLADSTONE: I cannot say at present.

Registered Clubs.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I desire to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state the number of clubs of all classes registered on the 1st January, 1903, and the number so registered 1st January, 1907; how many full and how many off-licences were extinguished during those five years; how many new full and off-licences were issued in the four years ending 31st December, 1906; and how many clubs have been removed from the register by legal process under the Act of 1902, giving the number struck off the register for each year.

MR. GLADSTONE: As I have intimated to my hon. friend, the Answer to this Question is long and contains a good many figures, and I will, with his permission, hand it in to-day for circulation with the Votes.†

MR. CREMER: I shall be very pleased.

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† See pages 855–6.

Immigration Boards.

MR. CREMER: I desire to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what salaries or fees are paid to the members of the immigrant boards in the different ports of the United Kingdom; if his attention has been called to a promise made by the right hon. Member for St. Augustine's, when the Pauper Immigrants' Bill was being discussed in the last Parliament, that the names of workmen should be placed upon the panel from which the members of the immigrant boards were to be selected; if any such names were so placed, whether any of them have been appointed upon the boards, or if their names still remain upon the panel; and whether, seeing that so many of the immigrants belong to the destitute class, he will appoint upon each immigrant board some workman who has a practical acquaintance with the poor.

MR. GLADSTONE: A payment of one guinea is made to members of immigration boards for each meeting attended, to cover any expenses to which they may be put. I am aware of the promise referred to, and I know, as I stated in answer to the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets in March of last year, that it was kept in view in making the appointments which were practically all settled when I took office. No names have been removed from the panels. As to the actual service upon Boards of individual members, I have to say that this must depend on circumstances. Members are summoned, so far as possible, in rotation, but Boards have often to be convened in great haste, and members may have to serve who are immediately available. For this reason I cannot undertake that a workman shall appear on every Board; but I shall be ready to consider any suggestions for increasing the number of workmen, or representatives of their class, on the panels in any case where good cause is shown and suitable persons are suggested.

MR. CREMER: Why not place them on the Board? Have any workmen been selected to serve?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have dealt with that in my Answer.

MR. CROOKS: Is there anyone on any of these Boards with practical experience?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir.

Living Statuary.

SIR F. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has obtained, or proposes to obtain, from the metropolitan police authorities, or from any other sources, reports as to the character of the living statuary performances now being carried out in the metropolis; whether any such reports or inquiries show that those performances are such as to bring them within the existing law; and what steps he will take, either by prosecution or by strengthening the law, to prevent or restrict such performances where found to be objectionable.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have made inquiry of the kind suggested by my hon. friend, but the performances referred to do not appear to me to justify interference by the police under the existing law. The London County Council exercises control as the licensing authority of the places where the performances take place. I understand that the question has been under consideration by a committee of that body, who are keeping these exhibitions under strict observation.

German State Insurance.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY (Paddington, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the successful working of the State insurance system of Germany and of the character of the Report on the subject presented to Parliament by a Departmental Committee, he will appoint a Select Committee of this House to consider and report upon the matter.

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg to answer this Question on behalf of my right hon. friend. I remain of the opinion I expressed on the 4th April last year in the course of the debate on the Amendment moved by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, to the Motion for the Second Reading of the Workmen's Compensation Bill, namely, that furthur inquiry was needed before any scheme of compulsory or national insurance could be adopted, and that there should be no unnecessary delay in commencing a practical inquiry directed to that end. I cannot state at this moment the precise form the inquiry will take, but it should be conducted by a body whose *status* and composition are commensurate with the great importance of the subject.

Treatment of Juvenile Offenders.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN (Carmarthenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Home Secretary whether his attention has been called to the conviction of four boys, aged nine, twelve, twelve, and thirteen, by the Dudley magistrates for the offence of bathing in the canal, within 200 yards of the street, without wearing bathing drawers; whether, through not being able to pay the fines imposed, the boys were sent to prison for seven days; whether the boys were of good character; and whether, having regard to their age and character and the trifling nature of their offence, the right hon. Gentleman would order their discharge forthwith.

MR. GLADSTONE: Three only of the boys were sent to prison, the fourth having had his fine paid. As soon as I heard of the matter on Thursday last I sent a telegram of inquiry, and in consequence of what I was informed I sent a telegram the following day ordering the immediate release of the boys.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY asked whether there was any method of dealing with these Justices.

MR. GLADSTONE: Will my hon. friend defer his Question? I am making inquiries into the whole case.

MR. LEA (St. Pancras, E.): Will the right hon. Gentleman represent these cases to the Lord Chancellor with a view to having these Justices kicked out?

[No Answer was returned.]

Railway Nationalisation.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in view of the success of the policy of railway nationalisation in foreign countries and British Possessions, he can see his way to the appointment of a Royal Commission or Select Committee of this House to report upon the advisability of nationalising the railways of the United Kingdom.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): I understand that the Question referred to is within the scope of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways, so far as those railways are concerned. I think my hon. friend had better await the Report of that Commission before pressing for another.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: Does the right hon. Gentleman agree with the statement in the Question that the nationalisation of railways has been a comparative success?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Yes, I certainly think so.

Increased Coal Freights.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been directed to the fact that the railway companies are increasing their charges for the carriage of coal; and whether, in view of the fact that cheap coal is the foundation of British prosperity, he contemplates taking any action in the matter, whether by way of seeking further powers for the control of railway rates or otherwise.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Notice of the intention of the railway companies of Great Britain to alter the method of calculating the weight of coal carried by them has been given to the Board of Trade. This alteration will be equivalent to an increase in the rates for conveyance, and it will therefore, under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1894, lie upon the companies to prove, if complaint is made, that the increase is reasonable. If any complaints are received in the Board of Trade from traders, my hon. friend may depend upon it that they will be fully investigated. The matter is one with which the Railway and Canal Commissioners have full power to deal.

German National Railway Systems.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in connection with the forthcoming Report on German commercial conditions, special attention will be given to the German national railway systems; and whether he will cause to be prepared a section comparing the respective fares, freight-charges, facilities, wages, casualties, direct and indirect profits, &c., of the British and Prussian railways.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Information is being collected with respect to economic conditions in Germany, and also with regard to German railways. I trust that the results of the inquiry will throw light on several of the questions in which my hon. friend is interested.

*MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: Will the right hon. Gentleman see that the Report deals with the policy of the German Federal State and municipal governments in regard to the ownership of public utilities?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I do not think the Special Investigator can go into a policy of that kind.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: Will ample facts be collected on the subject?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Certainly.

MR. HAROLD COX (Preston): Will the right hon. Gentleman ascertain if the nationalisation of the German telegraphs has proved as complete a failure as it has been in this country?

[No Answer was returned.]

Underground Railways—The Model Workmen's Train Clause

MR. CROOKS: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, seeing that the Joint Select Committee on London underground railways which sat in 1901 recommended that the model workmen's train clause drawn up by the London County Council should be inserted in all Private Bills authorising the construction of electric railways in London, he will say if such model clause has been inserted in all such Private Bills from 1901 down to and including the present session.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The Committee referred to recommended that clauses based on certain provisions of the Central London Railway Act, 1900, should be inserted in all Bills authorising the construction of underground railways, and such clauses have been included in all the Acts passed since 1901 authorising such lines in London. In the case of the London and North-Western Railway Bill of this session, authorising the construction of new lines to Watford, of which only the first three miles are underground, the Committee on the Bill have not, I believe, thought it necessary to insert provisions in this form, but have added a clause to the effect that workmen's fares on the new lines are not to exceed those now in operation on the existing lines.

Manning of the Mercantile Marine s.s. "Maritta"

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesbrough): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can state if the Board of Trade surveyor who recently investigated the manning of the steamer "Maritta" at Cardiff was an engineer surveyor or a shipwright surveyor; what practical sea experience the surveyor in question had; whether he reported to the Board of Trade that the six unqualified men engaged were not British seamen but Chinamen; if he is aware that by the usual practice where Chinamen or lascars are employed as seamen double the number of men are engaged; what evidence was submitted to the surveyor to prove that these Chinamen had three years sea service; whether, in giving the orders to test the efficiency of these men, such orders were given in the Chinese language; and whether the President of the Board of Trade is aware that the Chinamen were unable to speak English.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The surveyor who investigated the manning of the "Maritta" was a ship surveyor with over twenty-one years service from apprentice to master, of which period about three years were in command. He reported to the Board that the six seamen were Chinamen. No evidence was required as to their having had three years sea service as they were not shipped as "A.B's" but as "seamen." The surveyor states that he gave them several orders in English which they clearly understood, and that although they could not speak English fluently they evidently knew sufficient to make themselves understood. I have no precise information as to the general practice with regard to the proportion of Chinamen and lascars to Europeans when shipped as seamen, but I am advised that in most cases the same number of Chinamen are carried as European seamen.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON: Arising out of that Answer, may I ask if the right hon. Gentleman's attention has been called to the Manning Committee's Report, in which they say, in the 99th paragraph, "After full consideration of the evidence laid before us, and after regarding that subject from various points of view, we have come to the conclusion that no British steamer of or above 700 tons gross measurement ought to be allowed to proceed to sea from a British port without at least six deck hands—that is, six in addition to the master, and at least two mates—and of these six deck hands at least four should be able seamen." I would like to ask whether the attention of the right hon. Gentleman has been called to that paragraph, and whether, seeing the whole of these Chinamen were ordinary seamen, he thinks this vessel was properly manned under the circumstances.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Of course the Board of Trade considered all that when they decided whether the vessel was properly manned or not. I cannot go beyond the powers with which I am equipped by the Act of 1897. As far as that Act is concerned this ship was undoubtedly properly manned within the provisions of the Act of Parliament.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON: May I remind the right hon. Gentleman that at the Colonial Conference he said the Board of Trade had power to detain such ships as were not efficiently manned?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Certainly. I adhere to that opinion, but I cannot go beyond the powers which I have got under this Act of Parliament. I adhere to what I said, but under these powers this ship was properly manned.

MR. LEA: May I ask whether in view of the agitation which the Liberal Party has conducted against the employment of Chinese in South Africa, and in order to maintain consistency, the right hon. Gentleman will do all in his power to prohibit the employment of Chinese on ships, especially in view of the fact that many of the ships on which Chinese are employed are owned by Members of this House. [Cries of "Radicals."] And Tories too.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The hon. Member knows perfectly well I have no power to prohibit the employment of any alien sailors. Last year certain provisions were incorporated in the Bill which I piloted through the House, which imposed very considerable restrictions upon the employment of aliens, and I am enforcing those restrictions now.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): May I ask whether it is not a fact that no Party in this House has ever expressed any opinion against the Chinese or against Chinese slavery?

[No Answer was returned.]

s.s. "Siberian."

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON; I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the British steamer "Siberian," of 3,446 gross tonnage and 372 feet in length, engaged a crew at the port of Glasgow on the 10th instant; whether he is aware that only seven qualified able seamen were engaged, whereas on the previous voyage the same vessel carried sixteen able seamen; whether the "Siberian" is licensed to carry passengers, and how many passengers she carried when leaving Glasgow on the 10th instant; whether the owners complied with the regulations for emigrant ships which provide that a fixed number of qualified able seamen shall be carried on emigrant ships; and if he has received any report with regard to the manning of the "Siberian."

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The "Siberian" is a steamer of 3,846 tons gross and 372 feet long. She is licensed to carry passengers. She left Glasgow on the 12th inst. for Halifax *via* Liverpool. She had twelve A.B's with proven service. She also had six seamen who the emigration officer (who is a surveyor) was satisfied were *bona fide* A.Bs, but they could not prove the required service. One of them was a qualified seaman in the Naval Reserve and another was A.B. on a previous voyage. The vessel signed sixteen A.B's on her previous voyage, but eleven of those could not prove A.B's. service. She carried no passengers from Glasgow but embarked 653 at Liverpool.

The regulations as to the manning of emigrant ships were complied with and no special report was required or made in the case.

Mr. HAVELOCK WILSON: Arising out of that Answer, may I ask whether according to the regulations this vessel should have carried twenty-eight deck hands, of course including the officers, and whether, as it only carried twenty-two deck hands, the right hon. Gentleman can explain why the emigration officer allowed the ship to proceed shorthanded?

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have really nothing to add to the Answer I have given, which was I think a very detailed one.

Mr. HAVELOCK WILSON: I will call attention to this matter on the Estimates.

s.s. "Astoria."

Mr. HAVELOCK WILSON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the British steamer "Astoria" engaged a crew at the port of Glasgow on the 7th June, 1907, and that of the men engaged as deck hands only four were qualified able seamen; whether he is aware that on her previous voyage the same vessel carried fifteen able seamen, and that the "Astoria" is a vessel of 5,086 gross tonnage and is 437 feet in length and is licensed to carry passengers; whether he can state how many passengers were being carried when the vessel left Glasgow on the 7th instant; and whether the owners have complied with the regulations for emigrant ships which provide that a definite number of able seamen shall be carried on all emigrant and passenger ships; and has any official report been received with regard to the manning of the "Astoria."

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: The "Astoria" is a steamship of the gross tonnage and length stated in the Question and is licensed to carry passengers. She cleared from Glasgow on the 7th instant, with 744 passengers. She had nine A.B's. with proven services, and thirteen seamen with services not proven. The emigration officer was satisfied that these thirteen seamen were all *bona fide* A.B's., as far as their efficiency went. One of them was known to the officer as having been a long time in the same service, and was promoted to be boatswain, and another was signed A.B. on her previous voyage. The emigration officer (who is a surveyor) was satisfied that at the time of clearance the regulations regarding manning were complied with, and no special report was required or made in the case. The vessel on her previous voyage shipped eleven seamen with proved service as A.B's. and eleven seamen not so proven.

Mr. HAVELOCK WILSON: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that this vessel, according to the emigrant regulations, ought to carry thirty-five men on deck, including officers, and whether as a matter of fact it only carried twenty-seven, and whether that was reported to the Board of Trade, and whether the ship went away shorthanded?

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: That is not in accordance with my information.

Mr. HAVELOCK WILSON: I shall call attention to this also on the Estimates.

Inquiry into the Economic Condition of Germany.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether it is intended to publish the results of the inquiries which he stated at the Imperial Conference he had instituted into economic conditions in Germany; and, if so, when.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: The results will be published as soon as they are ready, but I cannot name a date. The inquiries are still proceeding, and will not be complete for some time.

German Trade Statistics—Mark Value.

Mr. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the figures of German trade in the accounts relating to the trade of foreign countries are calculated on the basis of twenty marks being equal to one sovereign, the result being to exaggerate the combined imports and exports of Germany for 1906 by a value of nearly 14,000,000 sterling; and whether he proposes to alter the mode of calculating the figures in the future.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I am aware that the rate of twenty marks to the pound which has for many years been adopted in official publications in this country for convenience of calculation does not correspond accurately with the average rate of exchange, and that the effect is to exaggerate the totals of German trade to about the extent stated by my hon. friend, viz., £14,000,000. I will consider how far it is advisable to make a change, having regard to the desirability of preserving continuity in the statistics, but the difficulty of making a change is very great owing to the fluctuations of exchange. I may point out that the value of German trade in marks is also given in the accounts to which the Question relates.

Colwyn Bay Sewerage.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that the promenade at Colwyn Bay is constructed for upwards of two miles over the top of the main sewer which carries the sewage into the sea at Rhos-on-Sea; and, seeing that the sewer is ventilated by means of ventilating shafts on the parade, will he ascertain whether any less offensive means of ventilating the sewer can be adopted; and, in view of the sewage stench at Rhos-on-Sea, will he suggest to the local authorities the expediency of carrying the sewage further out to sea.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I understand that the promenade at Colwyn Bay is not constructed over the outfall sewer, but over the main intercepting sewer. The latter sewer is ventilated by ventilating shafts, some of which are on the promenade, but they are of a considerable height, and I am informed that they are no nuisance, and that there have been no complaints with respect to them. I understand that there is now no outfall sewer at Rhos-on-Sea, that outfall having been disconnected and the whole of the sewage connected into the new sewerage scheme, which discharges some 1,530 feet below low-water mark at a point near the Little Orme.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Colwyn Bay Council have constructed the works in accordance with the best engineering advice and that no complaint of any kind has been made?

MR. JOHN BURNS: Yes, that is so.

MR. WEIR: Was not a complaint made ten months ago?

MR. JOHN BURNS: I am aware an unjustifiable complaint was made by the hon. Member himself, and I think it ought not to be repeated on the floor of the House of Commons to the detriment of the local authority which ought not to be pilloried in this fashion. I have given a great deal of time and attention to the matter of the unauthorised and unfounded complaint made ten months ago. I think there is no justification for complaint against the local authority; on the contrary, it has done all that can reasonably be asked of it.

Education Act—Wear-and-Tear Clause.

MR. MASSIE (Wiltshire, Cricklade): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that the Wiltshire education authority has performed all its duties under the wear-and-tear clause of the Education Act, 1902, at an average cost of about 1½d. per scholar, whilst the Dorset authority is commuting the cost by payments to the denominational school managers, amounting in some cases, to 2s. per scholar, and averaging nearly 1s. per scholar over the whole county; and what steps he proposes to take to put an end to this appropriation of public money, which the Local Government Board have declared to be illegal.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I have seen a statement to the effect mentioned in the Question. As I stated in reply to my hon. friend's previous Question, if it is considered that any expenditure incurred by a local education authority in relation to wear and tear in non-provided schools is illegal, the matter should be brought before the auditor at the audit. I have no jurisdiction with regard to it, except on an appeal from his decision.

MR. MASSIE: Does not the auditor report such illegalities?

MR. JOHN BURNS: Yes, when his audit is completed.

Labour Registries.

Mr. ALDEN: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in conjunction with the President of the Board of Trade, he will circulate amongst the municipalities of Great Britain, which at the present moment have labour registries, information regarding the organisation of the labour bureaux in leading Continental cities; and whether, at the same time, he will make it a condition of any future grants from an unemployed fund that the organisation of these labour registries should be adequate for the purpose they have in view.

I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, through the Labour Department, he will cause inquiry to be made as to the working of the labour bureaux in such Continental towns as Berlin, Munich, Leipzig, Strasburg, Frankfurt, and Copenhagen; whether such information could be given to Members of the House; and whether, in conjunction with the President of the Local Government Board, he will circulate this information as to the organisation and conduct of these labour bureaux amongst all the municipalities in Great Britain which, at the present time, have labour registries.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: Perhaps in answering this Question I may be allowed to answer also No. 64 which is addressed to the President of the Board of Trade. Information with regard to the organisation of the labour bureaux at Berlin and Munich, and figures as to the working of the bureaux at Leipsic and Frankfort, and a large number of other German towns, was published in 1904 in a volume entitled "Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed in certain Foreign Countries," which was presented to Parliament and circulated by the Board of Trade to labour bureaux, town clerks, boards of guardians, distress committees, and others. A copy of this volume is being sent to my hon. friend, who will perhaps consider that what has been already done will meet the object he has in view. I cannot make any promise as to the conditions to be attached to any future grants which may be made for the purposes of the Unemployed Workmen Act.

Mr. ALDEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman see that the methods of organising are also circulated? They are not shown in the Report.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: I will confer with my hon. friend.

Public Health Acts.

Sir F. CHANNING: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, whether he will introduce, either in the present or the next session of Parliament, a Bill consolidating and bringing up to date the Public Health Acts and the provisions of amending Acts.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: It would not be practicable to introduce a Bill to consolidate the Acts referred to during the present session. I do not think that, at the present time, I could give any pledge as to legislation for this purpose next year.

Compulsory Notification of Phthisis.

***Sir F. CHANNING**: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has now obtained a Report from the Scottish Local Government Board as to the working of compulsory notification of phthisis in certain towns in Scotland; and, if not, whether he will obtain such detailed Report and lay it before Parliament.

Mr. JOHN BURNS: I am not aware that the Scottish Local Government Board have made any Report on the working of the compulsory notification of phthisis in certain towns in Scotland. The question whether any such Report should be made and laid before Parliament is hardly a matter for me. It appears to be one for my right hon. friend the Secretary for Scotland.

***Sir F. CHANNING**: Having regard to my right hon. friend's replies to previous Questions, will he obtain the opinion of the Scottish Local Government Board?

Mr. JOHN BURNS: Certainly.

Phthisis—Dr. Bulstrode's Report.

Sir F. CHANNING: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Report of Dr. Bulstrode as to the sanatoria for phthisis in England and Wales, and as to voluntary and compulsory notification of phthisis, which was stated on 15th April to be in the Press, will be issued before the Vote for the Local Government Board is taken.

MR. JOHN BURNS: Dr. Bulstrode is engaged in revising the proofs of his Report, but there is a considerable amount of work to be done upon it, and I cannot undertake that it will be issued before the Vote for the Local Government Board is taken.

Telephone Service—Trunk Call Fee.

SIR GILBERT PARKER: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether a charge is made for a trunk call on the telephone system if there is no response to the call; and how much that charge is.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): A reduced charge, which is approximately one quarter of the ordinary fee, is made for a trunk call to which there is no response; but this charge is waived if it appears subsequently that the failure to respond was due to circumstances outside the control of the called subscriber. The charge varies from 1d. to 6d., according to the amount of the full charge for three minutes conversation.

Great Royal Saxon Lottery.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, College): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a circular advertising the Great Royal Saxon Lottery was posted in great number on 19th June in London, franked London, paid; that lotteries have been declared by two members of the Government to be illegal; and whether he will see that his Department will take steps to stop foreign lotteries having advantages which are denied to home lotteries.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: My attention has been called to the circular referred to, and I am in communication with the police on the subject. I am, of course, aware of the illegality of lotteries and fully recognise the importance of preventing as far as possible the use of the post for the distribution of circulars relating to them. It is not the case that postal advantages of any kind are given to foreign lotteries which are denied to home lotteries. Whatever the nature of the contents there are obvious difficulties in the way of stopping circulars if they are posted in closed covers which I am not entitled to open.

Meals for Indigent Children.

MR. BROOKE (Tower Hamlets, Bow and Bromley): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education how many of the local authorities in England and Wales have thus far availed themselves of the Provisions of Meals for Indigent Children Act passed last session; and what are the names of those authorities.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): Except in cases where it is desired to spend money from the rates upon the purchase of food, local authorities are not required by the Act to inform the Board of Education of their proceedings under it; and I have, therefore, no complete information as to the authorities who have in one way or another taken advantage of its provisions. The following seven authorities have been authorised by the Board under Section 3 of the Act to expend moneys out of the rates upon the purchase of food: Aston Manor, Barry, Birmingham, Crewe, Huddersfield, Manchester, and Nottingham. Similar applications from Bradford and Cannock have been received.

Flintshire Education Committee.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to the proceedings at the last monthly meeting of the Flintshire Education Committee, during which it was authoritatively stated that, of the increase in the education rate for the current year, a large proportion, amounting to over £3,000, was due to the cost of maintenance of voluntary or non-provided schools; and if he will inquire into the cause of the increased expenditure.

MR. MCKENNA: The Answer to the first paragraph is in the negative. In reply to the second paragraph, any inquiry into the legality of expenditure by a local education authority is a matter for the district auditor.

Carnarvonshire Non-provided Schools.

Mr. D. A. THOMAS: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the expenditure by the county council on the maintenance of non-provided schools in Carnarvonshire exceeded the Government grants received in respect of such schools by over £4,000 in the year ended 31st March, 1905, and by over £2,000 in the year ended 31st March, 1906; whether these deficits were provided for out of the rates; and, if not, how were they met.

Mr. McKENNA: The Answer to the first paragraph is in the negative. With regard to the second and third paragraphs, I have no information.

Adulteration of Feeding Stuffs.

Mr. C. E. PRICE (Edinburgh, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the county clerk of Berwickshire reported to the Highland Agricultural Society that, of eleven samples of feeding stuffs analysed, six were reported as faulty; and, as the presence of anthrax bacilli in feeding stuffs was also declared to be accountable for the spread of that disease in the Lothians, resulting in the death of several animals, what steps he will take in these districts to check the manufacture and sale of defective feeding stuffs under the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act of 1906.

The TREASURER of the HOUSEHOLD (Sir Edward Strachey, Somersetshire, S.): My right hon. friend has asked me to answer this Question. We have seen a copy of the Report to which my hon. friend refers, and we have been in communication with the local authority respecting it. It appears that the samples were taken before the Act of last session came into operation, and that the local authority were not aware of the result of the analyses until it was too late to take proceedings against any of the vendors. It is clearly necessary, in the interest of agriculturists, that the law, as it now stands, should be vigorously enforced in the county, and one of our inspectors will be instructed to confer with the local authority as to the steps to be taken for this purpose.

Newspaper Competitions.

Mr. ALDEN: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether his attention has been called to competitions which are at present taking place in several weekly papers, the prizes for which are based on the sweepstake principle; and, if so, whether, in view of the law against lotteries, he proposes to take any action in the matter.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir John Walton, Leeds, S.): I cannot express any opinion upon the materials before me, but if my hon. friend will bring the subject before the Director of Public Prosecutions it will receive attention.

Duncanstown Eviction.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that during the absence of Mr. W. J. Cameron from his holding at Duncanstown, Ferintosh, Ross-shire, a lawyer and sheriff's officer, with the local policeman, visited his house, and that the sheriff's officer, after plucking from Mrs. Cameron's arms an infant of three years of age, forcibly ejected the mother, exposing both mother and infant to the cold and rain; and will he state whether he can take any steps to stay the eviction of crofter leaseholders, pending the consideration of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill.

The SECRETARY for SCOTLAND (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire): The facts, I am informed, are as follows:—Cameron being in arrears of rent was ejected by decree of the Court on 19th April, and the house was securely locked by the sheriff's officer. Cameron having returned and forcibly re-entered the premises, decree of re-ejectment was granted and carried out on 5th June, by a sheriff's officer and concurrents. Cameron was not present, and Mrs Cameron having refused to leave when asked was carried out with her child. The constable was in attendance, but took no part whatever in the proceedings. With regard to the last part of my hon. friend's Question, I am unable to add to the Answer given to him on 27th May.† No such steps as are suggested are within my power.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxiv., 1331.

Ardarroch Pier.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Fishery Board for Scotland can see their way to comply with the request of the Ross-shire County Council for a grant in aid of the construction of a pier at Ardarroch, Loch Kishorn, Ross-shire.

MR. SINCLAIR: The Fishery Board are in correspondence with the county council and await further details before they can give a final decision on this matter.

Mellon Udrigle Boatslip.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Congested Districts Board have now received an application for a grant in aid of the establishment of a boatslip at Mellon Udrigle, at the entrance of Gruniard Bay, Ross-shire; and, if so, will he state whether it is proposed to accede to the request.

MR. SINCLAIR: The fishermen referred to by my hon. friend have been informed by the Board that no application can be considered unless it is received through the county council. The matter rests at this point.

Island of Lewis Schools.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that it often happens, more especially in the public schools in the Island of Lewis, that for lack of cloak pegs the children's cloaks are piled in a heap, with the result that the cloaks are frequently quite damp when required by the children on leaving school; and will he consider the expediency of giving instructions for all public schools to be provided with cloak pegs.

MR. SINCLAIR: Proper cloak-room accommodation is a general requirement for schools receiving grants under the Code. I am not aware that the supply of cloak pegs is often defective, but if the hon. Member will name specific instances in which this is supposed to be the case, inquiry will be made with a view to improvement being effected.

Shader Landing Place.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the plans for the proposed works at the landing place at Shader, Island of Lewis, which were forwarded to him by the Ross-shire County Council in February last, have yet been approved by the Board of Trade.

MR. SINCLAIR: I am still in correspondence with the Board of Trade on this matter.

Skigersta Pier.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state on what ground the Congested Districts Board have declined to accede to a request by the Ross-shire County Council for a grant of £12 towards the construction of a protecting parapet wall at Skigersta pier, Island of Lewis.

MR. SINCLAIR: The Congested Districts Board have already made a grant of £323 towards the erection of a protecting parapet wall for the Skigersta pier upon a deliberately considered plan which has been duly carried out. If the promoters at this stage desire additions it would appear to be a matter for themselves to carry out.

Dumbarton Sewerage.

MR. R. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he is aware that the sewer pipes of the burgh of Dumbarton are being extended towards the centre of the River Leven; whether this action has the concurrence and sanction of the Local Government Board; and, if not, whether steps will be taken by the Board to compel the burgh to adopt a satisfactory system of sewage purification.

MR. SINCLAIR: I have no further information since my reply to the hon. Member's former Questions. The sanction of the Local Government Board to the extension of the sewer outlets is not required, nor have they any power to compel the local authority to adopt a system of sewage purification unless it can be shown that such is essential in order to remove a public health nuisance. Arrangements have, however, been made for a joint inquiry by the inspector under the Rivers Pollution Act, and the Medical Inspector of the Board.

Reporting Grand Committees.

MR. MENZIES (Lanarkshire, S.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether each Member of this House receives a Minute of the Proceedings of the Grand Scottish Committee on the second morning following the sitting; whether that information is supplemented by ample reports in northern newspapers; whether the estimated expense of reporting debates in this House for this year is £4,500 higher than last year; what estimated increase of expenditure would be necessary to give reports of speeches delivered in each of the four Grand Committees, equal to *Hansard* reports of speeches delivered in this House; and whether any public object would be gained if they were published.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): The facts are, I believe, as stated, but I am unable to give my hon. friend an estimate of the probable cost of reporting and printing the proceedings of the Standing Committees. The final part of the Question deals with a matter of opinion.

MR. LAURENCE HARDY (Kent, Ashford): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that very important rulings upon questions of procedure and closure are daily being made in the Scottish Grand Committee, and would it not be desirable, in view of a similar procedure being adopted in all the Committees, to secure an official report of these proceedings?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: My experience has been that these rulings, if important, are reported.

MR. LAURENCE HARDY: Where?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In the public prints.

MR. LAURENCE HARDY: In what official document? May I ask whether there are any means open to any hon. Member of this House of discovering in the library of the House what these rulings are?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know that there are any official reports, but there are other reports.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what other reports?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There are ample reports in the *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald*.

MR. LAURENCE HARDY: Does the right hon. Gentleman, then, intend that English Members must read the Scottish papers in order to get the information?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think it would be much to their advantage if they did so.

House of Lords Resolution.

MR. PIKE PEASE: I beg to ask the Prime Minister if it is proposed that the Resolution dealing with the House of Lords shall be moved in another place after the discussion in the House of Commons is completed.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

*MR. SPEAKER: I have to inform the House that I have been honoured by the proposal of the University of Oxford to confer upon me the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. If accepted, this would necessitate my absence from this House and my attendance at Oxford on Wednesday next, and I have to ask the indulgence and leave of the House so to absent myself. [Cheers.] I have to thank the House for the indication of permission so kindly given.

NEW BILLS.

SALE OF FOOD AND DRUGS AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To amend the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875 to 1899," presented by Mr. Mitchell-Thomson; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 3rd July, and to be printed. [Bill 252.]

ISLE OF MAN (CUSTOMS) BILL.

"To amend the Law with respect to Customs Duties in the Isle of Man,' presented by Mr. Runciman; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 253.]

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY BILL.

Reported, without Amendment, from Standing Committee A.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 216.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 216.]

Bill [not amended] to be taken into consideration To-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): I rise to move, "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail." In moving this Resolution we are following the notable precedent of the famous Resolutions of 1678 and 1860; and I hope our method of procedure will commend itself to the House. The other day I spoke of this Resolution, in some conversation of a casual kind across the Table of this House, as a preface to something that was to come later. The passing of a Resolution by this House, even if it be tacitly accepted by the other House, does not have the effect of law, and it is laid down in this Motion that its objects are to be secured "by law." Other Resolutions have, as we are aware, been accepted in the sense that they have been acted upon. But in the present instance, whatever the disposition elsewhere may be, the objects which His Majesty's Government have in view appear to us, as at present advised, to call for statutory definition. Before I sit down I shall submit to the House the broad lines of the plan which at a later period will, according to our intention, have statutory form given to it; and the Government will exercise their own discretion as to when that Bill will be introduced. In the meantime we desire to test the opinion of the House, and to make sure before any further step is taken that we have the House of Commons behind us. In that case, holding as we do that this House, and this House alone, is qualified authoritatively to express the sentiments of the country, we shall be enabled to go forward with that confidence of the country as well as of the House of Commons. We are not at this moment, happily, in the throes of an active actual conflict with the other House, and it may perhaps be contended—I have seen it contended—that this is not, therefore, the proper time for bringing forward such a Resolution as this. I think entirely otherwise. I think it is an advantage that we should approach this great constitutional question without passion, and that we should discuss it in an atmosphere in which we can deal with it on its own merits. There is one other preliminary word perhaps which I may say before I proceed to the main question in reply to criticisms directed against us on account of our supposed dilatoriness in this matter. I do not think any harm has been done to either House. No practical inconvenience, and certainly no disrespect or lack of consideration, has been either intended or conveyed towards the other House; and let me point out that the little delay which has taken place has been in accordance with the advice kindly tendered to us on the first day of the session by the Leader of the Opposition, when he said we should reflect at our leisure on this great constitutional issue; and it is also in consonance with an Amendment formally moved and debated and voted upon from the front bench opposite, in which we were warned against setting aside the work of social legislation in order to take up the question of our relations with the other House. I, therefore, do not think that I need make any apology for the time or occasion on which the Motion is being brought forward.

My Motion affirms the predominance of the House of Commons as the representative House of Parliament, and I submit that in spirit and in fact that is a strictly true constitutional proposition. I may claim for it, up to a point, the adhesion of the Party opposite and of the House of Lords itself. The supremacy of the people is admitted in theory even by the House of Lords. It is admitted that the will of the people—that will upon which the poet tells us our Constitution is broad-based—is in the long run entitled to prevail. It is admitted even by those whose natural leanings and proclivities would lead them to a very restricted order of representative institutions. To that extent, therefore, we are seemingly at one. How, then, is that will of the people to be got at and ascertained unless you take the view of the elective House as expressing it? The supremacy of the people in legislation implies, in this country at any rate, the authority of the Commons. The party for which I speak has never swerved from that position, and unless you are going to fall back upon some foreign method, such as the *referendum* or the mandate or the plebiscite, or some other way of getting behind the backs of the elected to the electors themselves, such as was advised by both the first and third Napoleon—unless that is the example you are going to follow, then there is no course open but to recognise ungrudgingly the authority which resides in this House, and to accept the views of the nation as represented in its great interests within these walls. The Resolution embodies, therefore, a principle the logic of which at any rate is accepted by both Parties and both Houses—the principle of the predominance of the House of Commons.

But let us be quite clear as to what we mean by predominance, and especially what we mean by the ultimate prevalence of the House of Commons. We do not on this side of the House mean an abstract, a deferred supremacy; that is not what we mean by the supremacy of the House of Commons. We do not mean a supremacy that comes into play after one or two or more appeals to the country, before which a determined resistance of the other House will give way. That is not what we mean by the supremacy of the House of Commons. That arrangement does not in the least fulfil the requirements of the Constitution. Where we differ, therefore, is as to the point at which the authority of this House becomes effective. But, at any rate, let us be quite clear about this, that the House of Commons is acknowledged on all hands, with certain reservations in the House of Lords, but without reservation at all, so far as I am aware, in the writings of any high constitutional authority, as the final court in which the will of the nation is declared. I do not base my argument upon the admissions or statements of those writers to whom I have referred, or on any authorities whatsoever. We do not require to do so. The principle which forms the core of our Resolution is implied and expressed in the very existence of this House of Commons. It works in every fibre of our political being, and if the authority to speak for the nation is not to reside within these walls, if that authority is to be usurped by the non-elective House, it follows that our representative institutions must take a secondary place, and we shall have to abate our claim to be the foremost among free and representative communities.

Now I have to ask the House to consider how this great principle is applied in practice. What meaning does the supremacy of the House of Commons convey to the minds of the House of Lords? In first place, it is matter of common knowledge that its working varies according to circumstances. When their own Party are in power—that is the Party to which the vast majority of the Members of the House of Lords belong—they recognise without reservation, they even make what I would almost call indecent haste, to recognise this supremacy. There is never a suggestion that the checks and balances of the Constitution are to be brought into play; there is never a hint that this House is anything but a clear and faithful mirror of the settled opinions and desires of the country, or that the arm of the executive falls short of being the instrument of the national will. No, Sir; the other House, in these circumstances, may be said to adopt and act upon the view of the inherent authority of this House, which was expressed by Edmund Burke in these words—

> "The virtue, spirit, and essence of the House of Commons consists in its being the express image of the nation."

I know of no instance under a congenial *régime*, that is to say, not in recent times, when the House of Lords seriously challenged the decisions of this House, except—it is rather comical—in the solitary case of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill; on two separate occasions this House has passed this Bill when the Conservatives were in power—a private Bill it was—and on both occasions the other House rejected it. It is almost refreshing to come upon this marked action in the revising House. But certainly the supposed characteristic of a single Chamber system of Government which prevails in Unionist times has never been broken by any hint or suggestion that the Government and the House of Commons should go to the country and ascertain what the people were thinking. That is a novel innovation. I will deal with that. It now seems to be in everybody's mouth. If we look upon this controversy as a warfare, I should say that this is the last ditch in which the final struggle is expected to take place. But the relations such as I have spoken to, the accounts such as I have given of the state of things that goes on when a congenial Government is in power, cannot be contradicted. These are the plain and acknowledged characteristics and facts of the state of things which prevails. Of course, we know the explanation given by hon. Members opposite. It is a little difficult because I do not know what to call the Party opposite. I am always anxious to call people by the name they prefer. If we call them Unionists—in the first place, we do not allow the truth of the name, but putting that aside and out of courtesy giving them their own title—if we call them Unionists, the title is, after all, a mere fugitive and evanescent battle-cry, and we want something more descriptive of the abiding Party in this country which asks, in matters of legislation, for pause and deliberation. "Unionist" does not express that; and "Conservative" is equally inappropriate, because we should be prepared to say that we are conservative in this matter. Then "Tory" will not do, because they do not like to be called "Tory" ["No, no."] Some do not, and some do; but I am certain of this, that the old Tory Party would be astonished if they found what successors they have got. Then "Protectionist" will not do, because they are not ripe for that. So, I must be excused for not knowing what to call them. But many of them are ready with an explanation; and I have no doubt it is hovering on the lips of many hon. Members opposite. "Why should the Lords interfere," they will say, "when there is no mischief afoot, when the innovator and the conspirator are keeping quiet; why should they interfere when the Commons are only turning out year after year, in very small quantities, safe, well-sounding, harmless, inoperative Bills? Why should they assert themselves, when the great institutions of the country are in no danger, and when the special interests of the class from whom the Lords are mostly derived are being well guarded?" This is the explanation, a charming explanation, only it is a pure figment of their imagination, because the most dangerous times politically have generally been those in which this state of things has existed. My own recollection of the last Government, as we saw it some, of us in the last House of Commons, was not at all of this honest and sober-going character. I should have said, although I may not be absolutely impartial, that so far from not requiring the attention of the Chamber which claims to check hasty and ill-considered action, the late Government stood in great need of some such service. The whole course of their conduct, the character of their legislation, their extraordinary fiscal antics towards the end, called for the utmost degree of watchfulness that the Constitution can provide. Startling and unannounced innovations in a reactionary direction in respect of licensing, of education, and of fiscal policy, need surely to be watched quite as closely as innovations, or, as we should think, "reforms," in the other direction. Yet all these adventurous and reckless undertakings passed unchallenged, and the House of Lords contented themselves in the dog days each year with registering the decrees of the Government of the day. I call upon the House to witness the transition that takes place the moment a Liberal House of Commons comes into being. A complete change comes over this constitutional doctrine of the supremacy of this Chamber. They rested and reposed on its supremacy during the period I have been dealing with. Now they challenge it; and it becomes a deferred supremacy—a supremacy which is to arrive, it may be, at the next election, or the election after that, or may be never at all. Suppose a difference to arise between the two Houses, not the existing House of Commons but some future one is to prevail. What is the good of electing us to the House of Commons? [Ironical Opposition Cheers.] What is the good of electing Members of either side to the House of Commons, if the opinion of the House of Commons is to be of no account? If the House of Lords knows better than the House of Commons, what is the good of the House of Commons? I do not know, I never have known, and I have never been able to discover, by what process the House of Lords professes to ascertain whether or not our decisions correspond with the sentiments of the electors; but what I do know is that this House has to submit to carry on its existence in a state of suspense, knowing that our measures are liable to be amended, altered, rejected, and delayed in accordance with the mysterious intuition, almost divination which enables the Lords to keep immediate touch with the electors during a Liberal administration. It is a singular thing, when you come to reflect upon it, that the representative system should only hold good when one Party is in office, and should break down to such an extent as that the non-elective House must be called in to express the mind of the country whenever the country lapses into Liberalism.

Then there is another matter closely connected with this upon which I must say a word, and it will be a frank word. The situation, as the House knows, has been aggravated by the part taken by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He speaks for a comparatively small minority here, and he has affected to dispose of the other House for the purpose of dominating us in a manner that I venture to say is without precedent.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): Would the right hon. Gentleman quote any statement of mine which bears out in any degree that statement?

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We have only to go back to the month of December last year. I cannot conceive of Sir Robert Peel or Mr. Disraeli treating the House of Commons as the right hon. Gentleman has treated it. Nor do I think there is any instance in which, as leaders of the Opposition, they committed what I can only call the treachery of openly calling in the other House to override this House. [Cheers; cries of "Withdraw."] These great statesmen were House of Commons men. I venture to say that if Bills were mutilated and rejected elsewhere when Sir Robert Peel sat upon that bench, it was not done at his instance. The right hon. Gentleman's course has, however, had one indisputable effect. It has left no room for doubt, if it had ever existed before, that the second Chamber was being utilised as a mere *annexe* of the Unionist Party. The right hon. Gentleman seems to call for some instance. The whole of his proceedings at that time were an instance. We saw him, who was in somewhat depressed and reduced circumstances, blossom out into extraordinary life and vigour when he realised the power which his peculiar intercameral powers have given him. One begins to doubt, in fact — I certainly doubt — whether he or his Party have ever fully accepted representative institutions. If they ever did bring themselves to conceive of this House as representing the opinions of the people, they belied it by the qualification that such opinions are not settled opinions. It comes to this—that no Liberal Government ever could represent the settled opinions of the electors because, apparently, if their minds were not unsettled, they would never dream of sending a Liberal Government to power. Therefore it comes to this—that a non-elective House is called into action and a barrier is set up across our path, and this theoretical predominance of the House of Commons becomes the practical predominance of the House of Lords. The Leader of the Opposition very clearly expressed in a few words not very long ago his view of the change which supervened with a change of administration, and I will quote his words in order that he may have them before his mind. Speaking at the beginning of November of last year, he said that the House of Lords was regarded by every man of sober thought, irrespective of Party, as the one barrier that exists between the folly of our present governors and the great interests which in an unhappy moment have been entrusted to their charge. That is the transformation which the doctrine of the ultimate supremacy of this House undergoes when in an "unhappy moment"—what is that?—a general election which sent him and his supporters flying—that is the transformation which the doctrine undergoes. It becomes the doctrine of the fortunate barrier. Nothing about supremacy. It is a barrier. We may be very foolish persons, as he says—[An Hon. Member: "Hear, hear"]—there is one of his acutest followers who agrees with him—

but we have not got to such a depth of folly as to adopt his theory of the relation between the two Houses. One thing stands out from this review which I think is entirely necessary, although it occupies a good deal of the time of the House, in order that we may appreciate the position. The House will agree with me that one of the most striking characteristics of the attitude of the other House towards the House of Commons is its variableness. The right hon. Gentleman, as I have said, encouraged us to reflect on the issue which has been forced upon us. Has he reflected upon this particular element in it? Nothing in the relations of the two Houses is more deserving of his reflection—for, after all, a bicameral system which only acts periodically is an institution which appears to me to stand in sad need of justification.

Now I come to another question which we have to ask ourselves, and that is: What is the nature of the authority under which the other House, during its intermittent period of activity, claims to override and suspend the decisions of this House and to afford it a merely nominal and deferred predominance? What are the grounds on which the Lords intervene? There is no occasion to go back very far. Before the Reform Act there was really no question of this kind before the country, for this reason: Both Houses were in the habit of working together in the interests of the existing state of society, which was very far from being a democratic state, and any tendency to independence on the part of the House of Commons was held in check by the fact that there were some 300 votes in this House under control of the Members of the other House. There was, therefore, in these circumstances, no particular occasion for a veto. Nor do I propose to go over subsequent history—a dismal history in this respect, in which beneficent measures were flouted or rejected or mutilated and violent hands laid upon them by the other House. Their actions are all of a piece, and I think we may be quite content to take the most recent instances as a pattern and example of what has been happening ever since the Reform Bill was passed. We take them because we have them fresh in our minds. They happened under our eyes in the present Parliament, which has not had a long life yet. These events, marking as they do, in my opinion, the climax of this long series of rebuffs put upon this House, and through this House upon the electors, embody in themselves in a sufficiently striking manner the claims that are really put forward to stultify the action of the Commons. When you find a general election like the last treated as mere irrelevance, and a House of Commons which returned with an unexampled majority regarded elsewhere as a body devoid of real vitality and vital authority, I say we then have to look upon its claims with a stronger feeling, because they are put forward with a degree of violent aggressiveness which compels us to challenge them. If we are concerned at all with the authority of the House of Commons—and I trust that everyone within these walls is concerned—it is impossible for us to let this pass. I therefore take the actual cases within our own immediate experience as the touchstone of the claims of the other House. The first thing I would point out is that the merits and demerits of the Bills that we deal with are not in question at all. The Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill may be thoroughly bad Bills in the estimation of hon. Members opposite and of the right hon. Gentleman at the winding of whose horn the portcullis over the way comes rattling down. If the country shares the view of the right hon. Gentleman, it is not there (the Front Opposition Bench) he would be, but here. But let hon. Gentleman observe that the other House, when it proceeded, within twelve months of the election, summarily to dispose of these measures of ours, did so, according to its own account, not on their merits, but because it claimed to know the mind of the country. That was the plea that was urged. "Your Education Bill," they said, "does not square with the professions of the people or the desires of the people, and as for your Electoral Reform Bill, it ought to be part of a larger scheme of reform such as the country desires." Of course, they dwelt on the vicious qualities of our poor Bills. So they did in the case of the Trades Disputes Bill, which was an even blacker and more iniquitous Bill than they were. But they passed this Bill, and they rejected the less infamous Bill; and they were strictly logical in so doing. By that I mean that the reason they gave was an intelligible reason. They professed to be satisfied that a powerful section of opinion demanded the one Bill, and they professed to be unsatisfied that the others were so demanded. They acted on their own judgment. Their whole case rests upon that. And I may add as a subsidiary reason that in the case of the infamous and iniquitous Bill it was considered desirable to exercise some circumspection. We all remember the words of Lord Lansdowne that they were passing through a period when it was necessary for the House of Lords to move with great caution. Conflicts and controversies might be inevitable. Let their Lordships, as far as they were able, be sure that if they were to join issue they did so on ground which was as favourable as possible to themselves — not to the country—in the interests of good and sound legislation. In this case he believed the ground would be unfavourable to the House. So they passed that most iniquitous and dangerous and disastrous Bill. They made friends with the mammon of unrighteousness with a view to maintaining themselves in their own habitation. Therefore, in addition to this intermittent action we have to take note of this further singular fact that the powers of that House are avowedly exercised without reference to the merits of what is sent up to it, and on the ground that we, who are the representatives of the people as the result of all our elaborate electoral machinery, are incapable of speaking and acting on their behalf. Such a claim will not stand a moment's investigation. The Constitution knows nothing of this doctrine of the special mandate, nothing whatever. It is an invention apparently of the Lords, designed to afford them some kind of shelter behind which they may get rid of the Bills they dislike. Now, I am anxious to make this matter clear, because it is important to my proposition—namely, that the relations of the Houses call for definition; and if the action of the House of Lords is based on assumptions which are fatal to a true representative system, then the question of how far they are entitled to push such action surely requires serious consideration. If this House was elected on a mandate for this or a mandate for that, or a mandate for the other, I could understand, even if I did not approve of, the process of sifting and trying our decisions in order to see whether they corresponded with what passed at the elections. In its absence such a claim becomes grotesque. Yet how seriously is it urged. We are invited to go to the country *ad hoc* to test whether the other House or this House is right whenever we come to a deadlock. We have not been elected on any such system as that. We were elected to carry out certain broad principles, and yet, forsooth, we are to go back, and be re-elected on Bills and on sections of Bills and subsections of Bills if we are to convince the other House. I shall have a word to say directly on this demand for a dissolution, but I want first to say how glad I am to be able to claim the right hon. Gentleman opposite as a sworn foe of the doctrine of the mandate. He has described it as fundamentally essentially a vicious theory. "You could not work Parliamentary institutions," he says, "on that principle at all." [Opposition Cheers.] Yes, but it is on that very principle that the House of Lords are working. Why has the right hon. Gentleman not warned the House of Lords that they are pursuing a course under which, as he says, Parliamentary institutions cannot be worked at all, and that they are seeking to inveigle us into an unconstitutional and vicious system? It is strange that when they challenge us because we have not got a mandate for this, or that we have misread a mandate for that, or that we must go to the country for a mandate for the other thing, the right hon. Gentleman sits quietly and allows them to flounder into the morass.

The next question I have to ask is, by what title does the other House claim to refer the House of Commons to the country? Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will tell us that. I have never myself seen any explanation, or understood how a doctrine so fantastic could gain even a momentary currency. The Liberal Party has never for a moment accepted the view that the non-elected, unchanged, indissolvable, irresponsible House is entitled to suspend a threat of dissolution over our heads; nor have they regarded the pretension so advanced as affording any sort of ground for the action taken under cover of it. Let the House consider what weight can attach to a theory which has never been put into operation, which has never been recognised by one

Party in the State, and which has never been held over the heads of the other Party in the State. And then I must say that this assumption of the right to force a dissolution is a usurpation of the Royal prerogative. It is a device for turning the House of Commons into a subordinate House, because the Lords are well aware that, in declining to accept their bidding, we have no remedy against any changes, delays, or rejections that they may inflict upon our measures. Well, holding us in this vice, and taunting us with the cry: "You have the country; why do you not go to it?" they have a free hand as against this House. Well, what is the use of our going to the country? If the Lords will not believe the elections of 1906, neither will they be persuaded though the wishes of the people are expressed in ten elections in a year. And then, I will ask, is this House satisfied, is any one satisfied with it? Is it fair—I will not say fair to the Liberal Party, because I think there is a great tendency, which, I think, is not quite dignified in the House of Commons, to treat politics as a game—but is this playing the game fairly? Putting the Liberal Party aside, is it fair to the House, is it fair to the electors? [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] Is it right that the Constitution should be strained in this way in order to suit the convenience or exigencies of a particular Party? If hon. Gentlemen were in our place, and if there was as overwhelming a Liberal majority in the other House as there is an overwhelming Unionist majority, would they sit down quietly under the mutilation and rejection of their measures? No; I give them credit for something more spirited. And is there to be found a single observer or student, be he ever so convinced of the necessity of a bi-cameral system, who will maintain that this state of things, persisting as it has done all these years, is satisfactory? Our proposal is to define the relations between the two Houses in such a way as to provide that within the limits of a single Parliament a measure supported by a majority in this House shall prevail.

Now I come to the outline of the plan which the Government propose. It is proposed that, if a Bill is sent up to the other House, and in the result the two Houses find agreement impossible, a Conference shall be held between Members appointed in equal numbers by the two Houses. The conference will be of small dimensions. Its proceedings will be private, and its object will be to enable each Party to negotiate and to seek for a common measure of agreement which the Government might find itself able to adopt. There is nothing novel in this proposal, because the two Houses formerly did meet in conference; but there were certain inconveniences in the procedure, and, whether it was due to the fact that the Commons were expected to go into the other House bareheaded, and to remain standing, or whether it was due to the obvious practical difficulties of arriving at any decision at a joint meeting carried on by a large number of persons in this singular manner, no Conference has been held since 1836. Informal conferences between members of the Government and Opposition in the two Houses have, of course, not infrequently been held since that date, and sometimes good results have followed. But what the Government proposes is that statutory provision should be made for such meetings in the event of disagreement, and that the Conference should occupy a definite place in the transactions between the two Houses. Supposing, then, the Conference to be unproductive. The Bill—either the same Bill, with or without modifications, or a similar Bill with the same object—might at the discretion of the Government be reintroduced after a substantial interval; and by a substantial interval I have in my mind a *minimum* of perhaps, six months, unless in cases of great urgency. This Bill would be passed through its various stages in the House of Commons under limitations of time—limitations of time adapted to the requirements of the case—discussion being restricted, so far as possible, to the new matter, if any, introduced. The Bill would then be sent up again, so that the other House would have a second and ample opportunity of considering it. If there was still a difference between the two Houses, a Conference might again be summoned. Supposing this time an arrangement again failed, this second Bill would be re-introduced and passed swiftly through all its stages in this House in the form last agreed to, and sent to the other House with an intimation that unless passed in that form it would be passed over their heads. Yet again there would be a Conference, and a further effort to agree. Now the House will see that the plan which I have sketched gives ample—some will think too ample—opportunities for discussion and reflection, and that it provides full room in the intervals for consideration by the country. And we are convinced that it leaves no opening for hasty or arbitrary action. It seems to me that it provides what we regard as indispensable if the Legislature of this country is to be maintained in a condition of effective equilibrium—the power, namely in the last resort to make the decision of this House prevail. Opinions may differ as to whether this is the best method, but His Majesty's Government believe it to be practical, just, convenient, and effectual. I hope, therefore, that it will not be said that under our plan the other House will be debarred from exercising its due share in our Parliamentary deliberations. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh!"] That is the last accusation that can in justice be alleged of a scheme under which there will arise three opportunities for debating a Bill, in addition to the Conferences to which His Majesty's Government attach the greatest importance. Certainly the members of the late Government and their friends are the last people in the world to bring any such accusation. I have looked into the return of Bills sent up to the other House under their Government, and I find that four days were given by the Lords to the Irish Local Government Bill—or rather I should have said four days were given to the Lords for the Irish Local Government Bill; one day for passing through all its stages the Factory Act, 1901, a measure of more than 100 clauses; eight days to the Education Bill, 1902; six days in August, to the Irish Land Bill; and five days in August to the Licensing Bill. It has been the invariable practice with the late Government to send up a heavy batch of Bills at the very last moment to be dealt with in the course of a day or two immediately before the rising of Parliament. The truth is that for many years past they have made no pretence of paying much respect to the other House.

Here is a most important point. It may be said that it will be in the power of an effete Government in the last years of an effete Parliament, when the sentiment of the country may have become cold, or, at least, uncertain, to carry things with a high hand, and in such circumstances any amount of deliberation and consultation would fail to prevent rash and arbitrary measures being taken. It is quite true, Sir, that we have known cases where an effete Government, trading on the initial strength it had lost, has dragged out an undesirable existence amid the flickering activity which we associate with the exhausted candle. But no one can say that that is a favourable moment for legislation. Therefore, I have to state that we are strongly of opinion that the way to guard against such an evil is the very simple way of shortening the duration of Parliament. This reform can be justified on other and broader grounds. But I am here speaking of it only in face of this particular matter with which my Resolution deals; and we consider that the undoubted danger that the House of Commons, with the increased power which we claim for it, might for some years of its life have its genuine representative character impaired, can be best guarded against by a more frequent reference to the electorate. This is, as is known, no new proposal. Most of us on this Bench have voted for quinquennial Parliaments, and we believe that the reduction of the period of Parliamentary existence to five years will add vigour, freshness, and life to our Parliamentary system. There are, indeed, very vague, and, I think, not very well-informed proposals for a foreign institution, called a *referendum*, whereby a particular Bill can be submitted to a special vote on the part of the electors of the country. I see the strongest objections to any such proposal. The necessary isolation of the subject from the whole range of political feeling is wellnigh impossible; it is inconsistent with, and, in my opinion, destructive of, Parliamentary government as we understand it; and it has the peculiarity that you would be introducing a new element into our Constitution which would never come into play while one order of things was represented in the

Government, but when Liberals were in a majority would be employed for the purpose of flouting and defeating the Government of the day, the majority in the House of Commons, and the electorate itself.

Let me point out that the plan which I have sketched to the House does not in the least preclude or prejudice any proposals which may be made for the reform of the House of Lords itself. The constitution and composition of the House of Lords is a question entirely independent of my subject. My Resolution has nothing to do with the relations of the two Houses to the Crown, but only with the relations of the two Houses one to the other. At present we are face to face, as I have shown, with the ultimate supremacy of the House of Lords. I see that this is the theory almost nakedly put forward by some of those gentlemen in the Press who are good enough to tell us what we ought to think and what we ought to do. They evidently have in their minds as a model some of those Continental States whose system is essentially and fundamentally autocratic, but in which the autocracy ornaments and supplements itself with a representative body, useful for occupying public attention and for hammering out the details of legislation, but bearing much the relation that the kitchenmaid does to the cook. The House of Lords, according to this theory, is to be the cook. Sir, the House of Commons is spoken of by these instructors of the public in language of formal, guarded, traditional respect, but is treated as a wayward, impulsive body allowed to do useful work and on occasion to have its fling, but to be pulled up by the House of Lords as soon as it ventures inroads upon the pet prejudices and interests of that which used to be the ruling class in this kingdom. Sir, we have not so learned our existing Constitution. We have perfect confidence in the good feeling, the good sense, the wisdom, the righteousness, and the patriotism of our country. We need no shelter against them; we have no fears of them; and, therefore, we would invert the *rôles* thus assigned to the two Houses. Let the country have the fullest use in all matters of the experience, wisdom, and patriotic industry of the House of Lords in revising and amending and securing full consideration for legislative measures; but, and these words sum up our whole policy, the Commons shall prevail.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."—(*Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The very last words that fell from the mouth of the right hon. Gentleman indicate sufficiently the difference which lies between us. His contention, expressed with considerable reiteration in the course of his speech, is that any House of Commons, elected at any particular date, is competent within the term of its own existence to deal with the whole interests of the State and modify them completely, without further reference to the people who gave it birth. He lays it down categorically in the last sentence he uttered that it is the House of Commons alone whose rights and privileges we have to consider. I venture to consider that we might occasionally think of the people. The real and only problem which ought to be before the minds of those who are engaged in dealing with the Constitution of a free country is how the continuous will of the people—the interests of the existing generation and the interests of generations to come—can be best considered. And it is to that problem alone that I shall endeavour to direct the attention of the House to-day in the few observations I have to make upon the right hon. Gentleman's proposals. The right hon. Gentleman interpolated into his attack upon the House of Lords a personal attack upon myself, and he went the length, I think, of accusing me of treachery. He certainly used a very strong adjective in dealing with what he supposed to be my conduct in November and December last year. I am not going to delay the House with a personal defence—I do not think any defence is required. All that I did is before the public; the course which the House of Lords took is before the public; and, unless all the information which I have obtained—and I have taken considerable trouble to obtain information with regard to the action of the House of Lords on the Education Bill—is wholly erroneous, the country, so far from agreeing with the violent epithets used by the right hon. Gentleman, seems to think that the Amendments which the House of Lords put into the Education Bill greatly improved that measure. It was, I know, the right hon. Gentleman's fond belief that if the House of Lords amended the Education Bill the whole country would be in flames. Every indication we have, not merely from the character of public meetings, but from the character of county council elections, even in Wales, proves conclusively that, so far from the country being in flames, the heated words of the right hon. Gentleman could not even raise the damp tinder into the slightest smoke. In fact, when he was attacking the House of Lords on a recent occasion I could not make out whether he was more angry with the Lords for having modified the Education Bill or for having passed the Trade Disputes Bill. His indignation at that Assembly for having consented to pass into law a measure which they did not like really betrayed him into vehemence of expression which even their modifications of the Education Bill did not provoke. But I do not want to delay the House with any defence of the action of the House of Lords in the last Parliament, still less with any defence of myself. The right hon. Gentleman has an extraordinary gift for using language the violence of which is in strange disproportion to the effect it produces.

But, coming to the large question raised by the right hon. Gentleman's speech, what was his central contention? I put aside the athletic argument—the contention that it is not in the rules of the game that the House of Lords should favour one Party more than another—for I think that, although the right hon. Gentleman has often used that argument, he himself is rather ashamed of it. He does not think it is of much value for his purpose. He complains, as the captain of a football team might complain, that on changing at half-time he always found the wind had changed with him. After all, we have not got to look at politics merely as a game, and there are very much more serious issues at stake than those suggested by this particular part of the argumentation of the right hon. Gentleman. His main contention was that the House of Commons by the Constitution has a predominant position, and that, having a predominant position, it follows as a logical consequence that any Bill which it desires to pass it has the right to make law in the course of a single Parliament, whatever the other House may do. Let us examine this contention. I do not at all deny that this House is the predominant partner. By the practice of the Constitution it undoubtedly is so. But just see how great are the powers that this House possesses which the other House neither possesses nor makes any claim to. We must always remember that the most important decision the country makes at the election is who shall control the administrative machinery and the general policy of the country. That decision the House of Lords neither claims to touch, nor can touch. The Government of the day, the House of Commons of the day, would treat with derision any vote passed by the House of Lords condemning a particular Ministry or a particular member of a Ministry. They would not suggest for a moment that such a vote carried with it either the resignation of the Government or the Minister, or a dissolution or any consequence whatever except a mere statement of opinion on the part of their Lordships that they disapproved of a Ministry to whom this House gave its confidence. That, after all, is the greatest of the powers which this House possesses. We can put an end to a Government; we can bring a Government into being; we can destroy the career of a Minister; and we can pass a vote of censure which carries with it an immediate resignation. We have our hand upon the administrative machine to this extent at all events—that we cannot prevent a Government doing that of which we disapprove; we can afterwards punish it for having done so. It is true that the Administration is in many particulars far out of the reach of the House of Commons, and ought to be.

The House of Commons cannot make a treaty; it cannot prevent the Government making a treaty; if it could would the New Hebrides Convention ever have been made? It cannot prevent the Government making war; it cannot prevent the Government making peace or exercising any one of these great administrative responsibilities. All it can do is afterwards to pass some condemnation upon the Government. In passing that condemnation it takes into account not merely the particular executive transaction, but whether upon the whole it desires to see the Government retained in office or not; and the House of Commons will constantly condone actions of which it disapproves simply because it does not wish to dispossess the Government of office. In that sense the Government always possesses the confidence of the House of Commons. It is true confidence is used in a highly technical sense. It is the sort of confidence which a man in the street engaged in a street row has in an old umbrella, not because it is a good weapon, but because it is the only weapon available—the only instrument he can use. In that sense the Government always has the confidence of the House of Commons. But it does not matter in the least whether it has, or has not, the confidence of the House of Lords. The Government being dependent upon the House of Commons and having control of what legislation shall be initiated, this House of Commons practically entirely controls the sort of legislation which the Government of the day shall bring in. There again the House of Lords neither has nor claims to have any influence. The House of Lords can bring in Bills and pass them through all their stages in their own House, but if they do not happen to meet the favour of this House those Bills go no further, and there can be no intererfence with, after all, what is the greatest prerogative of the Government and the majority in this House—namely, deciding what subjects shall be touched and what not touched. We all know that the power of the House of Lords, thus limited, and rightly limited as I think, in the sphere of legislation and administration, is still further limited by the fact that it cannot touch those money Bills, which if it could deal with, no doubt it could bring the whole executive machinery of the country to a standstill. The conclusion which I want to press upon the House, and which is all-important in this matter, is that under our existing system you have two Chambers which are not of equal power, which are not of equal authority, which cannot come into serious conflict in the whole field of administration, in the whole field of the initiation of legislation, or in the whole field of that legislation which deals with finance. Of course, these things being true, it is true that the House of Lords is a subordinate partner to the House of Commons.

We all being agreed that the House of Lords under our existing system occupies a very subordinate position, the question is whether that position, subordinate as it is now, shall be made yet more subordinate by the House of Lords being deprived altogether of the power of preventing a particular House of Commons, elected at some particular conjuncture, from doing everything it wishes, not merely in the sphere of administration, where you must leave it to the Government of the day for good or for ill, but doing whatever it likes in the sphere of legislation, where you may in one day, or at all events in a few weeks, upset institutions which have taken centuries to rear and which once destroyed can never be replaced. That is really the problem before us. Nobody can put the House of Lords on an equality with the House of Commons. Some of us think—all of us, I believe, on this side—that you must have within the limits of the Constitution some authority which shall be able, not to resist the will of the people, but to see that the will of the people is obeyed—what I may call the consistent and persistent will of the people, not the will of the people as exhibited at a particular moment and in a particular place, because we are all agreed that the people make mistakes. [Interruption.] Are we not all agreed about that? We on this side thought the people made a great mistake in January, 1906. ["Oh."] Yes; but then hon. Gentlemen opposite thought they made another great mistake in 1900—they have always said so. Not only that, but they have also said that in 1900 the people made a decision which their more sober reflections have induced them to abandon. I have heard hon. Gentlemen below the gangway urge that contention; they hold that in 1900 the people of this country by an immense majority declared a war to be just and necessary, and that the present majority of this House thinks it both unjust and unnecessary. [MINISTERIAL cheers.] Very well, then, we are all agreed. There cannot be a more important issue. [A LABOUR MEMBER: We were jockeyed into it.] Is there never to be any jockeying in the future? Let it be called jockeying if you please; it is no difference to the argument. If jockeying was possible in 1900, it may be possible two or three years hence. The truth is, we always think when we are in a minority that the other side have been jockeyed into their place, and when we are in a majority they always think that we have been jockeyed into it. We are all agreed about the fact of the people making mistakes, usually at every alternate election. The question is, and really the only question, whether we should or should not follow the universal example of every civilised country, and take care that there are some great constitutional interests which are put above these alternating fluxes and refluxes of public opinion, and in regard to which change, when it takes place—and changes are necessary—shall really be of that kind from which there is not likely to be a repentance. Of course, too, it would be very desirable if you could have that in the region of administrative action; but that is not possible; and it is far better that the Government should have the power to make mistakes than that it should have no power at all in the region of administration. I have no admiration or liking for those institutions—and there are many—in which there are so many checks and counter-checks contrived for the executive authority that really rapid and efficient executive action is impossible. When you come to matters of legislation time ceases to be of the essence of the question in most cases. In matters of administration time is of the essence of the question—in matters of legislation it is not. It is important that a community whose history has gone back through many centuries, and is, I hope, going forward many centuries, should pause and delay before taking some great decision by which its whole future will be imperilled. I gather from the right hon. Gentleman that he thinks this is a very undemocratic way of looking at the matter. What is a democratic way of looking at it? I understand the democratic theory of government to be that those who are concerned with the decision should be the people who make it; and as far as that can be attained I, at all events, desire to see it attained. But who is concerned with the decision which we make when a great constitutional issue is involved? Is it the particular Parliament? Are the particular male adults in a given year who have got the given qualifications the only people whose interests are concerned? Those adult males are, in the first place, the heirs, and, in the second place, the trustees of many centuries; and it is preposterous to say that we should so frame our Constitution that the holders of power for the moment should be regarded as in every respect the irresponsible managers, not only of their own affairs for the moment, but of the affairs of their country for all time. Because, remember, there are many things which can be done which are irreversible when you are dealing with great growths in the region of politics; just as when you are dealing with them in the region of nature you cannot replace that which you destroy. You may pull down a building and erect another exactly like it; you cannot cut down a tree and say, "To-morrow I will have another tree in its place." So it is with an institution. You are absolutely bound to see that no hasty decision shall upset in one reckless hour interests which have been slowly and painfully built up by our predecessors, and which our successors never can replace. Therefore, I say, you must in this country do what every other country has done, what some other countries have done with over-caution and over-care, see that there is some permanence and continuity in your institutions. I am no favourer of perpetual entails, I do not wish to see the institutions of this country in any particular stereotyped and perpetuated for all time, made absolutely petrified and immovable, as, for instance, the institutions of the American Commonwealth are, or almost are, under the peculiar regulations of their Constitution. But while I do not wish to imitate the immovable conservatism of the Republican institutions of America, I think we should be perfectly insane—setting aside not only the lessons of our own history, but of every other history—if we did not so arrange our Constitution that when the people decide upon a change it shall be after the most mature consideration, after the thing has been weighed and looked at from all sides, and after it has been considered in isolation from all those perturbing considerations which operate at a moment. It is folly to call that anti-democratic; on the contrary, it is democracy properly understood. It is government of the people by the people—[An Hon. Member: For the people?]—and for the people. Not by the people for the people living under one Parliament, be it of seven or five years duration, but by the people for the people for generations. If the interests we had to deal with were the interests of a particular set of electors at a particular time, let them manage or mismanage their own affairs as they please; but let us take care that as interests far beyond their own immediate and personal interests are confided to them, they should exercise the great duties thrown on them with full responsibility and full knowledge after mature reflection. Let us not hand over, as the right hon. Gentleman proposes to hand over, to a House of Commons elected, it may be in some moment of passion, like 1900—[Ministerial cheers]—like 1906, the eternal and perpetual interests of the country.

The right hon. Gentleman has laid down a principle that as this House represents the people, and as the Government represents this House, so we are to regard everything that the Government of the day does as in itself impeccable, as if it had the inherent right of uncontrolled management of the national destinies. All that is really not relevant to the actual facts of popular government as we know them. It is only in a technical sense that the House represents the people, if you mean by the people the settled views of the people over, let us say, thirty years. It is only in a technical sense that the Government represents the House. When you get a technical representation by two removes everybody knows, and nobody better than the present Government, that it takes much less than five years possibly for a Government to get out of touch with those who put it in office. If it be true, and I am sure it is true, that you must find some machinery, I may call it an averaging machinery, for seeing that on matters of permanent interest it is not a particular Parliament which decides, can you have a better machinery than that which is provided by the Constitution in the shape of this subordinate Assembly of the House of Lords? I say subordinate because I am certain that, even if you abolished the House of Lords, the country would insist on finding a substitute; and I do not believe any substitute you could find would fulfil the qualification which the Lords possess. What is that qualification? It is that it has no temptation and no desire to contest the primacy with this House. But if you chose to abolish the House of Lords, and if you chose to find other machinery for ensuring some form of stability for our social and constitutional structure, you would have to find it in an elected body of some kind or another. There are many analogies to be found in the constitutional experiments of Europe, and I understand that some theorists in this House, who believe in what they call the electoral principle, think that it would effect great improvement in the House of Lords. I think it would be a great deterioration of that Assembly with its particular purpose to fulfil in the Constitution. I think the House of Lords, or the Second Chamber, let us say, if it really had an elective basis, would inevitably find itself in conflict with this House, not merely with regard to legislation, which is relatively a secondary matter, but in connection with those administrative responsibilities. In regard to these, at present there can be no conflict, because the House of Lords does not pretend to have its hand upon the throttle of the administrative machine and never attempts to do what we have a right to do in this House, to criticise efficiently the Administration of the day. But would the state of things last, even for a quinquennial period, if you had an elected Second Chamber? An elected Second Chamber would, of course, at once say, "We derive our authority, like the House of Commons, from the community, of which we are, therefore, immediate trustees. Just as much as the House of Commons has, we have a right to determine whether the Ministry has or has not our confidence, or the confidence of Parliament," and there would at once be introduced a collision of interests which might bring all your machinery, administrative and legislative, to a deadlock. That, of course, is more or less prevented in America by the election of a Government which is not dependent for its existence on either House, but lasts its term of four years. But in this country, accustomed as we are to see the daily dependence of the Government of the day upon deliberative Assemblies, a Second Chamber which could claim to derive authority from the people, as this House claims to derive authority from the people, would contend with us for some control over the constitution of the Ministry and some control over the uses to which the Ministry to which they gave their confidence put its powers. I think that would be a very great deterioration in our present system. The immense merit of our present system is that parties change, Governments change, policies change, but there never can be a deadlock in our administrative machine. Money can always be voted, the Government can always remain in office as long as this House gives them continuity of power, no matter what the House of Lords may do; and I should never be a party to a change which would make the House of Lords a partner on equal terms with ourselves and which would enable it to do that which I think only one Assembly can do with advantage, which would introduce friction into the great work of Government, and which would be a great loss to the flexibility, the adaptability, and the rapidity of the working of our institutions.

Now, when all is said and done, what is the motive of the right hon. Gentleman? He has been good enough to attribute all sorts of dark motives to me. He will, therefore, not complain if I try to examine his motives. It is no light thing for the responsible Prime Minister of the day to attempt to make a fundamental and vital alteration in the Constitution. He must have, or he ought to have, profound reasons of State for doing it. He must find the machine unworkable as it is. He must be able to look back upon the past and say such and such disastrous consequences have followed from the present state of affairs. I wish the right hon. Gentleman had given us more details in regard to the disasters which have followed from the present state of things. He skipped lightly from the beginning of time to the first Reform Bill, and still more lightly from the first Reform Bill to last year; but in this agile procedure he never made any reference to the greatest attempt at constitutional change which has been made in our time. That, of course, was Mr. Gladstone's attempts to establish Home Rule in 1886 and 1893. Home Rule may be right or wrong. I am not going to argue that question. But it would be a very great constitutional change. It would fundamentally alter the relations between Great Britain and Ireland; and even those who believe in it most firmly, and who look forward to it with the most sanguine confidence, must admit that it would carry in its train a whole series of consequences, which it is quite impossible for any prophet, however endowed, adequately to foresee. Caution, therefore, is eminently required in making such a change as this. Our existing institutions have not prevented Home Rule. Home Rule may come. But they have ensured that Home Rule shall not, at all events, be carried in the way in which the right hon. Gentleman wants to carry everything in future. If ever there was a decision of the country upon Home Rule, surely that decision was taken, first in 1886, and secondly in 1895. The decision may have been wrong, but that decision in 1895 absolutely reversed the decision which the House of Commons had come to in 1886 and 1893 respectively.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD GEORGE, Carnarvon

Boroughs): The Home Rule Bill of 1886 did not pass the Commons.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It was adopted by the Government of the day dependent upon the House of Commons. That is quite as good for the purpose of my argument. But if you quarrel with the instance of 1886, let us confine our attention to 1893. The election which followed in 1895 showed that the people, perhaps mistakenly—I am not arguing that—were not in favour of Home Rule. Now, let us examine how Home Rule would have worked under the right hon. Gentleman's plan. He says he is going to introduce quinquennial Parliaments, and thinks by that means the House of Commons will never be out of touch with the people. But the House of Commons which was dissolved in 1895 only lasted for three years. It therefore fell far short of the quinquennial term, upon which the right hon. Gentleman relies for this perpetual co-ordination between the views of the House of Commons and the views of the people. And yet the people stated as decisively as they could that the House of Lords had properly exercised in the greatest of all cases the functions entrusted to it by the Constitution. Had the right hon. Gentleman's so-called reform been in existence in 1893, Home Rule, I presume, would now be law—perhaps to the benefit of the community, but certainly against the will of the people. Is it possible, with that instance fresh in our memories, to say that this change, whatever its other merits may be, is intended, in the words of the Resolution, to "give effect to the will of the people"? If those who framed this Resolution had in their minds recent history in which they themselves were personally engaged, this Resolution is hypocritical on the face of it. It is intended not to carry out the will of the people, but the will of the House of Commons of the moment. Am I not, then, justified in repeating the words with which I began my speech, that the right hon. Gentleman when he talks about the people is thinking rather of the House of Commons, and that it is our business to think rather of the people than of the House of Commons?

But this does not exhaust my criticism of the right hon. Gentleman's motives. He has no claim, or even the pretence of a claim, to be carrying out the will of the people by this Resolution. It is his own will that he wants to carry out. I think the facts go further than that. The right hon. Gentleman belongs to the school of Radicalism, which holds as inveterate superstition and prejudice that the one object you should always be driving at is not to bring in good legislation, but to alter the legislative machinery. Social legislation appears in their speeches, but it never appears anywhere else. Go back over the history of the Radical Party, and you will find a very ancient superstition and a very venerable one—you will find that whenever they come into power, whatever be the plea upon which they have come into power, they immediately set to work upon some manipulation of the legislative machinery of the country; and when they are asked to bring in some Bills which are to change the lot of the people of this country they will hesitate. ["The Scottish Land Bill."] Exactly. They bring in measures such as the Scottish Land Bill, a measure to which, in their collective capacity, they have never given a moment's thought, and which is already a by-word and a derision among the nation. But I will explain to hon. Gentlemen opposite interested in the Scottish Land Bill how it comes about. The right hon. Gentleman talks as if a quarrel with the House of Lords is forced upon him by something which the House of Lords have recently been doing. Any attentive student of the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman or of those of his colleagues, or of the election addresses of some of them—for instance, that of the President of the Local Government Board, whom I do not see in his place—must be perfectly well aware that there was a set determination to pick a quarrel with the House of Lords long before the House of Lords did anything. The policy of filling up the cup has been in the mouths of all hon. Gentlemen opposite. What has been the result? They have not brought in measures to be passed; they have brought in measures to be rejected. They have not desired to bring in Bills which were so good that nobody could quarrel with them, but Bills so bad that no Assembly left to free discussion could reconcile itself to passing them unamended. That makes legislation extremely easy; and it makes quarrelling with the House of Lords still more easy. But easy as that policy seems, much as it saves any undue waste of brain tissue on the part of Ministers, I see no signs that it is carrying great favour in the country. I think the people see through this transparency. Many of them, I dare say, voted for right hon. Gentlemen opposite in the mistaken view that it was in the power of this Government or, indeed, of any Government, to carry certain schemes, or at all events to attain to certain objects which they had much at heart. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite gave them to understand that they had panaceas for all those evils if they came to office; but when they had to turn those panaceas from perorations into Bills they found it extremely difficult, if not in some cases impossible. Under these circumstances, it was far easier for the Government to try to quarrel with the House of Lords, to say to the people, "Oh, if you only knew what wonderful schemes we have in our heads, what admirable measures we have in our pigeon-holes! But there is the House of Lords, which will certainly reject them if we send them up." Great is their disappointment, almost unaffected, when the House of Lords passes a measure—not, indeed, the result of the brains of the Government, but the result of the Labour representatives—when the House of Lords, instead of doing what they were intended to do, does the opposite, then the right hon. Gentleman cannot control himself. Their flagitious, unscrupulous opportunism moves his wrath and arouses his indignation, and for the simple reason that the right hon. Gentleman's Bills, as I have said, were never brought in to pass, but to be rejected. ["Oh, oh."] And I think they were so drafted that there was great difficulty in some cases in not rejecting the Bills. I venture to suggest to the House that that is not the way to prepare a road for a great constitutional change. You ought not, if you find yourself impotent in constructive legislation, to turn round and try to curry favour with what you call the democracy by pulling down a portion of the Constitution. No; that portion of the Constitution, by those insensible changes which have made the British Constitution the most flexible and adaptable of all Constitutions ever tried, now fulfils functions which I believe must be fulfilled by some body in the State, and which I believe, for the reasons I have given, are fulfilled much better by an Assembly not elected, but which has, for historical reasons, a deserved prestige in the country—better fulfilled by such an Assembly than they could be by any cut and dried contrivance you might make on the model of Continental, American, or other Second Chambers. The House of Lords has grown up and modified its functions to suit modern needs. There was a time when it claimed, and really possessed, power equal to, perhaps in some cases almost greater than, this House. Those times have long gone by. By that insensible adaptation of means to end there is no claim of that kind put forward by the Second Chamber. We are left supreme in everything except in that one thing necessary in order that the people's will may be carried out to see that no rash changes are made which no future energy, patriotism, or industry can reverse, but which carry with them consequences of possibly the most deleterious character, and which would poison the future political life of the country to all time. Sir, it is not with such an institution we should hastily meddle. I do not admire the procedure of the right hon. Gentleman, that of bringing in an obscurely worded Resolution, and promising at some future period unspecified a Bill to carry it out. I think this Bill dealing with the House of Lords has not even precedence over the Education Bill, or the Licensing Bill, or any other of their measures. If you believe in these measures and think the House of Lords is going to reject them, deal with the House of Lords first. Why are we wasting a week of Parliamentary time over an abstract Resolution when the Government could have brought in a Bill or could have prepared a Bill to bring in early next year, and could have allowed us to proceed with their legislative programme contrived for this year? Sir, the whole thing is insincere from beginning to end. The right hon. Gentleman is treating the Constitution of which he ought to be the guardian as a plaything of the moment, as a mere political expedient, as a means for electrifying and revivifying, if he can, the waning popularity of himself and his colleagues. It will serve no useful end; and even that relatively contemptible object which the right hon. Gentleman has in view will not, in my judgment, be fulfilled, as time will show when next he goes to that people in whose name he affects to speak in this Resolution, and whose confidence, if not already lost, he is losing every day.

*MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): I desire to offer a few remarks upon the subject of this debate. The right hon. Gentleman who has just resumed his seat has made one or two remarks to which I should like to reply. First of all, I should like to deal with what he said concerning panic elections. I think if ever there was a panic election it was in 1900, and the strange part of it is that every legislative proposal brought forward by the Party returned in that year was quietly acquiesced in by the House of Lords. Now we have a Parliament elected less than two years ago, which was looked forward to for two years previous to that, and still we are to be asked to regard the decision of the people given in 1906 as being something which is not deserving of the consideration of the House of Lords. No statement could be further from the true facts of the case. The right hon. Gentleman said that the last election was a panic election and that it was necessary to have a House of Lords to protect us from the results of that election. Surely if the House of Lords was doing what is alleged to be its duty it would have resisted the legislation which followed the panic election of 1900. We have been told that we are wasting our time to-day. Some of us on these benches have thought that for a long time. We feel that so far as the country is concerned the sooner it does devote a little time to attempting to remove this terrible obstacle to all improvement in the condition of the people the better. It may have the effect of putting off other legislation for the time being, but it may make legislation quicker in the future. We are not now considering the question of a Single Chamber as against two Chambers, but whether we are to go on for ever with an hereditary Chamber. Even the Leader of the Opposition has not attempted to defend the hereditary principle. I listened most carefully to all his references to the House of Lords, and he did not utter one single sentence in favour of that principle. The question is whether an hereditary and non-representative House shall be perpetual in this country. That is the situation we have got to face. I take no other text for my remarks than the words of the Leader of the Opposition, who said on 28th November—

> "I do not for one moment believe that the Lords, in the exercise of the high functions entrusted to them by the Constitution, will waver in their duty. Their duty is not to thwart the will of the nation, but to see that its will is really and truly carried out."

The House of Lords has no right to decide what is the will of the people. Can it be said that a non-representative body, composed entirely of gentlemen drawn from one class, is a proper body to decide what is the will of the people of this country? What are we here for? If we do not represent the will of the people it is time we came to some understanding as to what we do represent. But a mere assertion of that kind is not sufficient. That argument has gone for ever and a determined House and a determined people will refuse to allow a non-representative body drawn entirely from one class to decide what is the will of the people. In the early days there were struggles between this House and the other; I read the other day that in 1648 a debate took place as to whether Black Rod should be the supreme person. Black Rod had ordered certain people to be arrested, and in the end King Charles dissolved Parliament and took away from the House of Commons the right to have anybody put into prison. And what did the House of Commons decide? That "The House of Peers is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished." That is the view to-day of the hon. Members who are sitting beside me, and they believe that the Government would have done better if they had proceeded on those lines. During the last hundred years the pages of our history are full of their actions against the people. In 1807 they started by throwing out a Bill appointing a

Committee of Council for Education. During the last century Bills for the benefit of the people were stopped and delayed. Question after question, such as Parliamentary reform, land reform, the Roman Catholic position, religious equality, municipal and educational reform, and legal, social and industrial measures might be quoted in which the House of Lords prevented the will of the people being carried into effect. Surely it is time that those who represent the people should challenge the right of the House of Lords to force the people to the verge of a revolution before giving way. The late Lord Salisbury in 1884 said—

> "No great or even violent public pressure has been brought to bear upon us."

Have we to wait until that violent pressure is brought to bear? It needs no revolution, and it ought not to need one. I trust that the discussion of to-day will set forth that the country intends that the decision of the representatives in this House from time to time shall be taken as the decision of the country. Hasty legislation has been referred to. Is there ever any hasty legislation of a progressive character? There may be some of a retrograde character. What reform have we to-day that has not been talked about for years and generations before it has been embodied in an Act of Parliament? There is no chance in this country of hasty legislation, for all proposed reforms are subjected to long discussion in public before we hear of them in the shape of legislative measures. Illustrations could be given of cases in which the other House has delayed the changes in the law which the people desired. No better illustration could be given than that which took place between 1833 and 1857 in regard to Jewish emancipation. Majorities in this House on seven occasions were in favour of that reform, but the House of Lords refused to pass it. In the end, in 1858, the other House passed the Bill which conferred political freedom and equality on that class of our countrymen. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition said that the Government in introducing this motion was doing it for the purpose of hoodwinking the people, and that they did not mean to go on with legislation on the subject. I think the opposite is really the fact. We can only judge of the views of Ministers by what they have publicly stated. It has been publicly stated that not only the present Cabinet, but previous Cabinets, and especially those of Liberal Governments, have had to redraft Bills and pare them down with the object of putting them in a form to pass in another place. I read the other day the following statement, made by the late Mr. John Bright on 10th July, 1884—

> "There is no man who has been a member of the Government of this country who has not felt, in discussing the measures of the Cabinet, that there was always in front a net with very small meshes indeed, and that after a measure was produced which the Cabinet thought necessary for the time and the purpose, it was pared down and again pared down, in the hope, often the futile hope, of securing the assent of the Lords."

It is because we believe to-day that the Cabinet is paring down measures which we want that we are so determined to help the Government to deal with this question. There is no doubt that the country is losing through Bills being introduced in this House in a less advanced state than the needs of the people require, and in a less advanced state than they would be but for the fear entertained that they would not pass the House of Lords. The hereditary principle is indefensible from every point of view of public policy. The fact that it is not defended is its best and greatest condemnation. If it is good, why not apply it to other governing bodies and the various forms of business? Why should Parliament be the only place where the hereditary principle is applied? How often have we heard business men whom we have known refer in sorrow to the inclinations of their sons? The big businesses set up by the fathers have been lost under the management of the sons. Is that not so in regard to Parliamentary affairs as well as anything else? Surely the time has come when the right to govern by birth should be abolished in this country. A caustic writer puts it in this way—

> "We allow babies to be earmarked in their cradles as future law-makers, utterly regardless as to whether they turn out to be statesmen, or fools, or rogues."

That is exactly the situation put in blunt language. No one in this House will attempt to defend the hereditary principle. The action of the House of Lords last session has been referred to.

The Leader of the Opposition made special reference to the course taken by the Lords in regard to the Trade Disputes Bill. I do not think it rests with the representatives of the Tory Party in this House to claim very much credit for the action of the House of Lords on that measure. If they had had their way in this House, the House of Lords would not have had the chance of acting as they did. I would rather attribute the action of the House of Lords on that occasion to the ordinary human feeling of fear. The Leader of the Tory Party in the House of Lords stated that the Bill was "calamitous, unjust, and tyrannical." When I heard that statement all the credit I was prepared to give to the Tory Party in regard to the passing of the measure disappeared. I should prefer that those who use language like that in regard to the work of this House should themselves be compelled to appeal to the people. The Education Bill has been referred to. I will not go into that subject, but I should like to refer to one little Bill in which my friends and I took an interest, namely, the Education (Provision of Meals) Bill. I remember that an hon. Member above the gangway moved the omission of Scotland from the operation of the Bill. The Amendment scarcely got a seconder and it was defeated almost unanimously. There was no argument why Scotland should be excepted. There was no reason why the children of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen should not have the privilege of meals as in the case of English towns. The House of Lords took upon themselves to say that Scotland should not be included in the Bill. Then there was the Aliens Bill, a small measure which was passed by this House without opposition, but which was rejected by the other place. That was a measure which would have put into operation the principle advocated by right hon. Gentlemen above the gangway in regard to the protection of our workmen against the competition of aliens. The House of Lords came to a decision which made it impossible to go further with that Bill. Another Bill which more than anything else raised the issue between this House and the House of Lords was the Plural Voting Bill. That was a Bill which, in my opinion, ought never to have been touched at all by the House of Lords. It simply dealt with the method of electing this House. It did not interfere with the constitution of the House of Lords. If they claim the right to reject a measure which applies solely to this House surely we have a right to say "If you interfere with us, we have as great, or a greater right, to interfere in the constitution of your place." I am old enough to remember that on a previous occasion I had the honour, along with my hon. friend the Member for Sowerby Bridge, to carry a banner in 1884 in a campaign against the House of Lords. We were in earnest then, and we are doubly in earnest now, and I trust that whatever else may be said the taunt of the right hon. Gentleman will not hold true that His Majesty's present advisers are simply using this as a red herring. I trust that they mean serious business. The recollections of 1884 are not very pleasant to some of us. There was a great opportunity then, and the country was ripe for legislation in regard to the House of Lords. I believe that in 1893 the mistake that was made was that there was too much made of "mending" and too little about "ending" the House of Lords. I know the opinion of working men fairly well, and I am confident that they are not in favour of any truckling or mending. What they are in favour of is an ending process, judging from the expressions of opinion given at conferences and other congregations of men. They are not in favour of any mending because they believe that would mean that the Lords would have greater power to interefere with measures sent to them from this House. If there is to be a revising Chamber, let it be on different principles altogether from the present House of Lords. I hope, therefore, we in this House shall determine to put our shoulders to the wheel in this matter. On behalf of my friends and myself I have put down an Amendment. I hope the House will pass that Amendment. We shall do our best to persuade the House to do so. If defeated we shall still support the Government because we acknowledge the principle which is included in their Resolution. But in regard to the propositions which have been put before the House by the Prime Minister, let me say this, I think them far too generous. It appears to me that once a measure is rejected, if it goes a second time that ought to be sufficient. Why take up the time of the House in sending it back to the Lords a third time when you have the people behind you, and when you are certain that your decisions are those of the country? That is the only criticism I make at the present time. I think if the House of Lords gets two opportunities of considering a Bill that should be enough.

*MR. RIDSDALE (Brighton): I rise to address the House on this occasion from a rather different standpoint from that of the last two speakers, and even different from the standpoint of the Leader of my own Party. In my opinion it is extremely dangerous that this House should have what I am afraid I must still look upon, even after the explanation of the Prime Minister, as really uncontrolled powers of legislation. If I may be allowed to say so, what I think is really at the root of the whole difficulty in this matter is its Party character. There is not a single individual sitting on these Benches who has not felt, and who does not still feel keenly, the circumstances in which this House was placed by the rejection of the Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill. Some of us think that proper use was not made by the other House of its revisionary powers—that they were exercised not in an impartial, but in a Party spirit. It is that Party spirit we are trying to get at the root of, and I ask the House on so important a matter as the British Constitution to raise itself above mere Party issues and Party recriminations. The Prime Minister's Resolution is based on the assumption that the will of the House of Commons represents the will of the people. We all, I think, agree that the will of the people should be paramount; but it is essential that we should be quite certain that we know what the will of the people really is. We know how elections are conducted throughout the country. It does not by any means follow that a candidate who is returned at the head of the poll is elected by a majority of the people. If you have three or four candidates, as you have at the present moment at Jarrow, is anybody going to say that the Member who is returned at the top of the poll represents the voice of the constituency? He may not have polled more than one-third of the votes, and yet he will come to this House and exercise his vote and use his voice as expressing the will of his constituents. You cannot say that any hon. Member here represents the views of even the majority of his constituency. You may have men representing not a constituency, but some particular organisation. They will be the paid representatives of that organisation, although they are elected by the constituency, and they will vote as the delegates of the organisation. I cast no reflections on any body of men in saying this. But it is obvious that nobody can say, when you have a body of Members who are to a certain extent under the control of outside organisations, alien to the constituency, that when they vote in the House of Commons it is by any means certain that they voice the will of the constituency or that of the people. In all probability—as shown in the division list—it is the voice of the outside organisations that is being carried out. Again, in cases such as these, where you have a body of hon. Members subsidised by organisations which exist for the purpose of giving force to their own views, these Members will use more than ordinary diligence in enforcing on the Government the particular views of the organisations of which they are delegates. That is my experience in the short time I have been in the House of Commons. Then if this House is to represent the will of the people, surely the first step that should be taken is to have a redistribution scheme and equal electoral units, otherwise it would not be very difficult to construct a division list which would show an absolute majority in the House which represented an absolute minority in the constituencies. Could a division in such a case be said to represent the will of the people? Then, unfortunately, though we live under a system of Party Government, the number of Parties in the House is not limited to two. We have a large, well-organised—at least until recently it was so—third Party; and I am not sure that there is not a fourth Party. And where you have a political system with two large Parties in the House each of which is occupied in finding occasion to thwart the operations of the other, the course of either will be mainly determined by the smaller bodies. The larger body may be forced into adopting a course in regard to certain measures and politics in order to secure the support of the third Party which they would not have adopted of their own free will. In that case the legislation will not be the legislation of the largest Party, but the legislation dictated by the small Party. We saw that in the case of Home Rule. When Party Government can be reduced to such a state it cannot be said that the legislation passed by this House necessarily reflects the will of the people. As to the scheme of the Prime Minister, so far as I can understand it, we are first of all to pass a measure through this House; it is then to go to the House of Lords, and if the Upper House rejects it there is to be a Conference. It is then to be sent up a second time, and if an agreement cannot be come to with the Lords there is to be another Conference. If the second Conference is futile, then it is to be sent up a third time and if again rejected after conference with the Lords, the Bill is to be passed by the Commons over the heads of the Lords. All that will lead to a terrible waste of time, even with the application of the closure. Again, what is to be the limit of time for the Conferences and what power is there to be in Conference to check obstruction? It seems to me that we have not got at the root of the question by the Prime Minister's scheme; and that we should be forced in the long run to go to the country to get an emphatic decision on any important measure from the people of the country. Another point which I wish to make is that the time chosen to bring forward this Resolution is inopportune. If it was to be passed it should have been hot-foot on the rejection of the Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill when there was a good deal of simmer in the country against the action of the Lords. There might then have been some chance of getting a public backing for the Prime Minister's proposal. But we have spent six months on legislation of a totally different character, and it is absurd to say that we are going to tackle this huge question of the alteration of the Constitution of the country by the mere excitement caused by a three days sitting of the House of Commons and by various strong speeches by Ministers and others. I deny that it is possible for any Minister to make speeches, however eloquent, which will stir up the feeling of the country against the House of Lords and in favour of the Premier's Resolution. Then by what means is it that the will of the people is to be expressed when this House, after certain procedure, sends up to the other House some measure to be finally passed over the heads of the House of Lords? Is it to be by a majority of two-thirds of this House or by a majority of a single vote that this House is to overcome the Lords? Again, there is very grave doubt whether the schemes of the Government will not put the Crown into an invidious position in regard to the legislation passed by this House. If the Upper Chamber is not to have the power of expressing a veto you will have intrigues—you will have the Party which has been disfranchised by your Bill using all its influence to obtain the assent of the Crown to a veto on a measure introduced into this House. I venture to think such a position would be an extremely grave one. It would be a fundamental alteration of all our present ideas of the position of the Crown and the uses and functions of this Chamber. But I would also point out that if you are going to throw an added responsibility like this upon the Crown, it follows of necessity that there must come added power; and this Motion, if given effect to, means, of a natural consequence, strengthening the powers of the Crown. I would now point out again that this does not go to the root of the evil or remove, in any way, what is the whole origin of the difficulty in view, and I would ask those of His Majesty's Ministers I see on the Front Bench if they could not turn their attention to some scheme for doing away with that hereditary principle—which I detest—banishing the Spiritual Lords from their places in the Upper House, and having some representation in their stead of life Peers, elected, it may be, by the various learned bodies of the Kingdom, Chambers of Commerce, and, last but not least, by the various self-governing Colonies. But one of the main reasons for which I object to this scheme of the Prime Minister is that it offers no power of amalgamation in the future by which representatives of the Colonies may be brought in to our deliberations. It is quite certain that so long as this House has entire control of the finances of the nation no representatives of the Colonies can sit in this House, because you would then get representation without taxation, and you would have two sets of representatives sitting side by side, and voting, one of which would not suffer from any taxation that might be imposed. I for one did hope that the Upper Chamber might serve as a nucleus of a scheme by which our Greater Britain might be represented in the Parliament of the Empire. I did hope we might see life Peers elected by our great dependencies, and then we should not have the anomaly, which at present exists, of so large a portion of the Empire having responsibility without representation. It is a most dangerous condition, and one which I hope, ere long, to see removed. In conclusion, I would appeal to the House. We sit here, the heirs of great traditions, built up under the shadow of the British Constitution. I would ask the House, not lightly or without due consideration, to make a change in that glorious structure, under which the wide Empire and the great liberties of our British subjects have been brought to their present state.

Mr. REMNANT (Finsbury, Holborn): The hon. Member who has just sat down would find many on his own side of the House to agree with him in what he has said. The Resolution as moved by the Prime Minister seems to me impossible from the constitutional point of view. There can be no doubt that, constitutionally, the House of Commons has no more right to limit the legislative power of the House of Lords than the House of Lords has to limit the legislative power of the House of Commons. A Resolution proposing to limit the power of the other House will thus be merely a piece of waste-paper. The late Mr. Gladstone, in his last speech as Premier in the House of Commons, on 1st March, 1894, said—

> "It is not with the House of Commons to pronounce a judgment on this subject. The House of Commons is itself a party in the case . . . The House of Commons could not be a final judge in its own case. It is the authority of the nation which must in the last resort decide."

The substantial question raised by the Government is whether or not a temporary majority of the House of Commons are to be made absolute masters of our legislation. It is ridiculous to suggest that any effective check on the Commons could be maintained if the right of appealing from the House of Commons to the country were superseded by a right of appealing from the House of Commons to the House of Commons itself. The late Lord Salisbury wrote in the *National Review*, December, 1894—

> "Such an arrangement—the childish proposal that the 'veto' of the House of Lords shall be taken away, while it is still to remain a legislative assembly—would be as much government by a Single Chamber as if the Second Chamber were abolished."

Our institutions—principally because we have no written Constitution—provide singularly few safeguards against the dangers of political instability, and by concentrating the whole power of Parliament, as the present Government desire, in a single Chamber we should give up our only means of securing revision of hasty and ill-considered legislation. It is quite possible for a Bill to pass through all its stages in the House of Commons by the votes of a majority who have been returned by a minority of the electors, an event which is pretty certain to happen frequently in the present Parliament. We have no system of proportional representation, and the present distribution of seats is notoriously unfair. So, again, a Prime Minister may obtain a majority in the constituencies on one issue or set of issues, and use the majority so obtained to carry measures which have not been before the country at all. The history of the Home Rule question affords a conclusive argument for the maintenance of the effective legislative power of the Second Chamber. In 1886, Mr. Gladstone nearly succeeded in carrying the Home Rule Bill, which had not been before the country at all at the general election of the previous year. In 1893, the Home Rule Bill was actually passed by the House of Commons, rejected by the House of Lords, and at the following general election in 1895 rejected by an overwhelming majority of the electors. This year we were threatened with a Home Rule Bill, or at least a measure intended to pave the way for a complete Home Rule Bill, although leading Members of the present Government repudiated Home Rule in their speeches to their constituents. When considering proposals for organic changes in a Constitution that has endured for many centuries, and should endure for many centuries to come, we must look not merely to the events of yesterday, but to the general course of history. English history speaks eloquently in favour of the House of Lords. The abolition of the House of Lords was the cause of the hydra-headed tyranny of Barebones' Parliament, and of the Rump. In the reign of James II., the House of Lords took a larger part than the House of Commons in resisting the Royal tyranny. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the House of Lords again and again took the Liberal side against the bigotry of the House of Commons in the debates on the Occasional Conformity Bill. Towards the close of the same century, in 1783, the House of Lords threw out—to the delight of the country, as shown in the ensuing general election—that monumental piece of Whig jobbery, Fox's East India Bill. Let not hon. Members flatter themselves that the dangers of bygone years are no longer to be dreaded because there is no longer a Whig oligarchy to be resisted. It is easy to imagine circumstances under which the Radical plutocrats who finance the present Liberal Party might become a similar danger. The experience of England, the birthplace of constitutional liberty, is confirmed by the maintenance of strong Second Chambers in our own Colonies, in the United States of America, and in nearly all foreign countries, including France, the home of constitutional experiments, and Japan, the most progressive of nations, which has deliberately adopted in its present Constitution an Upper House containing a majority of members sitting by hereditary titles. It is not true that the House of Lords always takes the side of the Conservative against the Liberal Party. In the middle of the last century Parties in the House of Lords were very sharply divided, and on some very critical occasions Lord Palmerston commanded a majority over the late Lord Derby. No doubt it is true that in more recent years the Lords have come more frequently into collision with Liberal than with Conservative Governments (which is inevitable in a period of great political changes), but instances can be cited in which, in recent years, the Lords have dealt severely enough with the Bills of Conservative Governments. Thus, in 1877, the Lords carried by a majority of sixteen, as an Amendment to the Burials Acts Consolidation Bill of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, the principle afterwards adopted in the Burials Bill, although the House of Commons had rejected Mr. Osborne Morgan's resolution to the same effect by a majority of thirty-one in the previous year. And in 1889 the Lords made such Amendments in the Land Transfer Bill of Lord Salisbury's Government as caused the withdrawal of the Bill. The cases which figure so largely in Radical Party literature in which the Lords are said to have rejected useful measures fall mainly under two heads. Either they are instances drawn from the period following the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, when the House of Lords, in showing a strongly Conservative spirit, only echoed the views of men like the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, and indeed of an overwhelming preponderance of educated and thoughtful men in this country; or they are instances in which the Lords have merely delayed Bills that had previously been rejected again and again by the Commons. Take the case of the Ballot Bill which, as we are so often reminded, was passed in 1871 by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. The Commons had been debating this Bill off and on for forty years and had rejected it twenty-eight times. The House of Lords rejected it only once, in 1871, when it was sent up to them at the end of the session, and passed it in the following year. A Second Chamber, after all, ought to be a delaying power, and the Lords can hardly be criticised for taking two years to pass a Bill which the Commons had taken forty years to pass. Present circumstances call for measures not to weaken the power of the House of Lords, but to strengthen its composition. On the Conservative side, measures of the latter kind will be welcome. In this, as in many other matters, the Conservative Party are the champions of reform because they are the enemies of revolution.

*MR. BELLOC (Salford, S.): If there is one phrase that has been used more frequently than another in the course of this debate it is a phrase that questions whether the Prime Minister's Resolution is or is not representative of the will of the people. It is taken for granted that in this as in other matters the Government are no longer representative. Well, it is usual on the part of the Opposition to say after a certain interval that the Government in power has lost prestige. I am old enough to remember at least eight occasions upon which that has been said, if not with respect to eight Governments, at least with regard to eight policies, and I think I may say not only in regard to my constituency, but certainly in connection with constituencies of the most varied character in which I worked pretty heavily during the two years which preceded the election, that although this was not the one issue, there was not any issue upon which the people were more determined than that there should be a change in, and a change in the direction of weakening the power of, the House of Lords. There is certainly not a Member representing South Lancashire who could go back to his constituency had he in this respect failed in his duty. I do not desire to put the thing as strongly as it might be put, but rather to consider it carefully in its historical aspect, and to see what are the arguments—and they are apparently strong arguments—of the other side. In the first place, we need not consider the argument that has been adduced against the uni-cameral system. We are not deciding for or against the bi-cameral or the uni-cameral system. We are deciding in this Resolution what our opinion is—we need not yet consider the Bill that may follow—we are deciding what our opinion is on a crisis in practical legislation that is already considerable, and we are deciding it on the only lines on which it can be decided at all. And I think we ought clearly to understand that if the Liberal Government had not undertaken to ask for some change in the constitution of the House of Lords, most undoubtedly another Government—a Conservative Government—would have had to undertake this reform. It is pressing, it is being cried for, and it is a necessity. To turn to the historic argument, which is the first one with which I wish to deal. It has already been used to a slight extent, and will be used to a greater extent as the debate proceeds. It has been pointed out that our Constitution is of great antiquity, and that it is also very elastic and adaptable to changed needs, and it will be pointed out that the House of Lords in the past has exercised in more than one period a very useful function. When that is pointed out it is truly pointed out. It is perfectly true that throughout the English oligarchy of the eighteenth century, right up to 1832, the greater landlords in the Upper House considered more what were the needs of the people than the lesser landlords in the Lower. But those who use the historical argument hardly understand how the position of the House of Lords has changed during the last thirty years. Let me turn to a very typical division which I have analysed. It has been alluded to already in this debate, and will be alluded to again before the debate closes. I mean the division on the Plural Voting Bill. Before you can discover by the present system of a single vote and a bare majority the will of the people, you must at least have one man one vote, or one family one vote. The Plural Voting Bill was intended to be a remedy for an evil which had so increased as to become an abuse. It was in the power of the House of Lords to amend that Bill, and I notice on reading the debate which took place in that House that the arguments brought against that Bill were mainly arguments for amendment, and not arguments for what followed, which was a complete rejection of the Bill. Who rejected it? 186 Englishmen—it would be outside the forms of order of this House to point out that several were not strictly of English blood—186 Englishmen decided between them that plural voting should continue, so that a large number of constituencies should be represented, not by the will of those living in them, but by the will of others. We have many such extra-urban constituencies in South Lancashire. It was decided by 143 to 43 that plural voting should continue, by a majority of 100. It was a majority of the kind that we usually see in the House of Lords. There were ten dukes! May the day be far distant when any Duke should fail to do his duty in a matter of that sort. Everything in this world has its place and its nature, and I hope I shall never see a Duke voting for ending any political abuse whatever. Besides the Dukes there were 133 others who voted against the motion. I can perfectly well understand a Conservative of education, intelligence, and patriotism saying to himself, "These 133 men form a sort of grand jury of the education and intelligence of the country." Certainly there are men worthy so to rank, and I may quote one name from among them, that of Lord Kelvin; but when you come to analyse the 133, you notice certain flaws in this "Grand Jury." In the first place, they are nearly unanimously of one religion. We are not a people of one religion. In the House of Lords the Anglican Church—I do not know what its numerical strength is in the nation, perhaps half—is represented in unanimity, save for the presence of a few Roman Catholic Peers. That is a first anomaly. A second anomaly is this, that side by side with the names of those who take part in the national life are the names of other Peers, names which, I confess, I could not place, and which I had looked up in books of reference, with the result that they still mean very little to me. Is it men of this kind that properly form a "Grand Jury of the nation"? The Solicitor-General has been blamed for saying that there are in the House of Lords nobodies who represent no one but themselves; of how many was not this a strictly accurate description? For what services had those Peers achieved their rank? Let me close what seems to me the worst and the heaviest point in this matter, and the point which now stands most clearly before the populace. The House of Lords is now largely recruited by purchase; so long as public honours are bought and sold I will say nothing. That public honours should be bought and sold is repugnant to a political idealist, but it has so many advantages, it has been pursued in many States with success, the system is now so rooted, and is so much a part of the whole social system, that, however it may provoke us, it may be actually beneficial that mere names should be bought and sold so long as the money is ear-marked for good public uses, but it is intolerable that the purchase money should carry with it the power of legislation. As everybody knows, it is difficult to eliminate the power of money from even a representative system. The hon. Member who last spoke directly alluded to the fact that under a representative system there must follow great power wherever money is concentrated. But that is a long way from the direct purchase of legislative power. It would be out of order were special names to be mentioned, still every man in this House knows what those names are; there is no doubt that this political truth is now the common property of the people of England; and, under these circumstances, it is impossible to defend the present right of veto of the Upper Chamber.

*MR. BUTCHER (Cambridge University): The contrast is striking between the form of this Resolution and its substance. In form it merely provides a machinery for adjusting the relations between the two Houses. In substance it means nothing less than the abolition of the Lords as an effective part of the Constitution; for such an abridgment of the veto is in effect its abolition; and, as everybody knows, it is the power of the veto which constitutes the power of the House of Lords. Now, the Prime Minister dares not, apparently, say openly, "I am in favour of a single Chamber." I listened with expectant interest to his speech to find out whether he would so declare himself, and, if not, what kind of Second Chamber he favoured. His indictment, indeed, against the Peers pointed to the need of a reformed or reconstructed Chamber, but he explicitly disavowed any such intention. Reform might hereafter come, but his modest proposal stopped short of that point. Yet he does not shrink from so curtailing the powers of the Upper House as to bring about its virtual extinction. "Mend the Lords afterwards if you please, but let me end them first"—that is the gist of what he says. In passing I may note that when the right hon. Gentleman was pleading for the unlimited supremacy of the House of Commons, and prefaced his constitutional discourse by invoking the name of Burke, I said to myself, "The Secretary of State for India must wonder whether his ears are playing him false." Anyone who has ever read the works of Burke would have thought that he was the one statesman whose name should have been kept out of this debate by the Government. One remembers how Burke spoke of the checks and balances of our unwritten constitution, and of the delicate mechanism which can only be worked by a people with political tact and political sense, that has got behind it the traditions of centuries; one recalls how he denounced all abstract formulæ and the application of the rules of simple arithmetic to politics; and then, when we come to the proposal of the Prime Minister, and find that, in the name of Burke, he proceeds to submit a mechanical rule under which the House of Lords may veto a Bill twice, and have the privilege of sitting three times in conference, with a warning, before the last conference is held, to the effect, "If you do not pass this Bill it will be passed over your heads"—then one wonders how the name of Burke could with decency be invoked. If I remember aright, the phrase which the Prime Minister quoted from Burke was that "the virtue of the House of Commons lies in being the express image of the nation." That, no doubt, is the ideal of the House of Commons which is in the minds of all of us. The House of Commons ought as far as possible to be the direct reflection of the national will. But when Burke used these words, he surely would have been astonished if he had been told that on the strength of them a future Prime Minister of England would argue in favour of the abolition—for it is nothing short of it—of one part of the Legislature, and of the entire overthrow of the constitution. The Prime Minister did not tell us in so many words that he desired to have only a single Chamber, but the tenour and drift of his argument made it very plain that the Second Chamber was in his eyes unnecessary and unmeaning, and that he would gladly see it die of atrophy.

There is a famous saying, familiar to many in this House, which will illustrate the Prime Minister's attitude towards the House of Lords. At the time of the burning of the Alexandrian Library, the Caliph Omar, who ordered the burning, is recorded to have said, "If the books contained in the library differ from the book of the Prophet, they are impious; if they are the same, they are superfluous." And the saying took shape again at the time of the French Revolution, and was applied to this question of a Second Chamber. "If the Second Chamber dissents from the First, it is mischievous; if it agrees, it is useless." That, in brief, is the substance of the Prime Minister's speech when you look below the evasive and uncandid Resolution. Underlying the words which I have quoted, and underlying the speech of the Prime Minister, is the assumption that a particular utterance is infallible. The utterance of the House of Commons is infallibly true on all occasions and on every question. Now even if we admit that *Vox Populi* is *Vox Dei*, it by no means follows that the House of Commons at a particular moment has rightly caught the people's voice. That voice at a general election is sometimes enigmatic. It is not one voice but many voices, a hubbub of voices. Like other oracles, the utterance of the people admits of various interpretations. But the contention of the Prime Minister is this, that the voice of the House of Commons is always the voice of the people, and that, under all conditions, the House of Commons is the sole index of the people's mind, the sole exponent of the people's will. Yet there is nothing more certain than that the House may misread, and has already more than once misread, the will of the nation. The function, therefore, of the Second Chamber is, in case of doubt, to go back to the supreme tribunal; and the real problem is not how to bring the House of Lords into harmony with the House of Commons, but how to secure that the voice of Parliament shall be the voice of the nation, and that the action of the legal sovereign, that is of Parliament, shall be in accord with the will of the political sovereign, namely, the nation.

Hitherto, I imagine, no responsible statesman in England has openly declared himself in favour of a single Chamber. Look at the example of other European countries. I think I am right in saying that there are only three which have not some Second Chamber, and all of these not so long ago formed part of the Turkish Empire:—they were not brought up under happy political auspices, and they here fell into a natural, if excessive, reaction against the undemocratic traditions of their past. It is notable, however, that all the great democracies of history have been aware of certain defects to which they are liable—the ancient democracy of Athens no less than the modern democracy of the United States; and consequently they hedged round their constitutions with elaborate safeguards, some of them perhaps cumbrous and superfluous, against rash innovations. In no country in the world is a Second Chamber more urgently needed than in England.

Every other country has safeguarded the fundamental law of its constitution by various devices; some require a special procedure, others an exceptional majority to carry a constitutional amendment. But any transient majority of the House of Commons might, if this Resolution becomes law, enact changes which would subvert the whole constitution. Further, there are in England at this moment many wild schemes which, as yet, exist only in the form of pious sentiment, but which impatient reformers are eager to place upon the Statute-book. Nor can it be denied that in an ever-increasing degree candidates at general elections make promises in a light-hearted way, hoping and believing that they may never have to record their votes upon these questions in the House of Commons, or that if the questions come up, they will be talked out as was the debate on Female Suffrage last session. Still such pledges are given, and it may rest with the House of Lords to undo the evil.

What then is the object of a Second Chamber? It is not that it may say "ditto" to the First. If so, it would be unnecessary. Its object is that it may sometimes dissent from the first—that there may be not invariable agreement, but occasional disagreement, and that through the discussion of these differences the permanent mind of the nation may be discovered. It is true, the Lords make mistakes—I do not see why the Commons should have a monopoly of error. But the result of these mistakes is at the worst delay, friction, some collision, a short postponement, nothing more; never a permanent thwarting of the settled will of the nation. But mistakes made by the Commons, if the Resolution is carried, may be mistakes that will do irrevocable and irreversible harm. Let me take two critical instances of the action of the Lords in our own time, cardinal examples of what the Lords have accepted and what they have rejected. The first is the case of the Irish Church Bill in 1869. They felt strongly against that Bill, but the principle had been submitted beforehand to the country, the verdict of the country was in its favour, and the Lords accepted it. The second instance has been more than once alluded to this afternoon—I mean the Home Rule Bill of 1893. The Lords rejected that Bill because it had never been before the country. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh, oh!"] No, never. And when the country was asked to give its verdict, its verdict was adverse. This generation owes a debt of lasting gratitude to the House of Lords for saving us from that supreme disaster. Let me direct the attention of the House to another point. In the historical retrospect to which we have just listened it seems to be overlooked, that in the last thirty or forty years silent changes have come about in the Lords' own view of their functions and rights. These have been modified, not by direct enactments, but by tacit rules, by unwritten understandings, and by responsible utterances of great statesmen, such as Lord Salisbury, in their own Chamber. Never was there less danger than at the present moment of the Lords thwarting the settled will of the people. The Lords, after all, are not fools. They are not pedants who cling to outworn traditions. They are not impervious to the signs of the times. They are not unversed in affairs. Many of them mix in public life, and are in close touch with public bodies. Indeed, though the House of Lords is not an elective, it is in a high degree a representative Chamber. The Lords recognise that there is a point at which they must give way to the House of Commons. At what point? When it is clearly shown that the House of Commons represents the deliberate judgment of the nation. How do we know when this point has been reached? What is the test? The Government prescribe an unbending rule. The Lords must not resist beyond the limits of a single Parliament. But no mechanical test is adequate. You must look at all the circumstances of the case. The fact that the House of Commons has passed a measure once or twice is one circumstance. If it is passed by a large majority, it is a weighty circumstance, not lightly to be set aside. It is a *prima facie* indication of the people's will. But it is only one circumstance, it is not a final and decisive fact. There are occasions on which the House of Lords ought to pass a measure even of far-reaching change which has been sent up to them only once, when the judgment of the country is mature and the way has been prepared for it; and there are other occasions when the Lords ought to reject a Bill which has been twice passed, a private Member's Bill, for instance, which has been hastily snatched up by the Government and forced through the House of Commons without due deliberation. The Prime Minister has taunted the Lords with passing Bills which they regarded as bad and rejecting others which they thought less bad; but in doing so they were only acting on the sound principle which I have indicated. In short, any rigid formula is wholly unfitted to define the relations between the two Houses. Perhaps the nearest approach to a rule is this—that the vote of the House of Commons must on no account override the veto of the Lords until the issue has been submitted to the country either by a general election or by the introduction of the Referendum.

It is quite true that if the Lords strained their powers to the uttermost there would be a deadlock from which there would be no constitutional escape. Bagehot once wrote, "If ever the House of Peers goes it will go in a storm"; but it will not be a storm in a teacup such as sprang up last session, such, too, as the Prime Minister is seeking to revive this afternoon. So long, however, as the Lords hold fast to the great principle that their true function is to be the guardians of the nation's rights, they stand in no peril. For myself, I desire to see the House of Lords reformed by the introduction into it of fresh elements of national life. I wish it were more representative than it is, more efficient, and more impartial. But even an unreformed Second Chamber is a far less evil than an autocratic First Chamber; and thus much is certain, that the country will never consent to the Lords being deposed in order to set up the uncontrolled supremacy of the Commons.

*MR. DUNCAN SCHWANN (Cheshire, Hyde): Anyone who rises to address the House on the Resolution now before it must do so with a deep sense of responsibility at the issues involved. If he be a new Member, and, as in my own case, one who has not addressed this Assembly before, he will be overwhelmed with diffidence, diffidence due to that modesty which distinguishes all young politicians, and with a reluctance at intruding in a debate concerning the future of a body of which he has been only a short time a unit. Many of those who have already spoken have sat for a long time in this Assembly. They have become as much a part of it as the mace. They are steeped in the traditions of the spot where they have passed so many years, and the language they have used, whether it has been that of criticism or praise, has been language animated by affectionate knowledge of the subject of their speeches. If they have championed the cause of this House, they have championed what is a part of themselves. It has been as if a man were to sit in judgment on the doings of his own right hand. As a consequence a certain lack of perspective has been involved, from which all hon. and right hon. Members in some degree must suffer. Even the newest and youngest of us are inevitable sufferers. We are too much actors in the drama to be impartial spectators of the events crowding the stage. We are self-centred and absorbed in those social problems for which we seek a remedy. Especially do we, on this side, suffer from this lack of perspective, because our whole interest centres in this Chamber. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, like a ventriloquist, can speak in both Chambers with one voice. He shouts in the other place what he can only whisper here. But to the supporters of the Government utterance is denied elsewhere than here. Absolute here, we are impotent where the right hon. Gentleman is all-powerful. While the existence of another place is a reality always before his thoughts and those of his followers, we, on this side, only learn of its existence in the last weeks of the session. We regard it as the peasants of Styria regard the vampire, stealing from its grave to feed on the life blood of Liberal Bills for a short space, and then to return from its unhallowed feast to its unknown resting place. We feel that we are grappling with a phantom, unreal, unsubstantial, unsatiable. This feeling of unreality is confirmed by a visit to the debates of their Lordships' House. To cross the Strangers Lobby is to go into another world, divorced from contact with the realities of existence that preside over this busy, bustling place. I remember one beautiful April day I went out from Rome to visit the tombs of the Christians. The Campagna was overflowing with the gaiety of spring. The joy of life was everywhere apparent. But when I descended into the vaults of the catacombs I went from life to death, from light to darkness. The lively folk on the great highway were gone, and in their place graves yawned; I was surrounded by dissolution and decay. The sensations that filled me when I experienced that sharp contrast are exactly those that assail all who cross the lobby into the other place. Instead of a Chamber animated, alive, filled with men who speak with all the authority of their fellow-countrymen who elected them, one is confronted by long rows of benches on which scarcely a score of noble legislators slumber. The speaker of the moment appears like the ghost of the dead past—returned to lament over the progress of the present. There are no constituents behind him to give weight to his words. He represents acres, not men. In the atmosphere of that Chamber one feels irresistibly that medievalism is the prevailing note; that there all enthusiasms must perish, that all causes end at last in disaster, and that disillusionment is the lot of man. Standing before the bar of the other place, I have felt like Rip Van Winkle in the Catskill Mountains. I have left the ordinary world of endeavour and achievement to find myself in the company of those dwelling for ever in the twilight of an earlier age, ignorant of the aims and ideals which animate their visitor. I am confident that many here have felt the same. What, Mr. Speaker, is the constitutional theory of the relations between the two Houses? Briefly it is this. This House exists to ascertain roughly, what public opinion decrees should be the legislative task of Parliament—roughly, because the Party spirit which is the determining factor in our political strife acts as a film to distort and cloud the reflection of that public opinion. On the other hand, the House of Lords exists to maintain the balance of the constitution, to check any proposal which might upset the nice adjustment of the whole, and introduce unstable elements. It has a duty to hold the scales of justice even for every class, and to temper the wind of Party passion to the shorn lamb. Such is the relation occupied by the two Houses in the theory of the Constitution. What about the reality? No one, not even hon. Members opposite, can say that the practice of the other place is in accordance with that theory. We have heard much to-day, we shall hear more, of that practice. I will not enlarge on that line of argument except to tell the House an experience that befell me. When in the autumn of last year the Education Bill had gone up from this House to the other place, and a large number of Peers hurried to take part in the proceedings there, I happened to be watching their arrival. The doorkeeper, whose task it was to keep watch and ward over the entrance to the Chamber, was so obviously unacquainted with a large number of the noble legislators that I inquired the reason of his embarrassment. "Many of their Lordships," he replied, "have not attended here since there was last a Liberal Government in power." During the eleven years of Tory rule during which these noble Gentlemen had not thought it necessary to attend he had forgotten their faces. I want to know this. Why have they hurried down to resume the performance of duties neglected for eleven long years? What inducement can there be for them to assume again the robes of statesmen? What new interests have arisen to claim their attention that did not of old need their protection? Have problems appeared on the political horizon which only they can solve? Has the nation so imperatively summoned them to the judgment seat that they have thus cast aside seclusion and ease to obey its call? Everyone knows that they have come to defend one interest, and one interest alone, that of the class to which they belong. How is it that in the present position of the House of Lords constitutional theory and practice are in such sharp antagonism? How is it that the relations between the representative and the unrepresentative Chambers are so strained? I believe it to be largely due to the complete change in the composition of this House, owing to the successive extensions of the franchise since 1832; the entrance into this place of the working classes; and the consequent dissolution of the alliance that of old existed between the two

Houses, an alliance that was natural when both Houses were practically representative of one class, and one class only. I hope the House will pardon a very brief historical retrospect, in order that I may establish this point. During the eighteenth century the Members of both Houses were drawn from a few great families. The only political struggle that went on was whether the Whig families or the Tory families should have the larger share of the spoils. But though Whigs and Tories might quarrel about office amongst themselves, both Parties and both Houses were united in defence of the same interests, and in preserving for one privileged and exclusive class, the landed class, the monopoly of power it had held for centuries. The Industrial Revolution, however, ushered in by the inventions in close succession of the spinning-jenny, the "water frame," and the steam-engine, poured money into the pockets of the commercial classes, and thus undermined the hitherto undisputed prestige and influence of the landed classes. They demanded a share of power, and they obtained it by the first Reform Bill. With the middle-class House of Commons thus created the House of Lords proceeded to ally itself, some hundred fresh Peers being created from the ranks of the commercial magnates, a process thus leavening the other place into sympathy with the middle-class aims of the House of Commons. The landowners endeavoured, and endeavoured successfully, to find a common ground on which conflict between property in land and property in commerce might take place as seldom as possible. But the working classes were not disposed to regard this bargain as the last word in electoral justice. They were sharing in the growing wealth of the country, and they demanded a share in the making of laws. By the Reform Bill of 1884 they obtained that share, and the last election saw their representatives invade in large numbers the House of Commons. But no influx of working-class representatives into the House of Lords has taken place, as happened in the case of the middle classes, or can take place under our present system. Confronted with new rivals in the person of the artisan and the agricultural labourer, the Peers have met their demands for an equal share of legislative power with a blank refusal. The working classes are resolved to secure that share, unfettered by any restrictions imposed by a Chamber to which they are denied access by social traditions and distinctions. This Resolution is framed with the object of seeing that they shall obtain it. They have entered the House of Commons by peaceful means, the polling-booth and the ballot-box. They will enter the other place by the methods outlined by the Prime Minister. The House of Commons has been successively the stronghold of the aristocracy and of the middle classes. It has now capitulated to the democracy. But the way of entry was open. A class only require the key of the franchise to obtain admittance. There is no such entrance into the House of Lords. The House of Lords must of its own will recognise the changed conditions outside its walls. It must see itself that there are other rights to defend than those of property, other interests with which to concern itself than those of land. As the giant Antæus drew renewed vitality in his struggle with Hercules each time a fall brought him into contact with the Earth, his Mother, so the House of Commons gains strength and vigour from each appeal to the electorate, and revives its power as a representative body. The House of Lords is denied such independent increase of power. It can only gain prestige by the representative force of its actions. It must comply with the expressed will of the nation, not thwart it. The majority in this House is the embodied will of the nation. By this Resolution we are determined to bend the stubborn resistance of the other place to the will of the majority here, bend it once and for all.

*MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor): What we complain of is that the present Liberal majority in the House of Commons does not represent the will of the people. We, on this side of the House, deny that the Liberal Party at present is an embodiment of the national will. We believe that there is a much wider national will which cannot be represented by a temporary majority here. That is the real distinction between the views of the Prime Minister and those on this side of the House. I gather that the object of this Motion is to wreak the vengeance of the Government on the House of Lords for throwing out their Education

Bill and the Plural Voting Bill. I think the Government might as well wreak their vengeance on the Irish National Convention for rejecting their Irish Council Bill. I maintain that this is a mere sterile Resolution, simply meant to waste time, and to lay the blame on the House of Lords for the failure of the Government in other directions. In considering this Resolution there are two alternatives, either that the Government intend to mend the House of Lords or to end it. I listened carefully to the Prime Minister to try to discover which of these alternatives the right hon. Gentleman really desires, but he was studiously ambiguous as to his intentions in the future. I am, however, disposed to believe that the right hon. Gentleman much prefers ending to mending, and, for this reason, that the Government are afraid that the mending policy will add to the strength of the House of Lords and to the diminution of the strength of the House of Commons. On the other hand, the policy of ending would be to make this House almost omnipotent. Members of the Conservative and Unionist Party are perfectly willing to adopt some measure to improve the constitution of the other House. It would have been far more practical if the House had had from the Prime Minister what is his view, for instance, of the appointment of more life Peers, which many of us think would be a valuable change and would increase the practical efficiency of the Upper House. Neither have we heard a single word about creating eminent Colonial statesmen to be life Peers, and men who have gained distinction in the different professions All we are favoured with is this vague and blustering Resolution which the Prime Minister has brought forward. The House would have been willing to discuss some of the points raised by the Amendments on the Paper from both sides of the House. Amendments are given notice of to make the House of Lords more elective. It is only proper to remind hon. Members that to make the House of Lords elective, or partly elective, involves admitting that Chamber to a much stronger claim in the appointment of Ministers than at present, and to control over Money Bills. It would have a right to infringe on what we now consider the privileges of this House in many directions; and I rather think that any elective basis would strengthen the Upper House in a conservative direction and would tend to clog and delay legislation rather than to push forward the drastic measures which are desired by hon. Members opposite and below the gangway. The Prime Minister only touched very lightly on the question of the referendum in order to discountenance it. I am not altogether surprised at that. I can quite understand that the right hon. Gentleman is not much enamoured of that policy. It has been tried in Switzerland. Radical statesmen in that country thought if they could send their measures to a referendum of the whole electorate they would be passed with flying colours, but when it was put in operation, even after the measures had been passed by the Federal or Cantonal legislatures, the nation did not give effect to them, with the result that the referendum can only be considered completely successful by those who wish for as little legislation as possible, and that it is a bitter disappointment to its authors. If the Prime Minister's speech means anything, he aims at the total abolition of the House of Lords, and constituting this House as a single Chamber. But experience of other countries shows that a single Chamber is not at all a desirable system. The only country in Europe which has a single Chamber is Greece; and I do not suppose that, however friendly we may wish to be with Greece, we should in the least desire to imitate that system of Government so far as we have been able to see it in operation. I know that some of the States in America adopted the single Chamber system—Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Vermont. It was tried for varying periods—the longest for fifty years—but in the end they relapsed into a bi-cameral system. Mr. Bryce, in his history of the American Commonwealth, said that in the American States the division of the Parliamentary Government into two co-ordinate bodies had been found to be absolutely necessary. That is a very valuable opinion coming from so eminent an authority, and one who commands the respect of hon. Gentlemen opposite. Again, if we had here a single Chamber we should have no such checks upon it as they have in the United States by means of the Supreme Court. It is said that this House always represents the will of the people; but instances have been given when a temporary majority of this House has proved to be entirely at variance with the views of the country. Suppose this House had an autocratic power when the two great Parties in the State were nearly balanced, hon. Gentlemen below the gangway from Ireland would hold the balance and might insist upon supporting a Government which was clinging to office by the skin of its teeth so as to secure the passing of such measures as a Home Rule Bill. The Prime Minister's scheme would become ridiculous. What is the use of three successive conferences between the two Houses simply to threaten the Lords? And if the representatives of the Commons gave way in any material particular, a Radical majority in the Commons would cry out that the will of the people had been betrayed. How would that advance matters? Yet presumably the Prime Minister contemplates such a state of things occurring in the future with equanimity, and if he does not do so with his eyes open, I can only say this Resolution was very ill thought out. Then there is another reason against making this Chamber as all-powerful as hon. Members opposite desire to see it. This House is becoming less and less competent to discuss first class measures. We have over and over again of late seen the closure applied oftener than ever before, and when it is borne in mind that this year the introduction of the closure by compartments upon an important measure of the Government came as early as the 6th of May, I am astonished that this session should have been chosen to put forward a Resolution to curtail discussion in the Upper House. There is no doubt that this House, by a system of closure preventing debate on first class measures, and discussion on what I might call first class Amendments, is destroying its own power. It is not right that important Amendments such as were brought forward on the Education Bill last year and the Territorial Forces Bill this year should go to the Upper House practically undiscussed or summarily rejected. Yet that is what has been constantly occurring, and if that system is to continue surely it is the more necessary that there should be a full control or power in the Upper House to alter or discuss such Amendments or such Bills. One of the misfortunes, an inherent imperfection, of the system of this House is that its policy is not consistent and steady. The inherent nature of this House is that its power should swing like a pendulum from one side to the other. If you want to regulate that power and keep a steady and consistent policy for the country as a whole, separate and apart from party politics, it is absolutely essential that you should have another Chamber that should be able to regulate and restrain the swing of the pendulum, and even delay legislation, in order that the people should be able to decide upon it. It is complained that the second Chamber delays legislation, but as my hon. friend the Member for Cambridge University has said, if the second Chamber does not exist for the purpose of delaying legislation I do not know what it exists for. It is intended to be a check to enable the whole machinery of the State to work quietly and smoothly,—not by violent swings of the pendulum, but by the steady and gradual movement of national progress. The Prime Minister says the House of Lords is dangerous because it desires to force a dissolution which it has no right to claim. My reply to that is that it never has claimed that right, and that it does not now claim it. I was astonished to hear the right hon. Gentleman maintain that the House of Lords could force a dissolution. We have not maintained such a thing on this side of the House, and I think if the right hon. Gentleman had studied the speeches of Leaders in the House of Lords for years past, he would find that the Upper House had steadily disclaimed that they had that power. That is a futile reason for bringing in this Resolution to-night. The House of Lords does not profess either to have the power to force a dissolution or to pronounce upon any measure an irrevocable decision. All its past history has shown that if it believes the nation really desires a particular measure, it never interposes an irrevocable decision. I do not think any Member on the other side of the House can point to a case where the House of Lords has permanently declined to pass a Bill where it has been clearly proved that it was desired by the people. The Prime Minister is now on the horns of a dilemma. He does not know whether to be angry because the Upper House does not pass his Bills, or because they pass them too soon. He was very angry because they threw out the Education and Plural Voting Bills; he is apparently equally angry because they passed the Trade Disputes Bill, for he had hoped that they would reject it, and that that would give him another handle against them. But because the House of Lords thought there was a mandate given for the Trade Disputes Bill at the general election they on the contrary passed it, and the right hon. Gentleman is angry because they did so. I very much doubt whether, if a much more drastic reformer than the right hon. Gentleman was to come to deal with this question, he would not be more likely to turn his attention to this House than to the other. The more this House renders itself practically incapable of doing its business the more obvious it becomes that it is here that we require an alteration of the Constitution rather than in the other House. And I cannot but regret that the Government should have thought it necessary at this period of the session to bring forward such a Resolution as this when so many other pressing political matters need to be considered by the country: and there is a financial crisis going on to which I should have thought the whole attention of the Government might well be directed. It is an astonishing thing that the Prime Minister should choose this moment to come forward and waste the time of the House with a Resolution of this character which can but be futile, feeble, and fatuous, and which will only lead to a useless academic discussion.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs): The hon. Member who has just sat down has expressed the readiness with which he would have entered into the consideration of any proposal for the improvement of the Second Chamber. I can only express my astonishment that during the last twenty years in which his Party were in power they neglected so thoroughly the opportunity they enjoyed to reconstitute the Second Chamber with which they themselves are in sympathy. Anybody, like myself, who believes in a representative Second Chamber, will never cease to think that one of the greatest lapses of duty of hon. Gentlemen opposite when they were in power was that they never made the slightest attempt to deal with this matter, and only threw cold water on any suggestion that was made. One of the reasons of the constitutional difficulty in which we find ourselves is that hon. Gentlemen neglected to remodel the Second Chamber with which they themselves agree. With respect to the Resolution with which we are now dealing, its terms are that the power of the Second Chamber must be diminished and that within a couple of sessions this House should have power to pass legislation over their heads. That is virtually single Chamber Government. For myself I think there is a great deal to be said in favour of single Chamber Government, and I prefer the Amendment of the hon. Member for Clitheroe to the Government Resolution. But I think a Chamber like our own, possessing virtually single Chamber powers and confronted by a sham Second Chamber, is much more likely to abuse its responsibilities than is a Single Chamber. So far I am with my hon. friend opposite. I think the result of leaving the Second Chamber in the position suggested by this Resolution would be that it would be very likely to excite the resentment, and be more inefficient to act as a revising authority of the work, of this House. Not only do I prefer the Amendment of the hon. Member for Clitheroe, but I am afraid I prefer all the Amendments on the Paper, except that of the hon. Member for Sheffield, to the Resolution. The real question after all is not merely what is the relation between the two Houses? It is a question of effective machinery for legislation. The aid of the Lords, which is still to be invoked, is of little use without the reconstruction of the Second Chamber. The House of Lords practically ceased to exist during the time the late Government was in power. They could pass Licensing Bills, Chinese Ordinances, and Education Bills, all of which were the worst measures which had ever been passed by a Government of this country—they could pass those measures without the slightest opposition from the House of Lords. And what happened then will happen again, and the House of Lords as it will remain under this Resolution will be perfectly useless and powerless to protect us from the evils of Conservative legislation. My idea is a reconstituted Second Chamber which should be as representative of trade unions as of property and as representative of our local authority as of our dominions beyond the sea.

And, it being a quarter past Eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further proceeding was postponed without Question put.

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE RAILWAY BILL (By Order) (King's Consent signified).

Bill read the third time, and passed.

CENTRAL LONDON RAILWAY BILL (By Order).

As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Postponed Proceeding on Question, "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail," resumed.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON (continuing) said: If the country and the Colonies were able to send representatives to the Upper House we should have a more representative Second Chamber. Its members should not be selected by the caucus which has come to have such disproportionate authority to public opinion. The power of the caucus is a thing of which I have had some experience both in organisation and in finance, and I say that the power of the caucus is increasing. The caucus has eliminated the free trader from one side of the House as it may eliminate equally valuable elements from the other. A Second Chamber really representative of the nation and the Empire instead of one interest would have time to discuss legislation. We have an admirable system of Grand Committees, and we have the necessary institution of the closure. But it is essential in some form or other that the people should know how legislation is dealt with, and no vital principle should be left undiscussed: that is an ideal not arrived at at the present time in the working of our Grand Committees. This House has unrivalled prestige and force, but we should lose that if we submitted to the weaknesses which unlimited power brings with it, and which would certainly follow in the train of unlimited authority. That is a danger which I urge because of the unparalleled interests at stake in the British Commonwealth. The Resolution affords no solution to the Parliamentary difficulty of a House of Commons with absolute power and an illusory Second Chamber, and I feel that the real business before Parliament is to disencumber the Constitution of the wreckage of an hereditary Chamber and to secure an alternative in its place.

Mr. SAMUEL ROBERTS (Sheffield, Ecclesall): As I understand from the right hon. Gentleman, the object of the Government in introducing this Resolution is to ascertain the opinion of this House. I confess I was rather surprised to hear that, because we all know what the result of this debate will be. The Government are able to carry this or any other Resolution they choose to put. But what it is important to know, in our opinion, is what is the opinion of the country. This question has been put to the country on the platforms at the by-elections, and the Government have found that it has not created the effect that was expected. There is no doubt as to what the effect of this Resolution, if carried into effect, will be. It means the abolition of the House of Lords, of the Second Chamber, because the Prime Minister has told us that though there are to be two conferences between this House and the House of Lords, yet in the end, if the House of Lords does not agree with the decision of this House, then this House will pass legislation over the head of the other House, and take the Bill up for Royal Assent. Therefore, it means the abolition of the Second Chamber. But is it not impossible to conceive the House of Lords condescending to occupy a position of this character? I cannot conceive that they would out of self-respect consent to occupy such a position. The right hon. Gentleman, I was pleased to hear when he introduced this Resolution, said he had no complaint against the House of Lords previous to the year 1832. I think he was right in not trying to take his complaint further, because the House of Lords existed long before this House. For 200 years after the Conquest, they occupied this position, and when the representatives of the people took their seats, they took them by the side of the Lords, and the result was, as Lord Chatham once said, that we were indebted to the English Barons from Magna Charta downwards for our laws and our Constitution. I have in my hands a little book published by the Eighty Club called the "House of Lords and the Unjust Veto." It is an interesting little work, and I have taken the trouble to go through the chapter entitled "Bills mutilated and rejected." But before I deal with that, as the Prime Minister makes no complaint of the House of Lords before 1832, I would ask the House to allow me for a few moments to deal with the details. Since that period in what proportion have Peers been created by the two Parties in the State? The hon. Member for Salford told us just now that Peers have been created by purchase. I do not suggest in what manner they have been created, but I find that since 1830, 238 peerages have been created by Liberal Ministries, whilst the Conservatives have only created 181. So that, although they now say the House of Lords is bad, and ought to be abolished, during the last seventy or eighty years they have been responsible for the majority of the creations in that House. There has been a great deal of talk against the House because in 1831 it rejected the Reform Bill by a majority of thirty-one. But that Bill was only delayed for a year. The Municipal Corporations Bill of 1835 the House of Lords amended. They introduced the element of aldermen. [AN HON. MEMBER: And they have been a nuisance ever since.] That may be so, but modern Parliaments have kept the principle ever since, and they have grafted it on to the local authorities because it insures a continuity of policy. The Bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 was passed by the House of Lords the first time it was sent up. Then in 1860 this House was in favour of taking off the paper duty, and the House of Lords in the following year recognised the rights of the House to do so, and the result was that the abolition of the duty was only postponed for a year. The Ballot Act of 1870 was only postponed for a year, because it was sent up at the end of the session, too late for the Lords to consider it. The Burials Act of 1880 was passed by the Lords on its first being sent up. The Irish Land Bill in 1881 was passed with some Amendments. The Irish Arrears of Rent Bill of 1882 was passed, the Franchise Bill of 1884 passed its Second Reading in the House of Lords with the condition that it should be accompanied with a Redistribution Bill. The result of that was that a conference took place between the two Houses, and a most satisfactory scheme was drawn up by which 171 constituencies were disfranchised, and the seats were allotted so that the populous and increasing places in the country could have popular representation in this House. Was not that a proper thing for the House to do? The next Bill I come to is the Home Rule Bill of 1893. That was rejected by the House of Lords, and the country endorsed their rejection at the election of 1895. The country was with them, as it is with them to-day. The Parish Councils Bill in 1894, after considerable discussion, was a measure upon which the House of Lords gave way, and the Bill passed substantially as it went up. There were two Bills last year which the House of Lords rejected, and which I believe are the main causes of this Resolution—the Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill. We contend on this side of the House that in amending and rejecting those two Bills, the House of Lords acted in accordance with the will of the people, and the Government dare not consult the people upon one of them. ["No."] We have put it to them over and over again—" Go to the country on the question. "

Mr. J. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): We have just come back.

Mr. SAMUEL ROBERTS: You have been back long enough to have lost the confidence of the country, as has been shown by recent by-elections [" oh,"] and as was shown by the London County Council elections. On the question of religious education, I believe the House of Lords were carrying out the will of the people that in every publicly conducted school some part of the curriculum of the day should be set apart for religious teaching. As to the Plural Voting Bill, the House of Lords only did with it what they did with the Franchise Bill of 1884, when they said: " No, if the House of Commons wishes to make an alteration in the principle of the franchise it must be accompanied also by a system of redistribution of seats." That is all the House of Lords did in 1884. And in reference to the Plural Voting Bill they did not say: " We will not listen to the principle of the measure, but we say that it must be accompanied by a proper system of redistribution. Redistribution is a very important question. Take five small Irish boroughs which have 13,576 voters; there you have one Member representing 2,700 voters, while Romford, in Essex, has one Member representing 47,641 voters, so that a voter in one of these five Irish boroughs has eighteen times the voting power of a voter in Romford. That is a thing which needs to be remedied. [" Why did not you remedy it ? "] We introduced a Redistribution Bill, but it was crowded out by the action of the Opposition; we intended to introduce a Bill last Parliament; but the present Government will not tackle the question, though they have the power to carry it out. I will not weary the House by asking them to listen to a long list of Bills which the House of Lords has passed. Mention has been made more than once this afternoon of the Trade Disputes Bill. Is not that evidence that though the House of Lords disliked the Bill very much indeed in principle, yet they were satisfied on the whole that the workpeople were in favour of it, and, therefore, they passed it? Although this Resolution may and possibly will be carried by a large majority, yet I hope that on this occasion some scheme of reform of the House of Lords will be projected. A Committee has been appointed and I see by the papers that Lord Rosebery has been appointed Chairman of that Committee. We on this side are not opposed to reform of the House of Lords, and we will consider a scheme either by the way of the introduction of more life peers or otherwise. I think myself that it would strengthen that body. It would not be an unpopular measure with the Lords themselves, and we think that it might be a proper way to meet any objection that might be raised. But we say that on this occasion there is no real evidence or case that the House of Lords have resisted the will of the people. There were only two Bills that were dealt with or rejected last session, and we say that in those two cases the House of Lords were carrying out the wishes of the people. There is no case to go to the jury, but if there were we know what the verdict of the jury would be.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): This question is perhaps one of the most important that has arisen for many years, and everybody is alive to the important issues which may flow from it. I have listened with attention to the arguments of hon. Members on the other side, and I regret to find that it has been said more than once that the Government desire to waste the time of the House. I take it that when we are discussing a great constitutional question of this character we ought to be prepared on each side to allow that there is a definite purpose. We cannot, of course, agree as to the right method to adopt in order to solve this difficulty, but we ought to agree to approach it in a spirit which would make it impossible to attribute to one another motives of this character. One point has been made clear in the debate to-night, namely, that there is a spirit of agreement on the point that some alteration is necessary in the present conditions of the governing relations of the two Houses. Hon. Members on the other side have clearly indicated their opinion on this question. Everybody recognises that some change must take place in our electoral machinery for legislation in this country if you are to proceed on right and reasonable lines. Another point which has been made by more than one speaker opposite against the Resolution, is that it means the abolition of a second Chamber. I am certain that the Government do not mean that. The Resolution seems to me to point the other way. Their desire is as far as possible to preserve existing conditions. It is not to make but to avoid conflict; and that, in my judgment, is the purpose of the Prime Minister. I am not going to criticise the details of the plan which has been so clearly laid before the House by the Prime Minister. I will only say that, in my opinion, perhaps the most useful provision in that plan will be found to be the arrangement with regard to the conferences between the two Houses. I know of nothing more likely to avoid conflict and to tone down bitterness of feeling than to bring representatives of both Houses together. I might express my own opinion that an arrangement might be made by which an equal number of Members representative of both Houses should constitute this conference, because it seems to me that you will be asked that there should be some relation between the political complexion of this House and the position of that body which forms the conference. But this proposal for a conference is evidence to my mind of the desire of the Government, as far as possible, to deal with this matter, not in a partisan manner, but with a most sincere desire to bring about such conditions as will avoid conflict and ensure the progress of legislation. But my main purpose in rising is to say how important this Resolution is to Wales, with whose opinion I am particularly acquainted. Perhaps the House will allow me to point out one or two distinctions between the conditions in Wales and the political conditions in England and other portions of the United Kingdom. I will only go back to the year 1868. The fact is that Wales from the year 1868, in the nine general elections which have taken place, has not altered her political attitude. While in the rest of the country there has been an alteration of the majority of the two Parties, the Liberal Party winning the election on one occasion and the Conservative Party on the other, Wales, on the other hand, in each general election, has returned an overwhelming majority of Liberal representatives. Wales has, therefore, undoubtedly a grievance against the present condition of things in regard to the House of Lords. The House of Lords is always against one Party in this House and in favour of the other, but it becomes very much more serious when, as is the case with reference to Wales, the House of Lords is always against the opinion of the great majority of the Welsh representatives. I will only mention three great questions upon which the mind of Wales has been made up for the last forty years, namely, the necessity for legislation on the land question, on the temperance question, and on the question of disestablishment. Although at every election there has been an overwhelming majority of Welsh Members returned here to support reform on these questions, and to press their views on the mind of the Government, yet the people of Wales recognise that so long as the present condition of things exists with reference to the House of Lords, there is very little substantial hope of real progress being made Therefore the decision of the Government to proceed with this great constitutional question will be received with great satisfaction by the majority of the electors of Wales. In conclusion, I should like to emphasise that we cannot go on as we are. It is impossible for any man who considers this question reasonably to come to any other decision. There are on the horizon of the political firmament great questions arising having a vital connection with the social life of the country which must sooner or later be solved by this House of Commons. If anything can be done to bring about peace between this Assembly and another place, and to enable them to go on hand in hand with the work of reform, then the Government by taking this step will have earned the gratitude of generations to come.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): The hollow character of this debate is well shown by the fact that during the speech of the hon. Member opposite there has not been more than thirty Members present. If the character of the Upper House is such as has been described by the Prime Minister, how comes it that so large a proportion of the Members of the Upper House have been nominated since the Reform Bill by Radical Prime Ministers? I think that is eloquent testimony to the constitution of the Upper House of Parliament. Nobody who examines that constitution will deny for a single moment that, if you take 100 Members of the House of Lords, it would be difficult to match them for experience, intellect, knowledge of affairs, and power of government by 100 Members of this House. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] This Parliament consists of an enormous proportion of new Members who have only been in Parliament eighteen months, and the majority of them have had no experience of public affairs in any shape or form. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] Does the Prime Minister aim at the creation of a Senate like that of the United States, or that existing in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or any other of our Colonies? Does he aim at an elected Upper Chamber like that existing in France, Italy, or Spain? If we were to have an elected Upper Chamber it would certainly be stronger and more powerful than the Lower House. The Senate of the American Constitution has almost the free control, during the session, of the acts of the President, of Treaties with foreign Powers, and matters affecting the Army and Navy, with which the House of Representatives has no direct concern. In Australia we find exactly the same condition of affairs. Many hon. Members will no doubt recollect the services to Australia which were rendered by the Hon. James Service, who wrote an important essay upon the difference between an elected and a nominated chamber. He said—

> "This apparently democratic provision proves in practice a source of endless trouble and conflict. The nominated council, liable to be modified like the House of Lords by new nominations, never proved long intractable to the ascertained wishes of the community. The elected council, on the contrary, assumes that it is the equal of the assembly, deriving its authority also from the ascertained wishes of the electors, and insists that to give way in a conflict with the other chamber is to betray its special constituents."

That was the experience of a statesman who has had experience of both kinds of chambers, and an opinion like that from one of our own countrymen is a very valuable contribution upon this question. There is no hon. Member here who can say that the last general election turned upon one matter. I have heard this question discussed repeatedly by Liberal Members among themselves, and they have never agreed upon any one single factor as having determined the result. It would not be right of the Upper House to endorse without discussion or examination a measure passed by this House, unless they felt sure that it represented the opinions of the community at large. It is absolutely essential that the freedom of discussing and examining any proposition sent to it by this House should be retained by the Upper Chamber. It may be that some reform is advisable. The debate on Lord Newton's Motion and the Committee now sitting may bring about a more satisfactory position of affairs, but there can be no doubt that the House of Lords is extremely popular among the great masses of the people. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] Let hon. Members speak for their own constituencies and I will do the same. I think I have a right to give expression to what I believe to be the feeling of the majority of the electors in my own constituency. During the twenty-three years I have been a Member of this House I have never been subjected to any questions about the action of the House of Lords, which I am sure is an extremely popular body and has the full confidence of the people. If anyone is wanted to speak at a large popular gathering, do they write to Members of this House? No, they prefer a Member of the Upper House, I suppose for his personality, intelligence, and knowledge of affairs. There is one reform to which I would never consent, and that is that Peers should be entitled to sit in the House of Commons. If that were allowed we should be nowhere, and hon. Members opposite are well aware of that fact. Surely the Upper House is entitled to consider the way in which this House is formed? The great majority of hon. Members opposite represent almost an equal number of votes of both Parties, but I would remind the House that there were forty-seven seats won at the last election by only 1,800 votes. If there were only some system of proportional representation the number of Members sitting upon these Benches would be very different from what it is in this Parliament. I only desire to give expression to the general sense of the views which prompted my Amendment, and I will conclude by saying that I desire to support in the most earnest way the views which have been so ably and eloquently enunciated by the Leader of the Opposition, which I believe represent the feelings of the great majority of the people of this country.

*MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I am bound to say that to a certain extent I agree with part of the last speaker's remarks. I think that in this country there are a large number of people who do not want to lose the Peers in their present social position. There are a great many who would like to retain them for the purpose of heading subscription lists, popularising prospectuses, and crowding bazaars. That is not the aspect of the question which we are discussing to-night. We are debating the political power of the other Chamber, and although there are many of us in this House who dislike almost equally the social position which title gives to the House of Peers, we are not at this moment discussing their social position. We are discussing exclusively their political predominance. I should like to say first, in regard to the conclusion of the Leader of the Opposition that the Prime Minister is not in earnest about social reform, that, although I do not profess to probe the motives which actuate the Government, I am perfectly certain about the motives of many of those who sit on this side of the House. I am certain that we do not hanker after this contest with the House of Lords. It was forced upon us. We hoped for an era of non-interference from the other House—hoped, I admit, against hope. We have not been as social reformers dissatisfied with the action of the Government. They have passed many social reform measures, such as the Trade Disputes Bill. They are passing land reform measures. The greatest of these social reform measures last year was the Education Bill—for education is a social reform—and it was instantly made impossible to pass the measure by the action of the House of Lords. From that moment most of us here felt that it was necessary that the Government should immediately tackle this question. We turn without regret to this constitutional contest, because after the speech of the Prime Minister it is clear that it is to be a final fight, but we shall not think the time wasted if the result of the contest is to break the power for good and all of the House of Lords, so that reformers may not be diverted again from the congenial task of dealing with the social changes to which we want to devote ourselves. I think we turn to the contest, not only without regret, but without misgiving, because I cannot imagine one which is more politically hopeful for ourselves, I cannot imagine anything more strategically satisfactory than an assault on an indefensible and undefended position. The House of Lords is practically undefended. It is no defence of that House to make excuses for particular actions on their part. It is not a defence of a particular Chamber to say you must have a Second Chamber. You do not defend the institution unless you say that if you started afresh you would create something like that institution under the new circumstances. I do not think that there are any Gentlemen in this House who would venture to say that if we had to start afresh in this country we would start with anything like the hereditary chamber by which our action is now controlled. The truth is that the House of Lords is not defended, though it is accepted by the Conservative Party as a reliable piece of their Party machinery. The great Conservative leader, Mr. Disraeli, wrote "Coningsby" when he was a young man, and he put into the mouth of Mr. Millbank a statement of the position, part of which I will quote—

> "Nobody wants a second chamber, except a few disreputable individuals. It is a valuable institution for any member of it who has no distinction, neither character, talents, nor estate. But a Peer who possesses all or any of these great qualifications, would find himself an immeasurably more important personage in what, by way of jest, they call the Lower House."
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> "Is not the revising wisdom of a senate a salutary check on the precipitation of a popular assembly?" said Coningsby.
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> "Why," said Mr. Millbank, "should a popular assembly, elected by the flower of a nation, be precipitate? If precipitate, what senate could stay an assembly so chosen? No, no, no! The thing has been tried over and over again; the idea of restraining the powerful by the weak is an absurdity. The question is settled."

The arguments with which Mr. Coningsby answered Mr. Millbank are so weak and perfunctory that it is evident that the writer considered Mr. Millbank was putting the right point of view. To us it seems that the time for change has come, because of the increasing divergence between the two Houses. It has now reached such a point that the recovery of even a partial understanding has become impossible. Every generation the two Houses have necessarily been drifting apart. At the time of the Reform Bill, and even after, the two Houses of Parliament, though chosen in different ways, consisted very largely of people of the same class and the same interests. The Members of the House of Commons were almost all wealthy men belonging to Whig or Tory families. What is the position now? The House of Lords remains practically the same as at the time of the Reform Bill, but the House of Commons has altered fundamentally in its constitution. To-day there are plenty of wealthy men in the House of Commons, but they are not the predominant people in this House. The predominant Members are mainly self-made men drawn from the commercial classes, and we see to-day a large number of men belonging to the labouring classes. The House of Lords is hopelessly different from the House of Commons, and it has become impossible for them in any way to coalesce. Therefore, we feel that the time has come to support the Government in the simple and effective plan by which they propose to establish the supremacy of the House of Commons during the Parliament for which it is elected. We are asked whether we will leave the House of Commons entirely unchecked by any Second Chamber. Does our Constitution at present show any inordinate dread of an absolute House of Commons? The very reverse is the case. The Leader of the Opposition himself, when speaking to-day, pointed out very justly that in all matters of administration the Government are free from criticism except the criticism of this House. He might have elaborated that argument, and pointed out that in all matters affecting the Army and Navy, education, and the whole finance of the country, the House of Commons is practically uncontrolled. The right hon. Gentleman might have gone on to say how foreign affairs are entirely controlled by the House of Commons. War, the greatest and most irrevocable act of a Government, can only be challenged by the House of Commons, though, I admit more or less ineffectively. But no Government would dare to have a war unless it supposed that it had the House of Commons behind it, and no Government would care for the opinion of the House of Lords in such a matter. Again, in Colonial matters who would care for what the House of Lords thought? Even if they were all at this moment Milnerites, would that have led the Government to hesitate in granting the Transvaal Constitution? Colonial affairs are almost entirely in the hands of the House of Commons. Surely it is stretching things too far to say that in matters of legislation control of their action is absolutely necessary. The real truth is that the country is not frightened at allowing this House to carry on Imperial and Colonial affairs; and why? Because there is the most efficacious check they could possibly have in existence already—the appeal to the people at a general election. Take the story of the last five years. For three years there was a decadent and unpopular Government which passed unpopular acts and committed administrative enormities, and then came the general election, and the people at once administered the most summary check on political record. If the country chose to elect a Conservative Government in 1900, for my part, I cannot see the hardship of its having to put up with the typically Conservative performance of Chinese Labour. But now the check is operating in that matter, and the Chinese are all being repatriated and the Conservative policy reversed. In legislation, however, the check fails at present, because by the operation of the Constitution the people are denied the right to reverse in any way Conservative legislation, however, detestable it may be. The Education Bill of 1902 was detested, and the Parliament chosen at the general election last year would have set that right but for the intervention of the House of Lords. The House of Lords in legislation prevent the true play of the Constitution. They destroy, they do not keep the balance. They render inoperative the only true check which can teach Ministries and Parliaments who are their masters. To make that check a real one, we welcome the abolition of the veto of the Peers.

MR. C. DUNCAN (Barrow-in-Furness): I desire to take some small share in the debate, because it seems to me that we are coming to grips on a question which is of vital importance, not only to the political life of the nation, but also to the life of the toilers of this country. After listening to the debate, I venture to say that the only conclusion we can come to is that the House of Lords is indefensible. In no single speech has the House of Lords been defended as a House. All kinds of suggestions have been put forward in regard to its improvement. Many proposals have been made that new blood should be put into that Chamber, but in no single instance has any Member defended the House of Lords as an institution. We are developing on this question. As elections come and go the people who come to this House are gradually changing. At one time the great bulk of the Members came from one particular class, but slowly and surely Members are being returned to the House from a lower strata of life, the strata from which I myself come. They are coming in in increasing numbers, and I say that if this Government will not tackle this question there is an element outside the House which means business, and is determined that the voice of the people shall prevail, and that the Bills which the people desire shall be placed on the Statute Book. What the people of the country require in the Legislature is intelligence, and those of us who have been in the House of Lords, and listened to their debates, can say that there is no monopoly of intelligence in the Upper House. I venture to say that the level of debate in this House is higher and more incisive, that the points are more ably canvassed than in the House of Lords. The business ability of the House of Commons is infinitely superior to that of the House of Lords, with all their advantages of learning and in other respects. Hon. Gentlemen opposite talk about the great danger of rushing legislation through this House, but I think that that is a danger which is least likely to be experienced here. Many hon. Members came to the House with considerable experience of administrative government acquired in municipal life, and that, in my opinion, is one of the best signs that a new life has arisen to-day in this House. It is one of the strongest reasons why the House desires to move with the times and to see measures of progress and reform passed. The men who sit on the Labour side of the House are men in touch with the people outside, and they know that the people desire the changes which have been brought forward in the House of Commons during the last eighteen months. I rejoice that I have lived to see this day, when the House of Commons has come into grips with those who have so long monopolised the power and authority of the country to the detriment of all thinking people who desire to see this country make the progress which other nations are making. Would anyone suggest for a moment that if the last general election had brought in the Tariff Reform Party that would not have been taken as the voice of the people? I say that it would. But it is only when you have a popular Government in this House that it is questioned whether it represents the voice of the people in the slightest degree. When you have a Conservative Government in power, however, all its legislation, whether it is liked or disliked by the people, is placed on the Statute-book. The Leader of the Opposition alluded to the recent South African war, and he seemed to think that that war was exceedingly popular in the country. Well, I for one do not agree with that opinion. I deny the right of the Leader of the Tory Party, or of the Liberal Party either, to pledge this nation to war without taking the opinion of the people upon it. It is mere claptrap to say that, after the country had been plunged into war, the people wished to see our troops successful. Why should they not, when their husbands, sons, and brothers were engaged in it? The Trade Union Congress on several occasions gave no uncertain sound against war with the Transvaal before it was declared, and that congress can speak with some authority, because it represents 1,500,000 of the cream of the working class population of the country. We are told that it was a miners' war. Well, we have seen how the mining magnates who brought about the war have been squeezing the miners out of the Transvaal! It is said, how is the will of the people to be ascertained? In my opinion only at the polls. When Liberal Bills are destroyed by the House of Lords, then we are told that it is only the Lords who know what the will of the people is; but we never can ascertain how the Lords get to learn what is the will of the people. We working men through our organisations and by coming into close contact with the people can claim in an honest way to voice the opinion of the people. There was never a more bombastic claim in history than that of the Members of the other House that they in the slightest degree represent the opinion of the common people of this country. Supposing this House were to become an autocratic Chamber, many of the checks at present prevailing would still be in existence. Even in the case of the Education Bill there was a check in the action of the passive resisters who pursued a policy which was used many hundreds of years ago when people refused to pay their taxes. That is a check which we may have exercised again. Then there is the check of a general election. Take the last general election with its clean sweep in regard to the Conservative Party. To say that, after all these men have with great toil and turmoil been brought to this House, the House of Lords of its own free will is to mangle and throw out the principal Bills of the session, brings the political life of the nation to a perfect deadlock. If we claim to be a democratic Assembly we should reflect the aims and wishes of the people, and I hope the time has gone by when the House of Lords is able to say to this House, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further." The only fault I find with the Party opposite is that they propose that whenever any legislation is passed in this House they should give the House of Lords three separate opportunities of discussing and rejecting their Bill. Having had some experience in this House of Commons, I know something of the ability of hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway to carry on obstruction, and I venture to say that if this Resolution is passed and the Government passes such a law as will make it operative, the House of Lords will then have the power to retard legislation in a greater degree than they have to-day. Therefore I am prepared to go "the whole hog" like the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham is in regard to tariff reform. I believe in the "ending" and not in the "mending" of the House of Lords. Obviously it has no good qualities which one can detect; nothing but excuses and apologies have been given to us in regard to it, and all its apologists have been bound to admit that the House of Lords to-day does not represent the people of the country. All sorts of remedies have been suggested. It has been suggested that we should have men nominated for the House of Lords by this House, but I hope it may never be my fortune to be in their place. I think our experience of the Upper House has been that, instead of being a friend of the people and standing against hasty legislation, it has always stood against the people and defended its own particular interest.

*MR. HEMMERDE (Denbighshire, E.): The hon. Member for Cambridge University quoted Bagehot as saying that when the House of Lords ended it would end in a storm. He might have quoted Bagehot further, and told the House how that eminent writer pointed out that the House of Lords had resisted every effort for reform of its constitution. We, however, as well as Bagehot, know that they have resisted every effort for reform and now when they are threatened with something in regard to which we may use a stronger word than reform we hear for the first time the suggestion on the other side that the House of Lords should be reformed. I think we may agree with the hon. Member for Cambridge University when he told the House that this was a serious Motion. He said in substance that it meant nothing less than the abolition of the House of Lords, but I do not think it means that, but that the House of Lords should be merely a revising Chamber. It means that if the House of Lords wants to be what history gives it no claim to be, the predominant partner in our Legislature, then there shall be an abolition of those claims for which there is no warrant. It has been pointed out how the House of Lords has changed in the last century. We have heard how a century ago the position of the House of Lords was not pre-eminently Conservative, but times have changed, and now that the forces of democracy are beating at the door and claiming that they should come into their own the Lords adopt a different attitude. My colleague in the representation of Denbighshire said that Wales had demanded three great reforms, in regard to land, temperance, and disestablishment, and we find to-day that those are the three reforms against which the House of Lords most clearly sets its face, and in setting its face against those reforms it is not defending the constitutional position. What it is really doing is defending vested interests, and it is defending vested interests which no assembly representative of the nation would defend. They are not defending vested interests in the land in the name of the farmers who get their living out of it, but they stand up against democracy to protect those persons who draw wealth from the land which they have never earned. One of the great things which this Government is pledged to deal with is land reform, and the Leader of the Opposition has threatened us with what will happen if they attempt to deal with the subject. The right hon. Gentleman knows that he has told us again and again what we may expect in another place if this House attempts to deal with the subject of land reform. We also know what we may expect on the question of temperance reform. We shall be dealt with in the same way as in the case of land, although the wealth which a state-created monopoly gives to the drink traffic has been taken from the nation. To talk about predatory instincts is absurd when we are only trying to prevent these interests from preying upon us, and putting into their pockets wealth which they have never earned. We find the same thing when we try to deal with the great drink interest as we find in the case of the land. Then we come to the great question of the Church, and there again we find ourselves up against another vested interest. There is really no ground for the suggestion that the House of Lords are defending the real rights of the people of the country. What has really changed is that the people are divided into two classes, one putting property before persons, and the other persons before property, and the party which puts property before persons is well represented in the House of Lords. What have they done to advance the well-being of the people of the country at all? What are the needs which the country mainly wants supplied and which it showed at the last general election it wished for? It wants housing reform, but you will not get any Bill passed through the House of Lords in that direction. It wants temperance reform, land reform, small holdings, and old age pensions. These are the things which the country wants, and they are matters in which the House of Lords has never taken the smallest interest. We came into power with an overwhelming majority, and the first thing we hear is that we as a Party are not really representing the people. How can you test the feeling of the people except by an election such as we had in 1906? Yet after winning that great victory, and only those who know the forces which the Liberal Party has to contend against in the country know what a tremendous victory it was, we find the very men here whom we met in the constituencies and defeated—because before the writs issue the Members of the House of Lords take a conspicuous part in the elections—we find these very men set up as a barrier against our aspirations for the benefit of the country. I say that that is a most arrogant claim. We are told that other countries have worse Second Chambers than we have. It may be so, but no country has a Second Chamber more unblushingly partisan. From the very moment of our victory we have heard what the House of Lords is going to do. Then the Government comes forward with this Resolution, and I think it goes as far as it can go and claims the right of this House to deal with the great conglomeration of vested interests in the House of Lords. The hon. Member for Clitheroe said it would take quite a long time to get a measure through if the House of Lords were given three occasions for repentance. I do not think it will take so very long. It will not take very much more than a year when all the proceedings contemplated by this Bill are carried through, and I shall not be very much concerned if it does take more than that, if we can secure the passing of our measures before each Parliament dissolves. One Member, I think the hon. Member for Sheffield, said that he had never been able to find out from any Member of the Liberal Party exactly on what particular question the Liberal Party was returned at the last election. I do not think it would be very easy to say exactly upon what question they were returned, but I am certain that if there was one question more present in the minds of the electors than any other it was the utter incapacity of the late Administration to conduct the affairs of the country with sagacity or prudence, with dignity or even honour, and yet we find these very people setting themselves up as judges of the popular will. Take the education question. Hon. Gentlemen opposite admit that two points were before the country, popular control and the abolition of tests for teachers. Can they suggest any more moderate Bill than that which was brought forward which will carry out those objects? Take plural voting, we hear to-day that the abolition of plural voting and the redistribution of seats must go together. When the late Government introduced their Redistribution Bill they had not discovered the necessary interconnection between these reforms. The mandate theory sometimes secures lip-service from the House of Lords whether it is in regard to education or in regard to electoral reform, but the governing idea of the Upper Chamber is to protect the interests of the Tory Party. I came across an extract from an American writer which expresses this. The writer said—

> "Speaking in general terms, there is no bribery in England. Up to very recently there could not very well be any, because the exploiting, wealth-holding interests not merely owned the Government but also were the Government. The only people, generally speaking, who wanted governmental favours and could not get them gratis were the poor who had no money to bribe anybody with. This simple fact explains the superior purity of English politics—which has caused so many American blushes. English landlords own half the Government as an hereditary right. The people may vote until they are black in the face without making the slightest impression upon the great land interest. It is quite as though Mr. Rogers and his heirs forever had a veto power over any legislation affecting oil, and Mr. Harriman enjoyed a like privilege concerning railroad laws. Had such an arrangement obtained during the last fifty years our politics would have been much purer in a certain technical sense; but, on the whole, the people would hardly have been as well off. Our railroads have spent money for corrupt political purposes. Possibly their capitalisation is to some small degree affected by such expenditures, which we call graft. The capitalisation of the English roads contains immense sums of which they were mulcted by the governing owners of the land. They do not call that graft in England; but it comes to exactly the same thing for the people who pay the freight. The House of Lords is graft constitutionally established, robed and canonised."

All this pretence about representing the people they know very well to be a pretence, because they realise they do not represent them any more than the Leader of the Opposition does. The Leader of the Opposition led a great party into battle and suffered the greatest defeat ever known in a century and a half of English politics, but after having gone into the battle and sustained such a defeat as that he says we do not represent the people and sometimes he says we have no mandates. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR was understood to dissent.] Well, if he has not said it, Lord Lansdowne has said it, and many others of his followers. I say it is perfectly impossible to obtain a popular vote except by a general election. Hon. Members suggest to us, however, that we ought to take a general election every time we differ from them. They know that is perfectly impossible. They know that the question of expense makes a general election impossible just as much as it makes a referendum impossible. You cannot force a Party of poor people to go to the country or to have a referendum every time they come up against a vested interest. You cannot force this Party which is becoming increasingly a Party of poor men to take the opinion of the country again and again. We took the opinion of the country in 1900 and we were beaten, and then we took it in 1906 and we were successful. Why should we not be allowed, therefore, to deal with the questions which we find facing us on every side, simply because this body, the House of Lords, forbids us to deal with them, or to deal with the questions of principle which are raised? It is because this Government has put its hand to the plough that I strongly support them to-day. I do not believe in the contention that the House of Commons wants checks on every privilege it possesses. I believe, as has been shown by experience in regard to other bodies, that the greater the responsibility entrusted to them, the better they will use their powers. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University talks about great changes being made which are irretrievable. They are not irretrievable. Surely there is a certainty that if they are carried out by

Parliament and public opinion is against them the people will resent and even reverse any violent changes. I do not believe the House of Lords think that they know the will of the people. Their action is not dictated by such knowledge or by any political principle. All they know is that they have a grip on the Liberal Party, and that the one thing to unhorse the Liberal Party is to prevent it from doing democratic work. We cannot get along with this democratic work unless the power of the House of Lords is reduced. I know, as a result of travelling on political errands from one end of the country to the other, that the people demand these social reforms. I believe the Government are sincere in this matter, and I congratulate them on attempting to put their forces into battle array against an autocratic Chamber which claims, without warrant or honest belief, to have the support of the people whose claims and aspirations it is consistently thwarting.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON (Oxford University): The last three speeches have been occupied with disparaging remarks about the House of Lords and the Unionist Party, but perhaps the House will permit me to come back to the dry constitutional aspect of the situation as it is proposed to be dealt with by the Prime Minister. The real interest in the debate is not so much in the Resolution before the House as in the Bill which has been sketched out by the right hon. Gentleman as embodying his views of the purport of the Resolution. The Resolution of the House of Commons I do not think will do anybody any harm and may be taken merely as representing the salvage of the wreck of the Government programme this Session. The Bill which has been suggested is one of the series of drastic measures promised in the future; it gives a prospect of what we may have to be occupied in discussing during a number of months in the session of 1908, and it does something more than carry out the policy of the Government as suggested by the Prime Minister at the commencement of this session, when he said he contemplated some readjustment of the relations between the two Houses which he expected would be carried out with reasonable harmony. The Bill suggested to us is not an improvement of machinery. It is not a readjustment of the relations of the two Houses. It is simply and plainly a supersession of the House of Lords as a legislative Assembly. If the House of Lords do not carry out our will they are to be indulged with a Conference with Members of this House. If after this the Lords reject the Bill again it is to go back to them, and then there is to be another Conference. When the Bill comes back again to this House it is apparently to be discussed under the guillotine, because the Prime Minister told us that only the new matter would be allowed to be discussed and that it would be discussed as promptly as possible. [MINISTERIAL cheers.] I quite recognise the desire of hon. Members for short discussion when they happen to be in power. There are two things which suggest themselves incidentally. If you take away from the 600 or so Members of the House of Lords all that makes that House interesting as a legislative Assembly you will make it almost impossible to resist their claim to become candidates for seats in this House, and I am not sure they may not prove formidable opponents at a general election to Members on the other side of the House. And again it is all very well to pass a quinquennial Act, but if this power is given to the House of Commons to carry its measures over the head of the House of Lords, what is the good of trying to set such limits on its power? When the period of five years is drawing to a close, and when the House is becoming less popular, what is to prevent its passing a Resolution to continue to sit or from passing a septennial or decennial Act?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): Or a centennial Act?

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: My hon. friend suggests centennial. Now there is the simple issue. You are practically proposing to make this a single Chamber Constitution. Are we in accord with the general experience in accepting a Constitution of that kind? I will venture to say that there is no civilised government which has not secured itself in some way or other from rash or hasty legislation by the popular Assembly, either by a written Constitution, or by a referendum, or by a Second Chamber—by one of these three methods which are universally employed for protection against this undoubted risk. The object of a Second Chamber, as stated by an eminent Colonial authority is, to delay great changes until the will of the people has been permanently and conclusively ascertained We are not singular in retaining this precaution ; we are rather singular in having so little precaution against violent and revolutionary changes. May I refer to other democracies and republics ? Turn to the United States, and note the precaution taken against legislation which runs counter to the will of the people. The Federal Government is based on a written constitution and on two legislative Chambers, whose powers of law-making are defined and expressly limited by the constitution, and a change in the constitution can only be effected by something in the nature of a referendum. Not only that, but every State has a written constitution, and although the legislative powers of those States are unlimited, except in so far as the federal constitution prescribes, I may say that the tendency of the constitution is to add to the number of subjects which are excluded from the general legislative powers of the State, and in which the constitution requires that there should be a referendum to the people of the country. And not only that, but every State has two Chambers. Mr. Bryce, one of the chief authorities on this subject, says—

> "The need of two Chambers has become an axiom of political science, based on the belief that the innate tendency of an Assembly to become hasty, tyrannical, or corrupt, can only be checked by the co-existence of another House of equal authority."

He further states—

> "That the only States that have ever tried to do with one House are Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Vermont, each of which gave up the system, one after four years, the other after twelve years, and the third after fifty years."

Turn to the constitution of the French Republic. There you have a Senate and a Chamber of Representatives co-ordinate in respect of legislative power, except that the Senate has no initiative in matters of finance. The power of demanding a dissolution of the Chamber does not rest with the Prime Minister, but with the President acting with the consent of the Senate. And the Senate, according to a recent authority, does very valuable work in correcting the over-hasty legislation of the Chamber, and, in case of disagreement, often has its own way, or effects a compromise. Lastly, I take the Australian Commonwealth. I think that the democratic character of the Australian Colonies can hardly be called in question. But there is a difference in the two Chambers of the Australian Commonwealth. The procedure is as follows :—The House of Representatives passes a proposed law, and if the Senate rejects or amends it in any way to which the House of Representatives cannot agree, the Bill drops for the time. It comes up again after three months, and if the Senate still disagrees the Governor may dissolve both Houses. If afterwards the same difference arises, and the disagreement still goes on, then the two Houses sit together and the opinion of the majority of the whole number prevails. There you have three great modern democracies, each of which guards itself against such legislation as might well be effected by this House of Commons, if it received the unlimited powers which are proposed to be given to it by the Prime Minister. I venture to think that there is nothing pedantic in looking at the actions, the law, and the practice of other constitutions as democratic as our own. If these safeguards are necessary for them, they are necessary for us. If they cannot trust a single Chamber, we may learn from them how to guard against the possibilities of a House of Commons whose powers were limitless. But setting aside those examples, if we look simply at the proposals of the Prime Minister, these two questions arise. What are the faults of the House of Lords that they should be superseded and set aside in this way, and what is the claim of the House of Commons to arrogate to itself this unbounded legislative power ? Now, I am perfectly ready to admit that the House of Lords has its faults as a Second Chamber ; but it was never constructed to discharge the purposes of a Second Chamber in the modern sense ; it is, historically, the estate of the baronage, a co-ordinate estate of the realm with the House of Commons. It has become a Second Chamber, I admit, and to my mind discharges extremely well many of the duties of a Second Chamber. I admit that it is too large, that it contains too many men who take no active part in politics, and that, like every Second Chamber that can be devised, it is conservative in its tendencies, because the very object of the existence of a Second Chamber is to preserve the nation from the over-hasty legislation of the other House. But I will undertake to say that the House of Lords has never crossed the will of the people where that will has been clearly expressed. Take any instance, since the Reform Act of 1832, which you may say is the beginning of our modern constitution. Take cases in which it was extremely possible that a majority of the House of Lords were not wholly in accord with the legislation that was passed. Take the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Irish land legislation of Mr. Gladstone, the changes in the franchise of 1884–1885, or the Trades Disputes Bill of last year. On every one of these measures the country had clearly expressed its opinion. The Aliens Bill of last year, alluded to by the hon. Member for Clitheroe, was not rejected by the House of Lords, it was not proceeded with because it was not taken up by the Government, or it might have been passed. Where there might have been irritation and delay before Bills had been passed, the ultimate result has been valuable, because the settled and permanent will of the nation has been ascertained, and a measure when it became law has been accepted as a final settlement by all parties. If there were no such certainty one House of Commons would undo the work of another, and there would be a legislative see-saw and lack of continuty which would be disastrous. There is to be borne in mind the monumental case in which the House of Lords understood the will of the nation better than the House of Commons. In 1893 it was the will of the House of Commons to pass a Home Rule Bill, and it would have gone on passing it under the scheme of the Prime Minister as long as that Parliament endured. But in 1895 it was plain that the will of the House of Commons was not the will of the nation. Which do you wish to see carried into effect? If you wish to see the will of the nation carried into effect, what steps will you take to see that that will is properly expressed? You claim that the majority of the House of Commons is finally representative during the duration of a Parliament of the will of the nation. So long as there are single-Member constituencies, and until all elections take place on the same day, the House of Commons will not represent the country for more than a few weeks after a general election. Although a mandate is claimed by hon. Members opposite to deal with subjects mentioned by them on political platforms, what really determines at a general election apart from their promises as to the future and the misrepresentations of their followers as to the past, is that at a general election where there is a great turnover of parties, many people think that one party has had a long spell of power and that the other side should have a chance; and then you say that every measure you bring in and introduce into this House is expressing the will of the people. Why do you not take the measures which are open to you to ascertain the will of the people? The Under-Secretary for the Colonies wrote an article in the *Nation* in which he expressed his view as to the constitution of a second Chamber, and his view is not the view of the Prime Minister. The Under-Secretary thinks that the Ministry should constitute a second Chamber to suit their own purposes at the commencement of every Parliament, for he wrote:—

> "Since the political supremacy of the House of Commons must be the vital characteristic of any Liberal scheme, we must reject with regret, but with decision, all proposals for enabling the House of Lords to force every Liberal measure to the test of a *referendum*. Such a provision would be contrary to the whole spirit of the British Constitution."

The Under-Secretary for the Colonies maintains that the referendum is contrary to the spirit of the British Constitution. There is a curiously undemocratic ring about that. I thought the Party opposite were going to breathe a new spirit into the Constitution, but it seems that while we may abolish the House of Lords without a reference to the people, yet that to consult the people on any great legislative measure on which their opinion is not ascertained is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. I urge hon. Members opposite not to disguise the full effect of what is being proposed. The proposition is this—that when the House of Commons is once elected it shall do as it likes and that the people shall be powerless. You say to the people, "When you have once elected us the virtue is gone out of you; for five years we are your masters; at the end of that time you may enjoy a brief opportunity of expressing a will of your own." I doubt whether the country desires this great change, and I feel sure that when the matter is clearly placed before them they will express a very decided opinion upon it. If the Lords have traversed the will of the people, and resisted reasonable suggestions for a reform of that Chamber, then you may appeal to the country on those grounds. But what you are asking us to do is to forego the safeguards which all the democracies in the world have found to be necessary; and to leave nothing between the will of the House of Commons and the veto of the Crown. Put this question plainly to the country; you will get a clear answer, and I have no doubt as to what the answer will be.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL, Yorkshire, Cleveland): Twenty years ago the Liberal Unionist party was formed, of which thehon. Baronet opposite was a leading Member. We were told in those days that, although the Members of that Party were obliged by their Unionism to ally themselves with the Conservative forces, they would not lose one jot of their Liberalism. We, who have listened to the hon. Baronet to night, find that not one jot or scintilla of his Liberalism remains. We find even the strange doctrine that the House of Commons is unrepresentative of the people, except for a few weeks after an election. It is true that we have had from the hon. Member, as well as from other speakers, including the Leader of the Opposition, much lip service to the doctrine of the will of the people, and, perhaps, the most interesting feature of the debate to-day has been the clear light in which this changed attitude of the Conservative forces of this country has displayed itself. There was a time when the Conservative theory was that democracy was unfitted to rule, that the masses of the people were uneducated, and that they were wholly unsuited to decide great questions of policy. Their opinion was that if the people had their way, property would be harassed, and that law and order could not be maintained. Now, as in 1832 and 1884, they hold these doctrines, but in these days of a widely extended franchise it is perhaps inconvenient to advance them in so crude a form. It would be awkward if hon. Members opposite were to go to their constituents and say, "You are merely an ignorant proletariat, and you are quite unfit to control the destinies of a great Empire. If you had your way uncontrolled by the aristocracy, property would be harassed at every turn and the country would be committed to the grossest injustices." Instead of that, whatever may be the feeling in their hearts, on their lips are expressions of abounding faith in the full principle of popular self-government. The democratic theory is admitted by the Opposition. They agree that the people are fitted to rule and ought to be supreme; but the leader of the Opposition holds that the truest instrument of democracy is a hereditary peerage. This is one of those hollow paradoxes which seem to be so dear to the heart of the right hon. Gentleman. In 1902 the right hon. Gentleman passed the Education Act which put sectarianism on the rates, protesting that it was a long step on the road to religious equality. In 1904, the Licensing Act, which restricted the control of the magistrates over the liquor trade, was claimed by him in this House and on the platform as a great and valuable temperance reform. The great protectionist campaign in which the right hon. Gentleman is now engaged is to promote the true interests of free trade, and now he is defending the House of Lords in order to secure government of the people, by the people, for the people. But is it true that, according to the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman, the House of Lords is the true interpreter of the will of the people? Did the House of Lords consider in 1902 whether the Education Act was desired by the nation or not, or whether Chinese labour in the Transvaal was opposed or approved by the people? When the Irish Local Government Act was introduced, that, of course, was in accordance with the will of the people for it was proposed by a Conservative Government. Had it been submitted by a Liberal Government, can anyone doubt that the House of Lords would have declared it to be contrary to the wishes of the nation? Would the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897, if it had been introduced by the Liberals, have reached the Statute-book? Lord Londonderry said at that time that he agreed with Mr. Asquith that, if the Party to which he belonged had introduced the Bill, it would not have received forty-eight hours consideration by their Lordships. When the Conservative Party are again returned to power at some future, and I trust distant, date, and introduce a Bill for the establishment of compulsory military service, as they very likely will, does anyone imagine that the House of Lords will give two minutes' thought to the question whether or not the measure is required by the nation? For over thirty years not a single measure, large or small, proposed by a Conservative Government has been either rejected or mutilated by the House of Lords. What a strange coincidence to find the Conservative Governments reading with such accuracy the mind of the people! No thought-reader has ever been so marvellous in his achievements as the Conservative Party and the House of Lords have been according to the doctrine we are now discussing. By what telepathy are the House of Lords able to gauge the mind of the nation? As every one knows, there is no one so completely out of touch with the currents of thought moving in the nation as the average Member of the House of Lords. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh."] All this talk about interpreting the will of the people is a mere hollow pretence. It is not the real doctrine held by the Conservative Party. In 1846 the Duke of Wellington wrote to Lord Derby—

> "For many years I have endeavoured to manage the House of Lords upon the principle on which I believe the institution exists in the Constitution of this country, that of Conservatism.

As it was in the time of the Duke of Wellington, so it is to-day, the House of Lords always submits with the utmost docility to be managed by the Conservative leaders of the day. It is active or quiescent, it vetoes measures or accepts them at their bidding and to suit their convenience. The question which we are debating to-day is not whether the House of Lords or the House of Commons knows better the mind of the people. We are fighting the old battle that the Liberals of an earlier generation fought—the battle of democracy against privilege, of the nation as a whole against a ruling caste. The Leader of the Opposition said that, after all, the House of Commons was in reality the predominant partner, because it was able to control undisturbed all matters of finance and administration. For my own part I have been unable to see on what logical ground the Leader of the Opposition and his Party are prepared to say that it was right that the House of Commons should have uncontrolled command of finance and administration, and wrong that it should have the supreme voice in matters of legislation. Are we not fully convinced—the right hon. Gentleman himself admits it—that the country would suffer serious detriment if the House of Commons had not uncontrolled power over finance and administration? But in our Resolution we do not go so far in respect of legislation as the Constitution has already gone in regard to these two provinces of Government. We propose that the will of the House of Commons shall prevail, but only after a sufficient interval during which the opinion of the country can be shown. There are to be two or three opportunities for negotiation, for consideration, for delay, during which, if the country is opposed to the House of Commons, it can easily find the means to make that opposition felt. The hon. Member for Clitheroe is uneasy that the House of Commons might be compelled to waste undue time on these conferences. Three Parliamentary sessions, he feared, might be dissipated in this manner. It is true that from first to last they may cover a considerable period but when the details of the Government scheme are known, I do not think that the actual time which the House of Commons will be required to devote will be regarded in any way as excessive. Nor is there, after all, any satisfactory alternative to the scheme which the Government are placing before Parliament and the nation. The Order Paper contains a long series of Amendments suggesting all kinds of alternatives. Some are for the reform of the constitution of the House of Lords in order to make it more or less democratic. A reform of the House of Lords has always had great attractions for political theorists; it has had very few attractions for practical politicians. A reformed House of Lords would mean a weakened House of Commons. It ought not even to be contemplated by Liberal politicians, so long as the veto of that Chamber remains. Only in one case should we be prepared to surrender the right of veto, to a reformed Second Chamber, and that would be if its constitution was so altered, its mode of election made so wide as to render it as democratic and as representative of the people as the House of Commons now is. But such a Second Chamber would be identical with the First, and would therefore be superfluous. The hon. and learned Baronet appeared to me to throw out some hints that he would be prepared to regard with favour some adaptation of the principle of the referendum.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON was understood to dissent.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I understood the hon. and learned Baronet to look without disfavour on some foreign constitutions which contained the referendum principle. The noble Lord the Member for Marylebone has on the Order Paper a suggestion that the referendum is the right method of dealing with disputes between the two Houses of Parliament, and of settling their differences. And I am well aware that the referendum has received some support from several Members of the Independent Labour Party. We regard the referendum as a wholly impracticable measure. You cannot in point of practice lay before the electorate all the points of difference which may arise between the two Houses. Suppose last year we had been pledged to take a referendum on the differences between ourselves and the other House, we should have had an appeal to the country not only on the Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill, but on the question whether Scotland should be included in the Provision of Meals Bill, the Amendments made by the House of Lords in the Irish Town Tenants Bill, and a series of minute points of difference on the Agricultural Holdings Bill—half a dozen different questions with which the electorate would have found itself very puzzled to deal. It is not, Liberals believe, the function of the electorate itself to carry on the Government and to decide the details of Bills. It is the function of the electorate to decide the broad issues placed before it—the broad issues of general policy in question between parties. In Switzerland the referendum has been carried to such an extreme that the working of democracy is almost choked. A Bill of thirty clauses, perhaps, is sent to the cottage of every peasant, and the bewildered electors have to vote upon it as best they may. It is as absurd to lay Bills such as these before the people as to put technical points of law to a jury. I would point out also to Members on the Labour Benches and on the Liberal

Benches, if there are any who feel some inclination to adopt the principle of the referendum, that it will practically mean all the machinery and expense of a general election every year, the result of which will be to give a still further advantage in politics to the forces of wealth and still further authority to those who control the Press, not always in the interest of the nation at large. The first to suffer will be the poorer Parties, such as the Labour Party, who already find it hard enough to raise the necessary funds to carry on their political propaganda. They will find it impossible from year to year to fight for their principles under a system of referendum. When we find men like the late Lord Salisbury, a resolute opponent of all self-government, a man of great political acumen in adapting means to ends, advocating the referendum as a means of settling disputes between the two Houses; when we find the noble Lord the hon. Member for Marylebone putting down an Amendment in that sense, and when we find men like Professor Lecky, a strenuous opponent of democracy, defending the referendum, I think that the friends of self-government may look upon it with suspicion. Then we are told that the right issue of a difference between the two Houses is a dissolution of Parliament, and an Amendment in that sense is standing in the name of an hon. Member. If the House of Lords were, as it is represented to be, wholly impartial, wise, and cautious, merely referring to the electorate great constitutional changes in order that they should not be adopted by an unrepresentative House of Commons, then we should not be able to offer any objection to this solution; but when the House of Lords is saturated through and through, as we all know it to be, with Party spirit, what does this scheme of a dissolution, whenever the two Houses disagree, mean? Put in its crudest form it means that when a Liberal Government is in office the Conservatives are to have the opportunity of turning them out once a year, but when a Conservative Government is in power the Liberal Government is to have the opportunity of turning them out only once in six years. As to the total abolition of the House of Lords, I know such a proposal will receive a sympathetic hearing from Members on this side of the House. But the Government is of opinion that that is too great a departure from the existing state of things for them to expect public opinion to support it. The only remaining possible alternative to the Government's plan is that things should remain as they are. After all, it is said the people always get their way if they are in earnest. It was so in 1832 and again in 1884. True, agitation, if sufficiently violent, will carry a Bill through the House of Lords. And that is what is meant by obedience to the will of the people—that if popular resentment is so strong as to endanger the existence of the House of Lords itself they are prepared to yield. And the procedure of forcing reforms through the House of Lords by means of agitation cannot be adopted indefinitely. The people cannot be expected every few months to hold great demonstrations, and cry, "Down with the House of Lords." That, we are told, is the right method of governing the country. If it were carried into force, and year by year we did have such agitation when popular Liberal Bills were rejected, what a clumsy and barbarous method it would be after all to carry on the business of a great country. Instead of a smooth working legislative machinery we should have intermittently, spasmodically, bursts of tumult, agitation and violence as a normal feature of the Constitution. In any case, it is impossible the methods of agitation should ever be effective for the carrying of minor measures into law. Suppose, for the sake of argument, the Irish Town Tenants' Bill in its original form was a good and useful measure, would it have been possible to raise any strong feeling in Scotland and England against the House of Lords because they mutilated the Bill? Then there is the Scottish

Small Holdings Bill: would it be possible in England and Ireland to raise any strong feeling on that if it were rejected? After all, the bulk of our legislation consists of measures of secondary importance, and it is essential that there should be some method in the Constitution of carrying through the second House of Parliament these measures that do not rouse the passionate interest of the nation. We cannot remain as we are. It is not only the past, it is not only the present that are in question. All the future is at stake. All the Liberal Parliaments that are to come depend upon the issue of this struggle. Liberal Governments cannot for ever undertake the Sisyphus labour of rolling measures up the Parliamentary Bill for the House of Lords to roll them down again. We will not submit our legislation year after year to a body constituted as the House of Lords—a body of landlords set to judge of the issues between landlord and tenant, a body of Churchmen sitting as arbiters between Church and Nonconformity, a body of capitalists set to decide the issues between capital and labour. The present situation is intolerable and must cease, and the powerful speech of the Prime Minister to-day shows that the Government are determined it shall cease.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Arthur Lee,*)—put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed to morrow.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:—

Mr. Herbert Samuel.

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) opposed the clause because he thought the House ought to have some further information from the Under-Secretary for the Colonies with regard to the additional grant that was to be made to British Columbia for ten years. He would like to know why the right hon. Gentleman had put in the limit of ten.

And it being Eleven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): The most disgraceful and flagrant act of obstruction I have ever seen.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS [EXPENSES].

Resolution reported; "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of money provided by Parliament, of the salaries, remuneration, and expenses of the Small Holdings Commissioners and other officers appointed under any Act of the present Session to amend the Law with respect to Small Holdings and Allotments; and to authorise the payment to the Small Holdings Account of the costs and expenses of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries incurred in pursuance of such Act."

Resolution agreed to.

Adjourned at five minutes after Eleven o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 25th June, 1907.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Barry Railway; Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (Additional Capital, etc.); Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway (General Powers).

Also the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Rawtenstall Corporation Bill; Alton Military Hospital Bill [H.L.]; South Wales Mineral Railway Bill.—Reported, with Amendments.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, and committed to Committee of the House to-morrow.

North Staffordshire Railway Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1^{a}; and referred to the Examiners.

Harrison's Patent Bill [H.L.]; Murphy Grimshaw's Divorce (Validation) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to.

St. Neots Urban District Council Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Annfield Plain and District Gas Bill; City of London (Union of Parishes) Bill [H.L.]; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Collooney, Ballina, and Belmullet Railways and Piers Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Hamilton of Dalzell be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Oriel (*V. Massereene*); read, and agreed to.

Portobello and Musselburgh Tramways (Levenhall Extension) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Portobello and Musselburgh Tramways (Levenhall Extension): Was presented by the Lord Hamilton of Dalzell (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, sections 8 and 9); read 1^{a}; and to be printed. (No. 82.)

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order). The Amendments proposed by the Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2^{a} (according to order).

Killery's Divorce Bill [H.L.]—House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made: Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES: ANNUAL.

No. 525. Uganda Protectorate (Report for 1905–1906).

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3839. Persia (Trade of Kerman).

SPAIN, NO. 1 (1907).

Notes exchanged with the Spanish Government respecting the maintenance of the territorial "status quo" in the Mediterranean and the East Atlantic Ocean. 16th May, 1907.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prison Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to remissions and punishments.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Order made by the Council of the Borough of Newport (Monmouthshire), and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain classes of shops within the borough.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury minute, dated 17th June, 1907, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Permanent Secretary to the Welsh Department of the Board of Education, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired on the public service are required.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.].

The evidence taken before the Select Committee from time to time to be printed, but no copies to be delivered out, except to members of the Committee, and such other persons as the Committee shall think fit, until further order. (No. 81.)

THE WELSH CHURCH COMMISSION.

EARL CAWDOR: My Lords, I wish to ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack a question of which I have given him private notice—namely, whether he can give your Lordships any information with respect to the sittings of the Royal Commission on the Welsh Church, especially with regard to the probability of the Chairman, Lord Justice Vaughan Williams, being able shortly to resume his place.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord LOREBURN): My Lords, in answer to the noble Earl I have to say that the only reason why Lord Justice Vaughan Williams is not sitting on the Welsh Church Commission is that he considers it necessary that the Court of Appeal should sit, and his presence at the present time is indispensable for that purpose. There may be an opportunity for another Judge sitting in his place next week, and if so he proposes to give some days next week to the Welsh Commission. The learned Lord Justice has been good enough to communicate with me on the subject, and I entirely agree with the view which he has taken.

PROHIBITION OF MEDICAL PRACTICE BY COMPANIES BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to Order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

LORD HYLTON, who had an Amendment on the Paper to Clause 1 (Companies not to practice or act as physicians, surgeons, or medical practitioners) to delete the words "knowingly and wilfully," explained that as the result of a conversation he had had with the noble Earl the Lord President he would defer the Amendment.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, perhaps I might just explain to the House that so far as the substance of the Amendment is concerned we have no great objection to it. I suggested to the noble Lord that it might be well to consider carefully whether the precise wording he proposes is the right one, and he and I will take the opportunity of talking over the subject between this and the Report stage. In consequence of that I understand he withdraws his Amendment.

Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Wednesday, the 3rd of July next.

TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

***THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR** (The Earl of PORTSMOUTH): My Lords, if anyone were to look at this

Bill in a superficial or casual way he might suppose that in form and title we are dealing only with the reorganisation of the Auxiliary Forces. But in reality we are dealing vitally with the military problem as a whole. I am sure that I shall only be accurately interpreting the facts of the case and the wishes of your Lordships if I place in the forefront of our Government proposals the effect which they are likely to have upon the position and power of the Regular Forces of the Crown. Amid a mass of detail, it is difficult to concentrate attention upon any one single point, but if there is a single point to be considered first and foremost in importance it is the effect of our proposals upon the Regular Army as an effective fighting force and an effective instrument for the purposes for which it is demanded by the special and peculiar conditions of the British Empire. The British Empire has been built up by the operation of natural forces rather than by national policy, and in this respect it presents a totally different aspect from any other empire of the day, or from the empires of history. The great empire of ancient history—the Roman Empire—was military in its essence, deliberately so planned and so systematically constructed. Other empires, like the empire of Napoleon, have been the short-lived creations of a genius for war, while the German Empire of today is based upon military pre-eminence, round which scattered fragments of German-speaking peoples have been able to group themselves. Our Empire is, again, in its natural features so different from any other that what would suit a country prepared mainly for a war in which their troops would enter into a campaign by passing a border-stone on a common road is not suitable to a country like ours, which is only the centre of a scattered Empire united by the sea alone. Nothing but national pressure under very hard conditions of necessity, from which we are happily free, would make our people impose upon their shoulders the intolerable military burden which has to be accepted by the Germans. Fortunately for us there is no analogy between our position and that of any great military Power on the Continent. Our Navy must of necessity be our first and foremost means both of offence and defence. I remember my noble friend Lord Tweedmouth expressing a sentiment which I entirely endorse, and which I believe is generally and strongly held by the people of this country. Referring to the present position of the Navy and its unquestioned command of the sea, my noble friend, speaking on the 17th April last, said—

> "This axiom will be accepted by everyone—namely, that our country must at all events keep the command of the sea without having any regard to the cost at which that may be done."

I feel bound to emphasise this, because in considering Army proposals in a practical way we are compelled to realise the fact that the country is not prepared, in addition to our vast naval expenditure, to pile up the enormous bill for the Army which other countries do.

We cannot overlook the fact that our total combined expenditure for the Army and Navy exceeds that of France or Germany, for instance, by at least £20,000,000. History has repeatedly shown us that if you are to spend money on your Army to provide against, not all reasonable, but all possible risks, the nation will with the other hand curtail its expenditure upon the Navy, which is admitted by the highest experts to be our most important arm, both for offence and defence. If it is argued in regard to this matter or that, that you are not providing for some possible contingency, my answer is that you are necessarily restricted by the national conditions which make conscription unsuitable, and by the expenditure which is the inherent difficulty of voluntary service in an industrial and prosperous community like ours. When we were expending large sums as part of Lord Palmerston's policy on useless fortifications our average naval expenditure was (say, between 1861–71) £10,300,000 only, as compared with nearly £32,000,000 to-day, and actually less than that of the Army, which averaged £15,000,000. I dwell upon this because I do not consider that any criticism which overlooks any financial considerations is either reasonable or practical. Taking it for granted, then, that our military expenditure is not to be excessive, we have endeavoured in our proposals to create what experience tells us is most important, namely, an effective Expeditionary Force.

Under Part III. of the Bill, we have endeavoured to obtain the fullest value for our money by employing, where the military authorities tell us we can safely do so, for duties of a less important character a class of service on a Militia or non-Regular basis which is less costly, and as regards certain services, such as medical, specially efficient in the latest and up-to-date methods. This is, it may be said, a novel principle, but in reality it is only placing on systematic lines a practice to which the Militia have been subjected in a haphazard fashion for the last 100 years. Let me, to exemplify this, give the figures respecting the Expeditionary Force. This force is to be composed as follows :—six divisions of infantry, of about 21,500 men each, and four brigades of cavalry, of about 1,800 men each, which, with the necessary Army troops, give a total of 61,000 serving soldiers of the various services and subsidiary services, 85,000 Regular Reservists and 14,500 men on a non-Regular basis. All these men will be of an age and physique suitable for foreign service, and will be ready to join the fighting force on mobilisation. At present, in case of war, we could only provide out of Regular troops with their Reserves, at the outside, four divisions of infantry amounting to about 86,000 men, with four cavalry brigades and the necessary Army and lines of communication troops. This gives us a total of not more than 118,500 men. As regards the Expeditionary Force in time of war, our present scheme provides a force, complete in all its units and in every detail, of 160,000 men, compared with the 118,5000 men now available. Of course, you need not require the immediate departure of the whole of the Expeditionary Force, and any part not so wanted is available for Home defence and would be a possible help to bridge over the six months during which the Territorial Army will be receiving their continuous training. The figures quoted by *The Times* correspondent in his very able article in the issue of 21st June, vary somewhat from mine. The discrepancy is only apparent, as his 166,000 for the field force includes 5,635 officers, whereas I was only speaking of non-commissioned officers and men. The figures I have given your Lordships are practically identical, leaving the officers out of the question—viz. : —61,000 serving soldiers, 85,000 Regular Reservists, 14,500 on non-Regular basis ; total, 160,500 men. Of this 160,000 the effective combatants number about 86,000 cavalry and infantry, and 31,000 artillery, leaving the balance of 43,000 to be composed of Royal Engineers, Army Service and Ordnance Corps, Medical and Veterinary Services. To make quite clear what I mean in regard to the subidiary services, there would be in these services, in the first place, Regular subsidiary service men, whose work would be skilled; in the second place, men from the Regular Reserve for the same purpose; and, thirdly, men whose work would be under the supervision of the more skilled men to do the work of ammunition columns or the like, which would not itself require any great degree of skill. These would be drawn from the non-Regular Reservists, whom, as I have indicated, we get partly from the special contingent of non-Regular Reservists and partly from the special service section of the Territorial Army.

The Earl of Portsmouth.

Nor are these Army proposals either revolutionary or purely speculative. In our proposals we have reverted, as far as practicable, to the principles laid down by Mr. Cardwell. I feel sure my noble friend Lord Midleton knows that I have on more than one occasion, and with the experience I have had of the great difficulties besetting War Office administration, appreciated the interest and the ability which he and others have in the past devoted to the interests of the Army. I desire to avoid the slightest semblance of Party recrimination; but experience has shown that for the demand which is made by India upon our Regular Army for drafts—an obligation which is peculiar to the British Army—the period of twelve years (seven years with the colours and five in the Reserve), is on the whole most suitable. To this period for recruiting we have reverted. But in reverting to the Cardwell terms of enlistment we do not solve the problem of a sufficient Reserve to meet the demands of the Regular Army in time of war. The periods of seven years with the colours and five with the Reserve only give us a Reserve which is practically used up in the actual mobilisation of the field force. To supply the drafts necessitated by the wastage of war, we propose to establish a Reserve on a non-Regular basis under the powers given in Part III. of the present Bill. There we lay down the conditions regulating the employment outside the United Kingdom of individuals who, though belonging to the non-Regular portion of His Majesty's forces, voluntarily accept the additional liability to service abroad on the specified conditions.

Seeing the noble Marquess Lord Lansdowne in his place, I feel that I should be acting with scant courtesy if I did not make some allusion to the proposals which he made at the time when he was Secretary of State for War. The noble Marquess provided an additional Reserve for wastage in war by raising the rank and file of the battalions from 720 to 800 men, and providing that 100 out of the 800 should be three-years men with the colours and nine with the Reserve, instead of all seven and five. Then came the War, and all the three-years men were kept and the experiment had not a chance. Then, in 1902, my noble friend Lord Midleton established for all arms a term of enlistment of three and nine years, which, of course, destroyed any chance of testing the value of Lord Lansdowne's proposal. This proposal of Lord Midleton, which was speedily killed by the failure to provide drafts for the Colonies and India, also killed Lord Lansdowne's proposal, which did provide for drafts, inasmuch as under Lord Lansdowne's proposal only one-eighth of each battalion would be short-service and seven-eighths long-service men in the infantry.

The theory underlying the whole of Lord Cardwell's system, and upon which he constructed his policy, was that a territorialised Regular unit, *i.e.*, a county regiment, was to be raised in its territorial district, and the depot to be located in some prominent town of the county. The unit was to bear the county name, and to derive its strength thence in peace and in war. One or more units of each arm of the service—infantry, cavalry, or artillery—raised in a given area was to be quartered in peace in the United Kingdom, a certain number of similar units from the same area being in garrison over-seas. The units serving at home were in peace to find and train the drafts required for the units abroad, and on mobilisation were themselves to be completed to war strength by means of Reservists who had passed their colour service in the ranks of the Army.

The Report of the Localisation Committee of 1872 shows clearly that the Cardwell scheme contemplated the systematic use of the Militia as the Reserve for the Regular Army. The Militia had always been regarded as the main Reserve for the Regular Army. Their organisation was purely local and territorial, and in order to combine Militia regiments with the Regular Army it was necessary to localise the Regular infantry. The British Isles, were, therefore, divided into districts coinciding as far as possible with counties, as the county was the territorial unit upon which the Militia was based. Before Mr. Cardwell the Regular infantry had no territorial connection or even designation. They were merely the 38th, 39th, or 40th Foot.

Now, my Lords, we have not only, as I have said, reverted to Mr. Cardwell's terms of service, but we have also constructed our proposals upon his territorial system. For instance, we propose to create for every two Line battalions a third battalion for drafting purposes, whose centre is to be the county depot, and who, while providing a reserve of officers and drafts for wastage for the two field battalions, in addition to the Regular Reserve, will also, as far as possible, by their depot being in the county, maintain their county connection. We intend to organise similar machinery to meet the needs of the artillery. The thirty-three batteries surplus to the number required for the Expeditionary Force will be organised as training batteries. These batteries will train recruits for the non-Regular Reserve of artillery in the duties they will be expected to perform in the field. The training of these batteries will be on a non-Regular basis, but the men to train them will be a permanent Regular staff.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: May I ask the noble Earl this question: Are the Regular Artillerymen to be reduced who now form those batteries?

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: I cannot answer that Question off-hand. Another point in the territorial connection which bears a close analogy to Mr. Cardwell's principles is that it is proposed to utilise the services of the permanent staffs at these depots to help in every possible way the instruction and training of the officers and men of the Territorial Forces. I am afraid that many of the difficulties in which we have been placed have arisen from a departure from these principles of Mr. Cardwell to which we propose to revert. One overwhelming difficulty confronted the Regular Army since the Militia Reserve, which was established by Mr. Cardwell, was abolished in 1901. Your Lordships will remember that that Militia Reserve was composed of men who for an annual bounty of £1 accepted an individual liability to join the Regular Army in the event of war. On the outbreak of the South African War they gave us a Reserve of 29,000 Militiamen. My noble friend Lord Midleton abolished it. I do not say that he had not very good reasons on the side of abolition, for while it provided a most valuable force for the Reserve of the Regular Army, it certainly emasculated the Militia. But be that as it may, we have been confronted with the difficulty of having to make good the men from the Reserve which we got in this way. For the Expeditionary Force we take sixty-six of the seventy-one battalions at home. After taking the best advice we could, and placing the value of the Army as a fighting force as supreme, we have made all our proposals subservient to creating and maintaining in efficient condition our Expeditionary Force. To aim at this under Part III. of the Bill we have made provision for the employment of special Reservists.

If your Lordships will permit me, I should like to put before you the main outline of the changes which this Bill proposes to make in our military system. We divide our military system into two main sections. The first is our Regular Army, organised in six Infantry divisions and four Cavalry brigades as an Expeditionary Force, composed of the proper proportions of the various arms—Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery, etc.; this, of course, includes the main body of the Regular Army in the United Kingdom. Then, as adjuncts to the Expeditionary Army we have the non-Regular Reservists, and what are called "special service" men of the Territorial Army who join the Expeditionary Force on mobilisation, and, if necessary, replace wastage just like the special contingent. The non-Regular Reservists will be provided by the Militia.

LORD SALTOUN: In the numbers he has given of Infantry and Cavalry, has the noble Earl included the Artillery in the number of Infantry?

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: I gave the Artillery in the number of the Expeditionary Force. I now turn to what is perhaps the most debatable question connected with the present Bill; it is certainly a question of the greatest interest to very many of your Lordships—I refer to the future of the Militia in our re-organisation proposals. I have already indicated that one of our chief difficulties is to provide a Reserve capable of maintaining the Expeditionary Force in the field and replacing its wastage in war. I have already said that the Militia have in the past been invariably asked to fulfil this difficult and most important task in a haphazard, unsystematic fashion, unsatisfactory to the military authorities, and, if I may say so, unjust to the Militia force itself. Apart from the Militia Reserve, which was on a special footing, ordinary members of the force were only asked to volunteer for foreign service when war was actually imminent or in progress. Such a practice could not but be unsatisfactory. The Militia, I am glad to say, always did respond to the call, but they went to the front labouring under all the disadvantages which naturally attended a force which was asked to do in war time something for which it had never been prepared in peace time. It was, as we are constantly being reminded by my noble friend Lord Wemyss, ostensibly a force for Home defence, but it was almost invariably utilised for service abroad. For this haphazard, unsystematic procedure His Majesty's Government propose to substitute an organisation whereby the Militia will be asked to undertake certain liabilities in connection with service overseas, and at the same time will be afforded the preparation which will enable them to undertake these liabilities with success.

There are at present in the United Kingdom 124 Militia Infantry battalions, with a strength of about 73,000, compared with an establishment of 102,000. I may, in passing, call your Lordships' attention to this large discrepancy of 29,000 between the establishment and strength as a most eloquent illustration of decadence of the force and the consequent need for remedial measures. As I have said, there are 124 Militia Infantry battalions in the United Kingdom. Of these we require sixty-six in Great Britain and eight in Ireland to become the third battalions to supply our Regular Infantry with drafts. The men in these battalions will have to accept liability to service abroad, and their primary function will be drafting to supply the demands of the Regular Army in the field. We have never relaxed our sense of the paramount necessity for drafts. The wastage in modern war has been computed for six months to be about 40 per cent. In the late Russo-Japanese war, lasting about a year, the Japanese Infantry regiments, on an average, completely renewed their *personnel* once. This appalling and terrible fact demands a Reserve above and beyond the Regular Reserve; and to make the financial burden tolerable it necessitates a Reserve which is less costly than the Regular Reservists of the Regular Infantry of the Line, even if we could get sufficient recruits to produce the Reservists required.

Many of your Lordships who are students of military history are doubtless familiar with that most interesting book, the Autobiography of General Sherman, one of the greatest of those military figures who emerged from that conflict in which America was moved as a nation to vindicate its own authority. Speaking of the military lessons of the war he says—

> "The greatest mistake made in our civil war was in the mode of recruitment and promotion. When a regiment became reduced by the necessary wear and tear of service, instead of being filled up at the bottom, and the vacancies among the officers filled from the best non-commissioned officers and men, the habit was to raise new regiments, with new colonels, captains and men, leaving the old and experienced battalions to dwindle away into mere skeleton organisations. I believe with the Volunteers this matter was left to the States exclusively, and I remember that Wisconsin kept her regiments filled with recruits, whereas other States generally filled their quotas by new regiments, and the result was that we estimated a Wisconsin regiment equal to an ordinary brigade. I believe that 500 new men added to an old and experienced regiment were more valuable than 1,000 men in the form of a new regiment; for the former by association with good, experienced captains, lieutenants, and non-commissioned officers, soon became veterans, whereas the latter were generally unavailable for a year."

My Lords, to face modern warfare we feel bound to obtain drafts, and cannot waive our rights in that respect. These third battalions, whose main function is drafting, account for seventy-four of the 124 battalions. Excluding the permanent staff, they will be maintained at a strength of 500 non-commissioned officers and men. They will receive six months training on enlistment, and fifteen days annual training in addition to musketry instruction. This annual training may be objected to on the ground of its brevity as compared with the twenty-seven days the present Militia receives. But it must be remembered that under the new system the preliminary training will be six months as compared with six weeks. The thorough grounding which this six months training gives to the recruit enables us to reduce the amount of annual training. The shorter annual training, moreover, suits the conditions of labour in this country much better, as many employers can easily give their men fourteen days leave in the year, when twenty-eight would be out of the question.

I would also remind your Lordships that the experiment which the Army Council have tried—similar in principle to the one started by the public spirit of Colonel Pollock, and of the *Spectator* newspaper, on Hounslow Heath—during the past winter of subjecting twenty battalions to six months initial training has been an unqualified success, both as regards efficiency and the number of recruits attracted by the scheme. I cannot at present commit the War Office as to whether that training will be battalion training or not.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Will it be company training, then?

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: The whole of this matter is under consideration. To return to the distribution of the present Militia under our proposals, I have already said that seventy-four of the 124 Infantry battalions will be required, sixty-six in Great Britain, and eight in Ireland, as third battalions for the Regular Army. This leaves fifty battalions. Of these fifty battalions we propose to ask twenty-seven (fifteen in Great Britain and twelve in Ireland) to accept as fourth or fifth battalions similar liabilities to the seventy-four already accounted for. Both the third and fourth or fifth battalions will be liable for foreign service, and both will also be liable for drafting; but as far as is possible and practicable they will be used as units. Their officers and men will be asked to accept service under Part III. of the Bill, but every effort will be made to maintain their corporate existence as units and to preserve their special traditions, names, bands, and colours. They will thus be fourth or fifth battalions to certain Territorial Regular Regiments, and will be liable for drafting or available for lines of communication and relief duties. The strength of these twenty-seven battalions we propose to be 800 non-commissioned officers and men, exclusive of permanent staff.

We have now accounted for seventy-four and twenty-seven of the Infantry battalions—*i.e.*, 101 out of the 124. What is to become of the remaining twenty-three? I fear that, as units, they are superfluous to our scheme for the special contingent. The individuals composing them may elect to accept the new conditions of service and join the selected battalions of the special contingent; or they may remain with their present unit when it becomes part of the Territorial Army. Failing these two alternatives they will complete their period of service in their present regiments and not be called up for training. The Royal Garrison Artillery (Militia) will be asked to join the special contingent and to take the liability of being trained as Field Artillery in peace and also to go abroad in time of war. They will be used in war to form a proportion of the *personnel* of the ammunition columns.

I apologise to your Lordships for having been compelled to give so many facts and figures. I must now make reference to some of the main features affecting the Territorial Army. The idea in our minds in establishing the County Associations originated in the conviction that the Army and the people should be brought into closer touch than had hitherto been the case, in other words, that the Army should have its roots more closely than now in the people. The Lord-Lieutenant was formerly the representative of the Crown for military purposes, and he did a great deal both for the support and the expansion of the Army, and we ask ourselves, Cannot he be brought back again into military life? Cannot he do more for the raising and administration of the Territorial Army than could be done by a centralised War Office? For years the Volunteers have complained of their mismanagement by the War Office. Advisory Boards have sat at the War Office, assistant directors have helped the Director of Auxiliary Forces, but still complaints have been urgent and constant. It seemed, therefore, to my right hon. friend the Secretary of State very desirable that we should attempt to establish a system whereby the Territorial Army should do as much as possible of its own administrative business through County Associations, a large part of which, I would remind your Lordships, we propose shall be composed of commanding officers of the force itself. Many questions, such as recruiting, rifle ranges, drill halls, and the proportions of the various arms to suit the requirements of the Army Council in the territorial districts—these we consider are matters infinitely more capable of adjustment by people on the spot than by any centralised or bureaucratic system at the War Office.

All training and discipline will be in the hands of general officers commanding-in-chief acting through divisional and brigade commanders. We do not propose to ask the Territorial Army to give up time for training which we know it would be impracticable to expect of men whose primary conditions of life are those of the civilian. The drills of recruits and their subsequent trainings are provided for in the Bill on as elastic a scale as possible. We deprecate placing in the Bill stereotyped regulations which experience has shown we cannot practically enforce. The late Government introduced an annual compulsory camp. It was a regulation admirable in principle, but in practice we have never been able to carry it out. On the other hand, we feel, with a great deal of reason, that we may rely not only upon the public spirit of the Yeomanry and Volunteers who will now compose the Territorial Army, but upon the fact that these men will come from an especially educated and capable class of citizens to whom training will come, we hope, with peculiar ease and quickness.

LORD NEWTON: Why?

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: I should like to take this opportunity of expressing, on behalf of the War Office, our very sincere appreciation of the services which have been rendered by the Committee on the Territorial Forces, better known to your Lordships as the "Duma," over which my noble friend Lord Esher has presided with his usual geniality, tact, and ability. The advice of that Committee has been most serviceable to us on the subject of County Associations. The Committee gave us the practical experience of men of influence and of knowledge throughout the country, and without that experience we could not possibly have obtained the information necessary to work out the proposals contained in this Bill.

A considerable amount of interest and also of misunderstanding has arisen in regard to the question of embodiment. The Territorial Force may be embodied on the issue of a Proclamation ordering the Army Reserve to be called out, and we consider that the instruction then obtained would be of far more value than it would be in the case of men put through a long course of drill at a time of no national emergency.

LORD NEWTON: Why?

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: My noble friend asks why. I should have thought the men would feel themselves inspired by the common danger. Hitherto the Army Reserve, the Militia, the Yeomanry and Volunteers have had separate Proclamations to call them out. Under Clause 16 of this Bill one Proclamation is to be sufficient. Six thousand men comprising Section A of the Reserve, and special Reservists to the number of 4,000—that is, 10,000 men in all—can be called out under Clause 31 of the Bill without any Proclamation at all. Firstly, when the Government of the day issues the Proclamation in circumstances of imminent national danger or great emergency the Proclamation is general in character, applying to the whole of the Army Reserve. The Army Council then, by Order in Council, can give directions for the whole or part of the Reserve to be embodied as circumstances demand. Though the Proclamation is general, subsequent directions may be partial, as happened in 1885 and in 1899. Secondly, the actual issue of the Proclamation relative to the Reserve comes under Clause 16 of the Bill, which gives the Army Council power, by Order in Council, to direct the embodiment of all or part of the Territorial Army, so that the Bill gives power to embody the Territorial Forces the moment the Reservists are called out by Proclamation. When, however, the directions under the Proclamation are applied to the whole of the first-class Army Reserve, the Army Council are automatically compelled, under the Bill, to embody the whole of the Territorial Forces.

Then I wish to call the attention of your Lordships and the country to the fact that there exists the following safeguards and limitations. Parliament on the Proclamation being issued must be summoned within ten days, and the Army Order issued by the Army Council specifies the regiments or corps whose Reservists are required. The Territorial

Army must be embodied if the whole of the Reserve is called out, but furlough can be given. If only part of the Reserve is called up the Army Council may, but are not obliged to, embody the Territorial Army. It is proposed to increase section A of first-class Army Reserve. To the 5,000 men who have already engaged to accept liability to return to the colours without mobilisation 1,000 are added; and we have also increased the engagement in future from the first year of service in the Reserve to the first two years in regard to any of the 6,000 who are prepared to accept.

Our proposals have been more than once subjected to the criticism that they are speculative, that we have no guarantee we shall get the number of men we estimate for in the various sections. That is a question of opinion, and applies not only to our present proposals but to every voluntary system. It is a problem inseparable from the voluntary system, and it constitutes a difficulty which will always require careful consideration. [Lord NEWTON: Hear, hear.] I am reminded by that cheer from Lord Newton that certain influential Members of your Lordships' House are ready to offer a remedy in the shape of compulsory military training for the youth of the country. As a fair example of such an alternative, we may take the proposals of that important body the National Service League. But I would venture to point out that great as are the difficulties besetting our or any other voluntary system, they are comparatively insignificant when contrasted with those attending any form of compulsory training or conscription. The chief military problem in our case is not defence of the United Kingdom, so much as defence of the Empire, and a compulsory system will not help us much in this. No appeal to the country on the grounds that we require more men than are available under the present system for the practical requirements of our Empire is likely to elicit much support. The necessity for a compulsory system for the purpose of resisting invasion of these islands will alone serve as a justifition for the adoption of so radical a change in our military organisation. The difficulty experienced by certain continental nations in obtaining sufficient men for oversea service is notorious.

But, my Lords, this is not the only difficulty confronting the advocates of compulsion. Limitation of the numbers raised by conscription in this country would be absolutely necessary, because in no circumstances would we require the services of the total numbers (amounting to about 400,000) reaching the age of military service in each year; and I need hardly add that the more you limit the numbers the greater the hardship will appear to those on whom the burden of service falls. The next difficulty is the system of registration necessitated by a compulsory system with its attendant evil of police espionage, the very name of which conflicts with all the civic traditions of this country. When we talk of a compulsory system I do not think we quite appreciate the strong feeling that would be aroused in this country with its industrial, and to a large extent its nomad, population, if we were to alter almost all the habits and the ways of freedom the people have hitherto enjoyed, and submit them, as you would have to do, to a most careful system of police espionage.

Another difficulty on which I need not dwell is the difficulty of harmonising such a system with the upkeep of an Army for service abroad which Imperial necessities demand. But waiving all these objections for the sake of argument, let us look at the system from what, after all, is the essential standpoint—I mean the financial effect. The exponents of such a system say that it is desirable to give six months' training as a preliminary to the quota of youths who arrive every year at the prescribed age—say the age of twenty. In calculating the cost we will assume that: (*a*) the Regular Army remains as at present; (*b*) the National Army, which would take the place of our Territorial Force and Special Contingent, receives six months preliminary training and a fortnight's training in the six ensuing years, instead of the six months training on embodiment, which has been so much criticised in the case of our proposed Territorial Army; (*c*) the recruits for the Regular Army numbering each year

35,000 men, which is roughly the present annual intake of the Regular Army, are taken from the National Army after they have had their six months training; (*d*) that a Reserve of 500,000 men in the National Army will suffice for our military needs.

In order to obtain this Reserve of 500,000 men it will be necessary to provide annually for the six months preliminary training of 135,000 men; *i.e.*, 100,000 for the National Army and 35,000 for the Regular Army. We must have depots and training batteries for these and a permanent staff to train them, which must be put down as at least 13,500 men. There must, of course, be added to these the various Departmental Services, such as the Army Service and Ordnance Corps, Medical and Veterinary Corps. Our armed forces in the United Kingdom would thus consist of 170,000 Regulars (taking the figure in the current Army Estimates), 115,000 Army Reserve, 13,500 training staff, 135,000 Recruits undergoing training, and, finally, the National Reserve who have already done their initial six months' training, numbering say 500,000. If we were to make sure of a supply of drafts for our Regular Army for service abroad in war time we should pay a special retaining fee to a portion of this National Reserve for undertaking this additional liability. The financial result of maintaining these forces would be 170,000 Regular Army as in present Estimates, £24,300,000; 13,500 training staff of National Army, £1,200,000; 135,000 recruits undergoing preliminary training, £29 per head, £4,000,000; 500,000 National Reserve undergoing annual training, £5,100,000; retaining fee for the foreign service contingent of the National Reserve, say, £500,000; total, £35,100,000. Such a system, therefore, involves at the very lowest estimate an annual expenditure of over £35,000,000 without including any charges for barracks and general accommodation, arms, warlike stores, tents, ammunition and equipment, horses for the mounted services, etc.

Both on financial as well as political grounds I would respectfully urge upon my noble and most distinguished friend Lord Roberts that, whatever may be said, in theory, for compulsion for home defence, it does not offer us any present or practical alternative to the proposals contained in this Bill. I venture to express the hope, the confident hope, that this measure will not be treated in any Party spirit. I see in the House distinguished soldiers of great knowledge, authority, and special experience, and I appeal to them for their generous assistance and co-operation. I beg to offer the Bill not in any spirit of boastfulness. My right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War does not propose it in any spirit of what I may call "cocksureness." But we do offer the Bill to the House, not as an ideal proposal, in an ideal world, under ideal conditions, but as one which, having regard to the inherent difficulties of the case that confronted us on all sides is an earnest and honest attempt on the part of the Secretary of State and his advisers to make the Army more efficient for service abroad and, by associating it more closely than we have ever attempted to do in the past with the representatives and leaders of civil life throughout the country, to increase its power, its popularity, and its influence at home.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^{a}."—(*The Earl of Portsmouth.*)

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: My Lords, in rising to follow the clear and comprehensive speech of the noble Earl I know I shall not appeal in vain to your Lordships for the indulgence which is always shown to a Member of this House rising for the first time. And, my Lords, I need that indulgence in a very special measure to-night, because even though the noble Lord has been clear there is still great doubt in my mind as to the effect of many of the provisions of this Bill. I could not help contrasting the studied precision of the noble Earl's statement at the conclusion of his speech with regard to the possible effects of a measure of conscription and the figures which he brought before your Lordships showing how far beyond the compass of this nation it was, in his opinion, to establish such a system, and, at the same time, I fear I must say the studied vagueness of his references to figures with regard to matters which are within the Bill and within the scheme which lies before the House to-night.

There is another point on which I hope we shall have better assurances than we have yet had before the close ot this debate. At the beginning of his speech the noble Earl said that all the proposals of the Government were subservient to maintaining the efficiency of the Expeditionary Force. I welcomed that statement, and I welcomed it all the more because it was in contrast with some ominous words that fell from the Secretary of State last year. In July the right hon. Gentleman made this remarkable statement—

> "The principle of the Government plan is to ascertain, by way of commencement, what number of regular troops it is necessary to retain at home in peace for the purpose of finding drafts for the forces of the Crown over sea, and then to organise out of them, well within the margin, as complete an Expeditionary Force as possible."

That is an organisation of troops which are necessary in peace for the purpose of war so far as they will go, and such an organisation, I venture to say, would be to return to the dark ages of War Office administration.

What we have endeavoured to do, what has been the attempt of successive Governments for the last twenty years to do, has been to estimate the Expeditionary Force necessary and to organise the Army so that it will give us that force. I confess that in this and other respects, the House of Commons and the country have been to some extent under the glamour of the Secretary of State's speeches; for the ambiguous colouring which the right hon. Gentleman has given to these proposals has had a soothing effect on all classes of his hearers. The noble Earl spoke of conscription. There are many men in this country who believe that the failure of this scheme must be followed by conscription. The Secretary of State has persuaded the anti-military party that this scheme is the only bulwark against conscription. I may say that I desire to see this scheme made effective, and if I make any criticisms they only arise from my desire to see it succeed.

Mr. Haldane has told the Army that by a reduction of 30,000 in the strength of the Regulars he is adding 50 per cent. to our military efficiency. I shall have a word to say on that in a moment. He has endeavoured to persuade the Militia that by continuing on Militia rates of pay and on Militia training, but under the title of Regulars, and without any privilege of going abroad as units under their own officers, they will at the same time preserve the distinctive character and prestige of their force. I do not think he has quite persuaded the Yeomanry that by abandoning the rates of pay which they have enjoyed ever since that force was first established and by being banded with the Territorial Army, they can maintain the efficiency which is at present one of the very few unchallenged facts of the whole of our military system.

Now, my Lords, I wish the word "scheme" had not formed, necessarily, so large a part of the noble Earl's speech. Mr. Haldane told us that the Army was always without a scheme or there was a scheme without an Army. When I think of the present state of our military forces, and that for eighteen months proposals have been going to and fro and the sole result of them up to the present moment has been the disbandment of ten of the best regiments of the Line and of one battalion of Guards, and also I fear, after the words which fell from the noble Earl, a considerable diminution of Artillery, I cannot help wishing that he had enjoyed a little less scheme and a little more Army. I am not going to say a word with regard to these proposals in comparison with schemes which have passed away or are not now before us; but I am one of those who feel that this is a military question, a sheer military question, how you organise the forces for war. Whether you have large divisions, as are favoured by the present general staff, or whether you have those larger units which were established when the noble and gallant Field Marshal on the cross benches was Commander-in-Chief, seems to me less a matter of concern in this House than whether you have the men, the stores, and the guns ready to be sent abroad. To find the reason for the recent establishment of the Army it is necessary to go back to the year 1895, when the noble Marquess behind me first took charge of the War Office. Lord Lansdowne then found the force available practically the same as it was twenty years before. You had, as Lord Rosebery reminded us at the time, added 2,600,000 square miles to the Empire without adding a single man for the further defence of the Empire. You had laid down certain troops who were to go abroad, and, though I know I had some share of the responsibility in a very humble way in earlier service at the War Office, I say that the provision which the military authorities had asked for had been often refused by successive Governments for years before 1895.

My noble friend Lord Lansdowne added 30,000 men to the Army before the outbreak of war, with the necessary stores; he added several battalions of foot and several batteries of Artillery, and, as the noble Earl mentioned, he raised all battalions at home from 700 to 800. Without that we could not have provided the drafts in time of peace, and without it we could not have maintained the force we had to send to South Africa during the war. We were in 1895 acting under a scheme which required 70,000 men for sending abroad and 35,000 Regulars for home service. In the first nine months of the war a demand fell upon the War Office which was unprecedented in extent and which could never have been met but for the foresight of the Government before 1899. We did not send 70,000 men or 105,000 men; but we sent 170,000 Regular troops between 1st October and 1st July of the following year. But, my Lords, did that satisfy the country? I am in the recollection of every noble Lord here when I say that there was hardly a man outside the Ministry who had a good word to say for the War Office after they had mobilised and sent that exceptional number of Regular troops to the front; and I will go further and say that my noble friend was almost overwhelmed by a storm of popular indignation, because after sending these troops we had to apply for auxiliaries.

The whole of the troops raised between 1895 and 1898 have been swept away by the Secretary of State in the course of the first few months of office, and I wish to know whether the ominous reference of the noble Earl to-night to the Artillery is to be taken as an indication of the continuance of a scheme which, we had understood, had been abandoned. Our Artillery was the weakest, as compared with our Infantry and our Cavalry, of any Army in Europe. Over sixty batteries were raised before and during the war. Of these batteries the noble Earl tells us that thirty-seven are to be placed on a lower establishment, and are to be worked by a non-Regular force. Would the noble Earl be kind enough, if it is in his power, to tell me whether it is proposed to reduce the Regular Artillery, or are the numbers to be maintained? That is a vital point, and I apologise for pressing it. I am sure the noble and gallant Field Marshal on the cross benches will bear me out when I say that no more important point could be brought forward for consideration in connection with military organisation.

I ask myself, How are we to justify these reductions? They certainly cannot be justified by the experience after the first year of the war, because in the second year of the war and in the third year we sent out every Regular soldier we could train and we sent out 85,000 additional men. Are the reductions justified by the proceedings of the Defence Committee? The late Prime Minister made a remarkable speech as to our position in regard to invasion, and assured the country that, provided we kept up the strength of our Navy, we might absolve ourselves from the necessity of providing against any organised invasion. Raids of 5,000 or 10,000 men might be possible, but not an organised invasion which would demand an armed nation. I understand that that view is held by the present Government and by the present Defence Committee. If that be so, does it not follow that our strength and money and organisation ought to be put first into the Expeditionary Force? I deeply regret to have to say so, but I believe I shall be able before I sit down to prove that the exact reverse will be the result of this scheme, and that the strength and money of the nation are to be put into the Territorial Army, which cannot be sent abroad except by volunteering, and that the Regular Army and the Expeditionary Force have been starved to a point which is dangerous to the country. We have not only fewer Regulars, but the Reserve has been depleted.

A very heated controversy on this point has arisen between Mr. Arnold-Forster and the military correspondent of *The Times*; and I am not going to be so foolish as to place myself in the line of fire between these doughty combatants. But I find it very difficult to resist Mr. Arnold-Forster's conclusion that if the infantry of 1905, 146,500 in number, only produced 55,600 men for the Reserve, the infantry of 1908, whose period of Reserve service will be shorter and who will number 132,600, cannot produce a Reserve 8,000 stronger. I know very well that this is an actuarial calculation. I know also that in Parliamentary debate we have only to breathe the word "actuary" and your opponents are supposed to retire routed in confusion. I have had a great deal to do with these calculations in the past, and I am firmly convinced that the Army Reserve placed at 115,000 has been over-estimated; that the Government have been misled by calculations based on the assumption that the ranks will always be full. As a matter of fact, they are never, or rarely, full. And the expectation that 25,000 men will re-engage voluntarily in the Reserve after service is one which I fear will not be realised. But, be that as it may, it is obvious that if you reduce the Regulars largely you must to that extent reduce the Reserve.

May I make an appeal to the noble Earl to consider the composition of the battalions that are to go abroad, according to the Paper which has been placed before Parliament. It has always been considered that a battalion going abroad should, if possible, have 500 men serving and not more than 500 Reservists. The expeditionary force, owing to the depletion of those men who were added to each battalion by my noble friend Lord Lansdowne, is to consist of 28,000 serving soldiers and 48,000 Reservists with the infantry—not 500 to 500, but 380 serving soldiers to 620 Reservists, a preponderance which, I think, on military grounds, is altogether undue. The first 100,000 men who went out to the war in 1899 consisted of 43,000 Reservists and 57,000 serving soldiers. There is almost a change, therefore, of 100 per cent. in the proportions under the expeditionary force which the Government find it possible to send out with the reduced *cadre* which unfortunately they have adopted in the Regular Army. The noble Earl stated that, on mobilisation, they would use up nearly the whole of the Army Reserve. That is a point on which politicians and military men have been labouring for the last twenty years in the belief that by shorter service we should have a larger Reserve. But, if that be so, does it not follow that by far the most important question we have to deal with is, how are we going to follow up these depleted Regular troops and Reserves by those who are to come out as the first draft and be placed in action within two months of the outbreak of hostilities?

Then the noble Earl spoke about the Militia. He spoke most feelingly of what had happened to them in the past. The members of the present Army Reserve cost you £9 a year, and they are the cheapest men you have ever had. The noble Earl spoke of men who would be less costly; he said nothing about more training. I do not think there is any force which has a greater claim on the sympathies of your Lordships. The patriotic manner in which the Militia responded to the call in 1899 was one of the most remarkable things in our history. The Militia had been treated for thirty or forty years as the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the Army. I do not say that is an ignoble position, but it is one which is very difficult for men who officer good battalions to understand. They had every year sent to the Army between 10,000 and 12,000 recruits. They had been liable in the Militia Reserve to send 30,000 men on the outbreak of war; but a Parliamentary pledge was given, which I myself heard in the House of Commons, that, if they had to lose the Militia Reserve to the Line, they would not then be called upon to go out as units depleted by their best men. But in 1899 the call on the Militia was unexpected. They had to send their best men out, and after that they were asked to volunteer, with the result that sixty-eight battalions of Militia did go abroad, saying nothing about pledges which had been broken and entirely ignoring the depletion of their *cadre*. I think, therefore, that we owe some consideration to the very difficult circumstances in which the Militia now find themselves. There are two points of view from which we may look at this question. The first is, what can the Militia colonels induce their regiments to do? I think there has been some misunderstanding of their attitude. As I understand, they have been accused of having said that, although they were willing to go on foreign service, they would not send drafts. I do not understand that to have been the attitude of the Militia colonels. I understand them to have said that, notwithstanding the improvements that had been made in the position of the Militia and the facts that they no longer had to send 30,000 men to the Militia Reserve, that their pay had been raised, and that their officers had been given better opportunities of training, they had not been able to raise their numbers; and they are apprehensive that, if, at the present rates of pay, and with the present inducements, they are asked to tell their men that they must not only enlist for foreign service when needed, but must go abroad in drafts without their officers, to be attached to regiments which they do not know, and to be deprived of all the advantages gained by comradeship and *esprit de corps*, the men will not accept that liability. I think they are bound to put that difficulty before the War Office. It is a sentimental view, though it is a practical one.

Has the noble Earl considered what the position is he is asking the Militia to take up from a military standpoint? Has he considered that you are going to pit against the best soldiers of a foreign army men who in all will have had only eight months training? Foreign soldiers are taken at twenty; you take the Militiaman at seventeen. The foreign soldier is trained for two years; you are going to train the Militiaman six months on enlistment and half the time every year. That Militiaman is to be asked to go out and join another regiment and face the picked troops of a foreign Power two months after the outbreak of war. The noble Earl referred to the experiment carried out by Colonel Pollock, and he spoke highly of those men; but I am very much mistaken if I did not read a speech by Colonel Pollock at the conclusion of the training of his men, wherein he said that, after six months training under the most favourable conditions, he would be very sorry to lead those men against a foreign army. May I ask the Government before this debate comes to a close to reassure us on this point? May I ask them to tell us whether it is the opinion of the Army Council—not only the opinion of the Secretary of State, whose opinion I speak of with all possible respect, but whether it is the opinion of the Army Council—that men with such little training and who join the ranks so young can really be relied upon to fill the first gaps in our Army. I should like an answer, aye or no. I have always regretted for Parliamentary purposes the disappearance of the opinion and authority of the Commander-in-Chief. Does any one of your Lordships suppose that we could ever have heard the late Duke of Cambridge or the noble and gallant Field-marshal on the cross benches, who, I hope, we shall hear in the course of the debate this evening, get up and declare that we could disband ten battalions of foot, one of guards, and a number of artillery? The authority of the Army Council has been vouched for that change, just as the authority of the Army Council was vouched by Mr. Arnold-Forster for different changes a few years ago. On an important subject like this we have the right to ask for guidance, and I press it the more because I know it is the genuine opinion of the Secretary of State that he has improved the efficiency of the fighting force.

The fighting period of a man's life in our rank and file has been taken as lying between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. Nearly half of the present Militia are either under twenty or over thirty-five, and if you take the proportion who are therefore of fighting value for tropical service, you will find, even if the Militia take up the whole liability which it is sought to impose upon them, that you will have very few more Militia to fill gaps in the Line than you would have had in the Line soldiers and Reservists whom you have disbanded; and if you are going to replace thoroughly-trained troops by partially-trained troops, to substitute for men who know their officers those who do not know their officers, then I say that the man who, knowing all that, says that he is thereby increasing the fighting efficiency of the Army by 50 per cent. is like the Mr. Gladstone of old, of whom it was said that—

> "His tongue could persuade every man of everything and himself of anything."

The terms offered to the Militia require me to call attention for a few moments to the financial provisions of the Bill. No one has any doubt as to the mandate which the Government conceive themselves to have to reduce the expenses of the Army and Navy. The Secretary of State for War early expressed his belief that considerable economies could be made at home, and somewhat later, in a scathing passage, he described the Army as extravagant, costly, and ill-organised. Plain figures are dull, but I would like to be allowed to say a word or two on the figures. I was myself in charge of the finance of the Army from 1886 to 1892, when the Estimates were £10,000,000 less than they are now; and for the years between 1895 and 1903 I was responsible as Under-Secretary, and then as Secretary of State, for proposing much larger Estimates to the House of Commons; and I ventured again and again to tell the House of Commons that, if they wanted to reduce the Army Estimates—and nobody desires that so much as I do, and no man has ever worked harder for economy than I have done—I was convinced that it could only be done in one way—namely, by reducing our strength. I do not mean to say that some economies here and there are not possible, but if you are to secure a really large economy, an economy which will bring your Estimates down from £28,000,000, say, to £25,000,000, you must reduce considerably your military strength.

Well, with all these changes, and all these losses, what has been the effect? What are the Estimates of cost if the territorial scheme is carried out? That is an important question. As no Member of the Government has yet faced the question where we are going to stand in the end, I have done the best I can to make out a balance sheet, and it is at the service of any Member of the House, who cares to examine it. The last Estimates for which Mr. Arnold-Forster was responsible amounted to £28,830,000. That was the first year—1904–5—which was free of war charges. The Estimates at the present time are £27,760,000. If you add to those Estimates the extra cost, as shown in this statement, of the Territorial Army, and if you deduct the saving on Regulars who have been already reduced, but the full saving of which has not yet taken effect, what is the cost to be? The cost goes up to £28,021,000, showing that, after all that has been done to the Army, and all that has been said, the only reduction in the Estimates is from close on £29,000,000 to a little over £28,000,000.

But that is not the whole story. You have taken off £1,500,000 from the cost of the Regular Army, you are going to spend something less on your special contingent than you spent on the old Militia, but you are preparing by the concessions made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons—the Supplementary Estimates bear me out—you are preparing out of that £1,500,000 to devote nearly half to the Territorial Army. So that you have not gained in money that which you have lost in strength. You have abolished 23,400 Regulars, and you are providing something like 25,000 more Volunteers for the Territorial Army. I do not pause to press this home. I will not labour whether or not this economy of £800,000 justifies either the vehement language used at the last election or the very strong statements of the Secretary of State. I do not grudge for a moment what is being done for the Territorial Army. We tried to train for fifteen days some battalions and the Secretary of State intends to try and train all battalions for fifteen days. I look upon that as a laudable effort. I look upon the 25,000 additional men as a laudable addition to our strength, but it is done at the cost of an extra £1,000,000 filched from the Regular Army.

I can assure the Government, from past experience, that they will find their scheme exceedingly costly. Every suggestion about the more generous treatment that the Volunteers will meet with from the County Associations means profuse expenditure. You cannot establish sixty or seventy War Offices throughout the country without an enormous increase of cost; and do you suppose that any Lord-Lieutenant or any man of authority in his county is going to undertake to spend so much money among Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers without a proper staff of accountants and clerks, and all the appanage which we dread in Pall Mall, but which I dread all the more if distributed over sixty or seventy centres throughout the country? We have heard a great deal about drill halls and rifle ranges, and other things which have hitherto come out of the pockets of the country gentleman, but for which the Secretary of State has made the nation responsible in the future; and I very much fear that little will remain of the £800,000 saving when once the ball has been set rolling in this direction. I do feel, when it is proposed to deny money to the Line and to ask the Militia to take on a double liability on the old terms, that we ought to consider them before we do so much for the Territorial Army.

There is one other point. The Government are going back on the whole policy which has obtained with regard to the Auxiliary Forces since the days of Lord Cardwell. The whole policy of every Government and every military administration has been to try and draw the Auxiliary Forces closer to the Line; you are now going to introduce the chasm of separate administration. There are great gaps in the scheme to fill up; in training there is much to be done, in the economy of the scheme there is disappointment, if not waste; and I would earnestly appeal to the Government even now to reconsider the blots on the scheme.

I do not propose to make any Motion on the Second Reading, because I would not do anything in the world to check any portion of the scheme which may be made efficient. I especially desire to see some finality about Army organisation. I desire to see an end of the discussions that have been going on for the last ten or twelve years about the Army, and which can hardly raise the prestige of the Army in the minds of Continental Powers, or be satisfactory either from the point of view of the discipline of the Army or the spirit of the Auxiliary Forces. But I hope the Government will listen to the earnest appeal made to them to purge the scheme of some of those blots in most important particulars which have been placed before them, against which every man in either House of Parliament who has had experience of military organisation in the past has protested, and the dangers of which to the Empire they clearly foresee.

*EARL ROBERTS: My Lords, I venture to intervene in the debate this afternoon with no intention of wearying your Lordships by any detailed criticism of the Army Bill which is now before this House, or of the general scheme of Army reorganisation of which it forms so important a part. There are many features indeed of the scheme which, to my mind, are, to say the least, of very doubtful advantage. But I am quite sure that in framing his scheme Mr. Haldane has enjoyed the full concurrence and support of his professional advisers who, I should think, cannot have failed to realise from the first the objections which now occur to me, and who, no doubt, have had good reasons for disregarding them; and I am only too glad to acknowledge here, as I have acknowledged elsewhere, the very real merit of the present proposals considered as a whole. They undoubtedly constitute in many respects a great advance upon anything that we have had hitherto. Mr. Haldane has, it is true, felt himself obliged to effect serious—in my opinion regrettable—reductions in the number of our Regular battalions. But he can fairly claim that, by carefully considered organisation, by the skilful utilisation of less perfectly seasoned but cheaper material for those parts of the military framework which are not required to stand the greatest strain, he will be able to put a larger organised force into the field than any we had had before, and keep it in the field for some months.

As regards the Auxiliary Forces I think, my Lords, we are all agreed in applauding Mr. Haldane's decision to reconsider the proposed abolition of the historic and often proved stand-by of the Regular Army, the Militia. His deference to criticism has, I fear, been less happily inspired on another issue; I refer, of course, to the encouragement of drill and military training in our national schools. The awakening amongst our youths of a patriotic military spirit must, I should have thought, have been regarded by Mr. Haldane as an essential feature in a scheme which aimed at creating a great national force on the basis of voluntary patriotism. That he should have abandoned that essential feature in order to meet the views of a section which loses no opportunity of proclaiming their dislike to the idea of national defence in any shape or form, seems to be a deliberate stultification of his whole policy. I regret this concession all the more because I so gladly recognise that Mr. Haldane is, through the present Bill, endeavouring to create some kind of organisation for the Auxiliary Forces, to give them at least the semblance and shape of an Army—even if he cannot give them anything approaching reality; and, above all, to set before the people of this country the great ideal of a "Nation in Arms," even if he refuses to adopt the only principle under which that ideal can be realised.

Frankly, my Lords, I do not see how a much better scheme could have been devised, if we are to accept, as final and fundamental facts and principles, the limitation of our military expenditure by the figures of Mr. Haldane's last Budget, the maintenance of the present conditions of service and of drafting in the Regular Army, and the theory that for no purpose whatever and to no degree, however limited, are we ever to improve upon the existing system of voluntary and haphazard enlistment for home defence. But, my Lords, I cannot accept them. The only facts that seem to me fundamental are the facts of the world outside, the military dangers which threaten the prosperity and the very existence of this Empire. The only final and true principle I know is the principle which has commended itself by experience to almost every other civilised nation, as the most consistent alike with efficiency, with economy, and with social justice—the principle of citizen service.

It is because Mr. Haldane in his scheme deliberately and avowedly disregards the facts that are of the greatest consequence, and because he refuses to recognise the only principle upon which we can deal satisfactorily with those facts, that those of us—members of the National Service League—who are seriously concerned about our national and Imperial security, cannot accept his scheme as a practical solution of our difficulties, or as anything but yet one more of the patchwork and provisional schemes of which we have heard so much and from which we have seen so little result in recent years. I do not in any way wish to disparage Mr. Haldane's efforts. I am quite conscious of the difficulties the right hon. Gentleman has to contend with and the limitations under which he must work. I do not even suggest that he could have done all, or any considerable part, of what I would have wished him to do; but I should be failing in my duty to your Lordships' House and to the country if I did not endeavour to make clear, to the best of my ability, why this scheme is inadequate to meet the great responsibilities our position as an Empire has laid upon us.

Let us deal first with the fundamental fact that ought to govern any scheme of organisation for war. I mean our strategical requirements. Does the right hon. Gentleman's scheme provide adequately for these requirements? Is it even likely to do so, considering that it has been framed quite independently of those requirements? The strength of the Regular Expeditionary Force, the only force we shall have available for any purpose for some six or seven months after the outbreak of war, is, as Mr. Haldane has pointed out, determined simply and solely by the number of battalions which happen to be abroad. Every battalion abroad requires, under the system which originated with the late Lord Cardwell nearly forty years ago, a battalion at home to provide it with drafts, and itself secretes a certain number of Reservists with whose help the home battalions can be mobilised.

And so we get our Army. But why should the size of the Army which we require for one purpose, namely, the defence of our frontiers or the fulfilment of our Treaty obligations, be fixed by the number of men required for quite different purposes, such as the garrisoning of naval stations or the internal policing of the Empire? Is the frontier of India made more secure if we withdraw troops from South Africa or Egypt? The very contrary, I imagine; yet the logical conclusion of the proposed system is that, if those troops can be conveniently withdrawn, we should not only disband them, but should promptly reduce by an equivalent number the force available in this country for the support of the Indian Army. That conclusion, indeed, has been triumphantly singled out by one of Mr. Haldane's colleagues as a meritorious feature of the scheme. Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons that—

> "If the numbers necessary to maintain the troops abroad can be reduced, then a reduction will be made in the size of the Expeditionary Force, and the scheme of the Secretary of State for War will not lose in its harmony and efficiency."

Surely, my Lords, the only harmony in our military arrangements which concerns us is their harmony with our requirements; the only efficiency we look to is the efficiency which will enable us to win in war. Are these preserved if we reduce the forces required to deal with our greatest needs, just because some lesser and wholly disconnected and temporary need may have ceased to make a call upon us? Can you imagine the German military authorities determining the forces they mean to put in the field against a really formidable Power by some fixed multiple of the number required to chase the Hottentot rebels in South-West Africa, or a German statesman suggesting that the reduction of the garrison of Kiao-Chau would justify the disbandment of the Army Corps stationed at Metz? Yet that is precisely the strategical principle upon which the proposed scheme is based.

It would be a different matter, of course, if our real source of strength for great Imperial wars were to be provided by the Territorial Army, and if the numbers and training of that Army were to be determined by the strategical requirements of those wars. But what has, as a matter of fact, determined the strength of the Territorial Army in the proposed scheme? From the remarkable similarity between the total figures of the present year's Estimates and those of the estimated cost of Mr. Haldane's scheme, I fear that our military needs have been arrived at by a mere process of simple subtraction. The various ingredients which are to compose the Expeditionary Force cost so much; the balance of £3,000,000 must apparently do for "The Nation in Arms." I know Mr. Haldane has since been compelled to revise that figure, and I shall not be surprised if it be revised at frequent intervals, when the attempt is made to put the scheme into force. But that does not affect my contention, which is that the strength of the Territorial Army has been fixed by considerations which have had nothing to do with our strategical requirements.

But, my Lords, why should we trouble to infer the want of any adequate consideration of our strategical requirements in the scheme when Mr. Haldane has himself openly confessed that he has not made a study of those requirements, and that they have not entered into his plans? Surely, that is an extraordinary confession to come from a responsible Minister, speaking on behalf of a Government which is directly responsible for the security of the British Empire? I know that our responsibilities and interests all over the world are so vast and varied that the proper consideration of all of them would require the study of a life-time. But the main features of the situation stand out clearly enough for anyone to grasp; the most serious emergencies which we may have to face can almost be reckoned on the fingers of one hand, and provision for them will naturally cover all lesser emergencies.

When we consider what should be the strength of our Navy, we base all our plans on our strategical requirements, and not on some fixed proportion between our fighting fleet and the coast guard and police services, or upon a rigid Budget. It is on strategical grounds and on those grounds only that recent reductions in the Navy Estimates have been defended. There, too, the problem is immensely complicated in its details, though its main points, thanks to the exertions of patriotic writers and speakers twenty years ago, are perfectly clear even to the man in the street. What really differentiates the military problem in this respect? I am afraid, my Lords, the real difference is that those responsible for the safety and existence of the Empire have not had the courage to face even the most salient and elementary facts of the Imperial situation, because to do so might force upon them conclusions which they will not, or dare not, translate into action.

What, my Lords, are those elementary facts? What are the practical conclusions to which they lead, and how do those conclusions harmonise with the proposals now before us? Let me try and state them as simply as I can. In the first place ours is an oceanic Empire. Its component parts are divided, or I might say more correctly, united by the sea. Naval supremacy is consequently the indispensable foundation of our strategical security, not so much, however, to furnish the defence of any particular portion of the Empire, as to maintain free communication between the different parts upon which depends the life of the whole.

But our Empire is also a Continental Empire. It covers the largest area of any Empire in the world, and it has by far the longest total land frontier. On three portions at least of that frontier it is in touch with, or in close proximity to, powerful States. Of the existence of one of those frontiers, that of Egypt, we only became aware the other day. Of the existence of the Indian frontier we have been aware long enough. To the existence of another frontier, the longest and most exposed of all, where for 4,000 miles of absolutely open front we border upon the mighty Republic which is, potentially, the greatest military power on earth, we have as a rule deliberately closed our eyes. Vast regions of the Empire are inhabited by alien, and half-civilised or wholly-savage races. There has been an enormous extension of those territories and of the responsibilities involved in their possession during the last twenty years. Their successful occupation has been achieved by the merest handful of Englishmen, aided by small bodies of native mercenaries. But does that prove that we can maintain them for all time on so slight a basis of military power? India, too, I would remind your Lordships, was won on very easy terms. But the Mutiny proved that something more was required if India was to remain part of the Empire. These are facts of the situation with which a navy cannot possibly deal, which can be dealt with by military power alone. Yet, my Lords, they involve the very existence of the Empire.

There is a school of thought, I know, which, while admitting that the Navy is essential to our existence, looks upon all military forces as a pure luxury. A necessary, natural, and indeed inevitable corollary to that view is that the British Empire is an unnecessary luxury, and that we need only trouble ourselves about the British Isles. That is not my view. I do not believe that it is the view held by your Lordships' House or by the great body of the people of Great Britain. It is certainly not the view that any of us would like to express openly at this moment, when the Prime Ministers of the Empire have so recently assembled to consult over our common destinies. But if so why should we imply that view in our actions? If Canada, India, and Australia are integral and essential portions of the Empire, then surely the possibility of having to help to defend them becomes hardly less vital a question than that of having to defend these islands, and the consideration of the means by which they can be defended is one that the Imperial Government cannot be allowed to shirk.

The contingency of internal trouble in the Empire I need not discuss, for however serious it might be, it is the least serious of the contingencies we may have to face. Moreover, it is one with which, I should hope, Mr. Haldane's Expeditionary Force would be able to cope. Of the external problems, the least difficult, perhaps, is that of the defence of Egypt. It might, of course, involve us in further complications, but so far as the problem itself is concerned I am inclined to think that, with the advantages of our naval position, and possibly with the assistance of troops from India, the Expeditionary Force would be able to defend Egypt.

But, my Lords, when we come to the defence of India, we come to a very different problem. It is true that no very immediate danger may threaten the frontier of India, but in dealing with military schemes which may take ten or fifteen years even to bear fruit, it is the future and not the immediate moment that we must consider. What would the defence of the Indian frontier involve? To begin with, as soon as the danger became at all real, we should require to reinforce our Indian Army to the strength necessary to make good our preliminary dispositions. But that requirement would at once bring us face to face with one of the inherent defects of Mr. Haldane's scheme, for it would be impossible to secure that reinforcement without recourse either to a general mobilisation, which for diplomatic or domestic reasons we might wish to avoid, or else to the special mobilisation made possible by the use of Section A of the Reserve, a device which Mr. Haldane's scheme proposes to extend, but which inevitably involves the disorganisation of the arrangements for the general mobilisation which might be expected at any moment. The difficulty would be precisely the same as the one with which we were confronted in South Africa in the summer of 1899, with what unfortunate results your Lordships are well aware. That element of strategic flexibility so essential for so widely scattered an Empire as ours, can only be provided by a force, not necessarily large, which does not require mobilisation, or the mobilisation of which, at any rate, does not interfere with the arrangements for mobilising the main field force. But even if that difficulty could be got over, what would be the position at the outbreak of war? Counting the Expeditionary Force and the Indian Field Force as one army we should have 300,000 men at the front, and for the first few months that might be sufficient. But I do not understand that any provision has been made for the simultaneous supply of drafts to the 50,000 or more British soldiers in the Indian Field Force, upon whom the brunt of the opening weeks of the campaign would fall; and if the Special Contingent is to supply their needs as well, then the six months allowed by Mr. Haldane for training must be reduced to four and a half months or even less; after that time our Army of 300,000 would rapidly begin to shrink.

But what would our opponents be doing? Can anyone who has followed the course of the Manchurian Campaign doubt that it would be perfectly possible for Russia to bring 500,000 or 600,000 men against us on the Indian frontier within the first year of the war, and keep them in the field almost indefinitely? How should we meet that army with a diminishing force of barely half the strength? Mr. Haldane speaks optimistically of his Territorial Army as of a great reservoir of power—a potential source of expansion—from which voluntary patriotism might inspire not only individuals but whole brigades and even divisions to volunteer for Imperial Service. My Lords, in the first place, the reservoir will not be ready to supply any drafts whatever at the front for at least six or seven months after the arrival of the Expeditionary Force; in other words, for some two months after the Army in the field has begun to waste. Consequently by the time the reservoir is ready, 40,000 or 50,000 drafts may be wanted simply in order to bring that Army back to its original strength of 300,000, while 20,000 a month or more would be required to maintain it at that strength. Is it possible, my Lords, that a Territorial Army of 300,000 men could do that, and then go and furnish a sufficient number of organised units to expand the Field Army up to the strength of the 500,000 or 600,000 men required to deal with the forces we should have to encounter?

In considering the liabilities of the Empire as a Continental Empire, we cannot leave out of account the most extensive and most open of all our frontiers—the frontier of Canada. It may be said that any danger in that quarter is excluded by the friendly relations which exist—and, as I rejoice to think, tend to grow more and more cordial — with the United States of

America. But in considering the problem of national existence we have to take account of every possibility, however unpleasant and however seemingly remote. Every other nation does it. We do it ourselves where the Navy is concerned. Is there any one who would venture to suggest that in estimating our Naval requirements we should take no account of the Navy of the United States, or avoid all reference to the subject as offensive to a kindred and friendly nation? But I will go even further. If we are continually comparing our resources, quite openly and unreservedly, with those of other Powers, however friendly, when it is a question of such vital importance to us as the defence of these islands by sea, or the defence of India by land, can we be silent about the defence of Canada without inevitably conveying to Canadians the impression that we do not consider the defence of Canada a matter of vital importance? Will they not construe our silence as implying that we do not really regard Canada as an essential and indispensable portion of the Empire, and that we do not mean to throw our whole heart and our whole strength into her defence if the need should arise? Surely, my Lords, if there are any nations to whom we cannot afford to give ground for offence, they are the nations within the Empire. But how could we offend them more deeply than by refusing even to discuss questions that are matters of life and death to them just as the Naval question is a matter of life and death to us?

I hope, my Lords, in what I have said I have not conveyed the impression that this country, alone and unaided, is to undertake the whole task of the defence of the Imperial frontiers. Let me assure your Lordships that this is very far from being my view. If the Empire is to be defended at all the co-operation of the Colonies and of India in that task is indispensable. No one has better occasion to know the value of that co-operation than I have. I have counted upon it in the field and it has not failed me. I confidently count upon it as an essential element in maintaining the peace and security of the Empire in the future. But as long as the whole political control of the destinies of the Empire is in the hands of the people of this country, I feel we are in a position of peculiar responsibility for the defence of the Empire as a whole. The task may be beyond our powers. But let us at any rate face it frankly with a full sense of our great responsibility, and with a determination to do our utmost as far as our strength allows us. If we approach the problem in that spirit, I believe it will be met by an equal spirit on the part of the Colonies. For it is to the whole national strength of the Colonies that I look in a great Imperial struggle, not to small contingents ear-marked for our use, in return for our holding a corresponding though far larger Expeditionary Force available to help them. War cannot be waged on limited liability principles. We must all be ready to give our whole national strength, if the need should arise. But it is for this country to set the example by the establishment of the only principle of military organisation which makes possible the full expansion of that strength in time of war.

I have purposely, up to this point, dwelt upon the danger to the outlying Continental portions of the Empire, and left out of account the danger of trouble nearer home. That is not because I have forgotten the security of Great Britain in considering the security of Greater Britain. It is because I believe that the danger to this country, the blow to the heart, is most likely to come at a time when we are already engaged in some other part of the world. Let us suppose the existence of the Empire threatened in India or in Canada. Would there, could there, be any holding back in this country? Would not Mr. Haldane's Expeditionary Force be hurried off as fast as transports could be provided? Would not the Navy be fully occupied dealing with hostile fleets, covering the passage of our transports to the seat of war, and protecting our commerce and our national food supply? What more likely moment than this for an enemy to choose for striking a mortal blow by an invasion of these islands? And to what should we look at such a moment for our protection? To the Territorial Army? Would men who may have had only three or four weeks training be capable of holding their own against men who have been for two or three years consecutively with the colours? Are we to send amateur artillerists, equipped with obsolete guns, into action against highly trained experts provided with the deadliest modern weapons? Whatever else we may think we can improvise in the hour of danger or begin to train after the crisis has arisen, artillery cannot be improvised. Artillerymen must be trained before the crisis and not after, and given a very different training from the annual week or fortnight, which is all the proposed scheme provides. Inadequate as Mr. Haldane's scheme is in this respect, and in many others, for the defence of the British Dominions across the seas, it is even more inadequate for the defence of these islands in the one contingency under which serious invasion is likely to be successfully attempted.

I hope I may be forgiven, my Lords, if I have wandered so far into contingencies that may seem to many of you highly problematical. They are, I contend, by no means so problematical but that they ought to be kept in view in any military scheme we may frame, though I admit they have never been kept in view in any scheme that has been framed. They are contingencies no more problematical than those which other countries are continually considering; no more problematical than those which we consider as a matter of course when dealing with the Navy, which, though essential to the safety of the Empire, cannot be all-sufficient. What adequate provision is there to meet these contingencies in the proposed scheme? It makes no provision for the strategical reinforcement of our distant frontiers on the eve of a crisis. The Expeditionary Force which it can provide on mobilisation is not large enough to deal with the forces it may have to meet in the opening year of a campaign. It can only be despatched, as I have said, at the risk of leaving the military defence of this country to a force that is absolutely unfit and unready to face trained troops; and if the crisis has not already terminated in disaster, we shall have, for the double task of defending this country and providing a boundless reservoir for the voluntary expansion of the armies on our distant frontiers, a total force of 300,000 untrained men.

I feel sure I shall be asked, Is there the slightest possibility of dealing with these contingencies under any scheme whatever? I contend that there is, but only if we realise the extent of those contingencies, and adopt the one principle which alone can provide that great reserve of trained strength which Mr. Haldane dwells upon so eloquently, but which his Territorial Army under his proprosed conditions could not provide. I am inclined to think that a serious study of those contingencies would in the first place lead to a re-organisation of our existing forces, so as to admit of the free despatch of moderate reinforcements before mobilisation, and to allow of the subsequent mobilisation of a considerably larger force than the proposed Expeditionary Force. Such a force can only be provided by a really short service Territorial Army wholly severed from the non-strategical duties of furnishing drafts for the foreign battalions. That short service Army can, I believe, be most conveniently evolved out of the Militia; and it is for that reason that I feel especially grateful to Mr. Haldane for his reconsideration of the Militia question. If only I could have considered Mr. Haldane's scheme a final solution of our military problem I should have acquiesced, though with regret, in the extinction of the Militia. It is because I do not consider it a final solution that I rejoice most heartily that the Militia with its historical traditions, its strong corporate feeling, and its great possibilities, has at any rate been kept alive—kept alive, I venture to hope, so that at some future date it may take a larger and more important part in Imperial defence than any to which it has hitherto aspired.

But, above all, my Lords, the consideration of these problems ought, I think, to convince any dispassionate student that they can be solved on no other principle than on that of the "Nation in Arms," the Nation trained in readiness for war. The Territorial Army, great improvement as it is on all that has gone before, is yet neither in size nor in character what is denoted by these terms. It is not the nation, but only a small portion of it. It cannot be thoroughly representative, for whole classes and industries are almost certain to be excluded by the conditions of service. It is not trained to arms, but only pledged to be trained, and that under conditions which cannot but be unfair to those who have been induced to pledge themselves. There is very grave doubt whether under these conditions even the 300,000 men will be found. What will Mr. Haldane or his successor do if he finds that to get the men he must either waive all the conditions both as to service and as to the due proportion of arms, and so make a farce of the whole proposed reforms, or else that he must resort to the holding out of increased financial inducements, and turn his "Nation in Arms" into a paid force as costly as it will be inefficient?

Mr. Haldane has told us that he regards his proposal as the strongest intrenchment that could be devised against the advocates of universal military training. My Lords, whatever apprehension I may entertain with regard to Mr. Haldane's scheme, I confess I do not dread it as a serious obstacle to the progress of the great national movement to the furtherance of which I have devoted myself. I can see Mr. Haldane's intrenchment plain as the print and pages in which it is laid out. But I fail to see where the men are coming from who are to hold it; nor do I believe that the men trained under the conditions of the present Bill will be capable of holding it. I, too, have my conception of an intrenchment, an intrenchment not directed against the advocates of any particular policy in this country, but against every external danger that may threaten the country or the Empire. It will be an intrenchment held by the whole able-bodied manhood of our nation, and of the kindred nations of the Empire, duly trained to the task, and trained in due time before, not after, the approach of danger. They will be men of every trade and of every class, trained side by side under conditions of absolute equality, not under conditions which allow the wealthy, selfish, the indolent and the unpatriotic to escape all the burden and to enjoy all the benefit of the efforts of others. The burden, indeed, is only one of their own imagining—it is a burden that strengthens and braces up, physically and morally, those who have to bear it. The benefit is a delusion, for it can only exist where there is national security and that security they destroy by their own actions. For my part, I am convinced that, though there may be opposition, particularly by those who view with dislike the Imperial idea, the principle which alone can give security, consistent with economy and efficiency, and which alone is based on the recognition of social justice and equality of duty, will, in the end, be victorious.

*THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: My Lords, the Bill before the House is remarkable for the indirect manner in which it deals with most important questions. This Bill, as it now stands, by implication repeals the Militia Act of 1882 and consequently abolishes the Militia system of service. But no mention of that is made in the Bill. Another feature of the Bill is the very wide powers conferred on the Army Council. For instance, by the very first clause the Army Council is empowered to raise a Volunteer force in Ireland to be administered by local associations.

His Majesty's Government claim that their scheme for the reorganisation of the military forces holds the field. That is no doubt true. But I can indicate in a few sentences a course which, had His Majesty's Government thought it well to follow, would have been just as acceptable to the Auxiliary Forces as their present scheme is the reverse. After the South African War the Norfolk Commission was appointed to inquire into the condition of the Auxiliary Forces. That Commission reported that neither the Militia nor the Volunteers were fit to take the field, and made, after a careful and extensive inquiry, most important recommendations for making those forces efficient. I regret that His Majesty's Government have decided to produce the scheme at present before your Lordships' House instead of following the recommendations of the Norfolk Commission, and making the Auxiliary Forces efficient in the form in which they are now organised.

The principle of reorganisation adopted in this Bill is to divide our military forces into two instead of three lines. Three years ago the late Secretary of State for War, with the entire approval of his Army Council, created a short service Army, into which the Militia was destined to be absorbed. One year ago the present Secretary of State for War, with the entire approval of the same Army Council, destroyed the short service Army of his predecessor and foreshadowed measures of re-organisation for the Militia. To-day the present Secretary of State for War, with the entire approval of the same Army Council, establishes a short service Army into which the Militia is to be absorbed.

Under this Bill the name of the Volunteers is changed into that of the Territorial Army. The Volunteers were reported by the Norfolk Commission as unfit to take the field for active service with their present amount of training. No effort is made to increase their efficiency by any additional training, I presume because the Volunteers now become the second line, and we are told that the duty of the second line is "to slumber in time of peace." They are to awake, I hope, early in the morning of the declaration of war, and to commence their military training. Here the Government appear to go beyond the region of originality and to enter into the domain of eccentricity, because to organise for war on the plan of beginning to train for the field after the commencement of hostilities is at any rate at first sight contrary to common sense.

The Volunteers are to be administered in future by County Associations. I am not hopeful of the success of this proposal, because nobody wants the County Associations. The Volunteers and, I believe, the Yeomanry also dislike passing under the control of these Associations. No counties that I have heard of are the least anxious to form these Associations, and the representatives of labour view them with disfavour. The Bill puts the Volunteers under the name of Territorial Force in the second line in place of the Militia abolished. The Volunteers are to discharge the duties of second line troops and must be prepared to accept embodied service in place of the defunct Militia. Now, are His Majesty's Government of opinion that the Volunteers can accept embodiment? Can they carry out this essential duty of a force of the second line?

Let me remind you of what happened in the year 1900. The country was then in rather a tight place, and the Volunteers were asked to give two months of consecutive service. They replied with one accord that it was perfectly impossible for them to do so, and that two weeks of consecutive service was all they could give. Under these conditions no regiment was asked to give more than a fortnight of consecutive service. But the situation was so critical and the crisis so urgent that Royal Reserve regiments were created at a cost of millions to the country, because the Volunteers could not carry out embodied service. Your Lordships must remember that in 1900 there were 124 battalions of Militia embodied, but, in spite of that, the creation of Royal Reserve battalions was demanded by the state of public feeling—in other words, by panic.

I beg to ask His Majesty's Government why they consider that the Volunteers in 1907 can do that which they could not do in 1900. Possibly there is no intention of ever embodying the Territorial Army. If that is the case, what in the name of common sense is the use of a Territorial Army for the purpose of a second line of defence? I am doubtful if the Government have sufficiently considered if the changed conditions of service which they propose can possibly be accepted by the Yeoman, the Militiaman, and the Volunteer. It must be remembered that under voluntary enlistment the conditions of service must be a compromise between what the War Office demands and what the men are willing to accept, except for the unfortunate class who may be described as the conscripts of hunger. We do not want that class. We want men who are in a position to join or not as they choose. This class can afford to be, and is, largely influenced by sentiment. The Government appear to me to have absolutely ignored the fact that in dealing with the existing Auxiliary Forces they must have due regard for the principles of voluntary enlistment complicated as they are by sentiment, unless their scheme is to be a failure for lack of men.

On this most important point of voluntary enlistment, I would ask your Lordships' indulgence to explain as briefly as I can exactly what took place between certain Militia commanding officers and the War Office last July. I know it has been repeatedly stated that Militia commanding officers refused to supply drafts to the Line. That is a misrepresentation of what actually occurred. In the first place, by the existing Militia Act of 1882 no Militiaman may be transferred, except by his own consent, from the regiment into which he first enlists. It is, therefore, certain that the War Office could not ask any officers to do that which was contrary to the Act of Parliament under which they served. The question submitted to the conference of Militia commanding officers was whether it was possible to alter the existing Militia Act in two very important respects, and at the same time to obtain a sufficient supply of men. The first alteration required was to enlist the Militia for foreign service on embodiment; the second, to make the Militiaman liable to be drafted away from his original Militia Regiment into the Line. The Militia commanding officers consulted numbered, as far as I can remember, about twenty. They came from every part of the United Kingdom. We were unanimous in saying that the men in the Militia would accept foreign service enlistment on embodiment, provided always that the clauses in the Act of 1882 forbidding the transfer of the Militiaman without his consent remained unaltered. We were then informed that if we adhered to that opinion, which obviously we could not change, seeing that we believed it to be true, the War Office had no further use for the Militia, and that the force would be abolished, as proposed by this Bill. You will therefore perceive that what really happened was that the Militia commanding officers were asked to give their opinion as to what the effect would be from a recruiting point of view of altering certain clauses in the Militia Act. They were unanimous in saying that if the clause as to drafting was altered in the way proposed by the War Office you would not get the men to accept foreign service enlistment on embodiment. That is the opinion of the vast majority of Militia commanding officers at the present moment. But that is a very different story from refusing to supply drafts to the Line in time of war.

The absorption of the Militia into the short service Army is, I believe, to be effected as follows. The whole Militia Force passes under the Army Act, and the Militia Act of 1882, on becoming obsolete, will be repealed by a Statute Law Revision Act. From the existing 124 Militia regiments of the United Kingdom seventy-four short service battalions of the Regular Army are to be formed for the purpose of supplying drafts, but these seventy-four battalions will never take the field as battalions. At first these drafting battalions will be commanded by Militia officers who are now serving; but, as soon as it is decently possible to get rid of the senior Militia officers, they will be replaced by officers from the Line. The junior officers, who by the way will never get promotion, will belong to the reserve of officers. Then, in addition, there are to be twelve battalions in Ireland and fifteen in Great Britain of the short service Army, which may be employed as battalions, but of course the men will be enlisted under just the same liability for drafting as in the purely drafting battalions. On this point of drafting, a man must either enlist under the liability to be drafted or with an immunity from drafting. The suggestion that a man should enlist in a certain regiment on the unwritten understanding that as far as possible he should not be transferred against his will is perfectly absurd, because you cannot put the words "as far as possible" in any Act of Parliament or in any form of enlistment. For instance, how would it be possible to say to a future recruit—"Mr. Secretary of State Haldane said in the House of Commons in the year 1907 that as far as possible you will not be drafted away from this battalion, but by Act of Parliament you can be so drafted?" In Clause 6, sub-section 4, your Lordships will see clauses protecting the Territorial soldier of the future from drafting. These clauses are practically taken out of the Militia Act of 1882. I see no advantage in pretending to differentiate between battalions of the short service Army. Apparently all Militia officers of over thirty-five years of age are to be got rid of as soon as possible; therefore, I presume that these twenty-seven battalions will be commanded by Line officers.

The problem to be solved is how to get sufficient recruits to supply the Regular Army and at the same time to maintain the establishment of the Militia, and, more than that, to pass on men to the Army in time of war and yet leave undepleted Militia battalions available as units for the purpose of second line troops. You will see at once that the whole question is one of recruiting. Militia commanding officers are of opinion, if the War Office would only give them that control of their own recruiting, which has been absolutely refused for many years past, that then they could find sufficient recruits for both Line and Militia. I cannot go into the recruiting question at present, but I have done so before in your Lordships' House. The present methods of recruiting are futile and feeble beyond belief.

The next point is the transfer of men from the Militia to the Army in time of war. All Militia Acts have forbidden the transfer of men from the Militia to the Army except by their own consent, and that voluntary principle of transfer has always acted perfectly well in the past. Take the most recent instance, that of the South African War. At that time in the Militia there were about 25,000 men who had accepted a bounty of £1 a year to serve with the Army Reserve when that Reserve was called out, but 40,000 men, who had always refused to tie their hands in peace time by accepting this annual bounty of £1, transferred to the Army during the war. That shows that the principle of voluntary transfer in time of war from the Militia to the Army can be relied upon. Now, if the Militia is to send on men in batches transferring of their own free will to the Army in time of war, they must be somehow or other replaced in the Militia to avoid the depletion of the Militia Force. That, we are of opinion, can easily be done by creating a Reserve for the Militia, which could be obtained at an annual cost of £1 per man.

To sum up. It is not reasonable to find fault with a man for not succeeding in doing that which you will not allow him to attempt. The Militia is reproached with its deficient numbers, but the Militia is not allowed to manage its own recruiting. Give us complete control of our own recruiting system, and the Militia are ready to find men for both Militia and Line; to give foreign service enlistment on embodiment and increased recruit training, indeed, to give a far greater amount of recruit training than the Government is prepared to pay for; and to pass men by voluntary transfer to the Line in time of war. That is an offer of service such as no Auxiliary Force has ever made to any Government before, and, my Lords, it is an offer which, let me ask you to remember, aims at increasing the efficiency of the Line, just as much as the efficiency of the Militia. It is an offer which I hope your Lordships will carefully consider before it is finally rejected, and before the system which enables us to make it is finally and irretrievably destroyed.

*EARL FORTESCUE: My Lords, I shall not venture to inflict upon you my views with regard to the Bill generally, but I should like to say that I do not share the aspirations expressed by the noble and gallant Field Marshal who spoke earlier in the debate, and I recognise that if you are to depend upon voluntary enlistment you must make the length of training suit the convenience of your recruits. I hope that in developing their system the Government will bear in mind that all the teaching of recent history is that the less trained the troops the more highly trained the officers ought to be. The records of the British Army are full of the great achievements of levies hastily raised, of every race and colour under the sun, in the hands of first-class men who knew their business. But the records of the South African war are also full of regrettable incidents, where officers, however gallant, knew no more than the hastily raised men they commanded. I trust that the preparation of a strong corps of highly trained officers will be recognised by the Government as an indispensable part of their scheme.

But I rose rather to call attention to another part in regard to which I think my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State was jejune in his information. There are many in this House who have the honour to be lords-lieutenant of counties, and there are many more who take a considerable part in county business. We were told by the Secretary of State when he first introduced his proposals that his desire was to enlist the services of lords-lieutenant and deputy-lieutenants in carrying them out. I think, therefore, that we are entitled to be told rather more fully than we have been yet what are the duties and responsibilities that we are to be asked to undertake. The noble Duke who spoke last reminded the House that it seemed probable that the Act of 1882, under which all lords-lieutenant and deputy-lieutenants were appointed, would shortly become obsolete and lapse. We ought to know what is to come next, and, in regard especially to deputy-lieutenants, whether their acceptance of office implies the acceptance of any obligations, and, if so, by whom those obligations are to be enforced. There is a clause in the Act of 1882—Clause 30—under which the services of the deputy-lieutenants can be dispensed with. The number of deputy-lieutenants has been recently limited in proportion to the population of the counties, and a great many of them are gentlemen who, owing to age or infirmity, would probably be unwilling to undertake any further public duty. Is this dispensing clause to be put into operation? Are any number of these gentlemen to be asked to resign? and, if so, is it proposed to fill up the positions and to confer the *status* of deputy-lieutenant on all future members of the County Associations? If deputy-lieutenants are to exercise any more than the purely honorary functions which they do at present, I think that is a thing which might very well be done.

Then going on to the County Associations, the first part of Clause 1 empowers the creation of County Associations in any county in the United Kingdom. What is to happen in Ireland? The Militia are to be part of the Regular Forces, and the only Territorial Forces in Ireland will be a couple of Yeomanry regiments something less than 900 strong. Gentlemen who are lieutenants of Irish counties and deputy-lieutenants would be glad to know whether Associations are to be established all over Ireland to provide for something under 1,000 men; and if not, if counties are to be grouped for that purpose, what is to be the position of the lieutenants of the counties so grouped. Further on, in Section 3, it says the schemes are to provide for the date of the establishment of the Associations. It would be of great interest if the noble Lord or somebody speaking from that side would tell us presently whether associations are to be established next year as soon as the Act comes into operation, or whether there is any truth in the rumour that prevailed not very long ago that the experiment was to be tried first of all only in certain selected counties.

The next sub-clause says that the Army Council may constitute the lieutenant of the county or such other person as they think fit to be president of the Association. We should like to know whether the discretionary power given to the Army Council is intended only to cover the cases of lords-lieutenant who, owing to age or infirmity or to holding high office, or possibly to absence abroad in the Governorship of a Colony, are unable to undertake the presidency, or whether the Army Council will pick and choose in this matter and be entitled to say: "This gentleman is good enough for the King, but he is not good enough for us to put in a position of authority in his county." The word used is "constituted," which is different from the phrase employed elsewhere throughout the Bill. Chairmen are to be appointed; members of the association are to be appointed; the secretary is to be appointed; but the president is to be constituted. I do not know whether it is more than a verbal accident, but it would be interesting to know whether the office is to be held for life or for a term of years, or up to a certain age, or during good behaviour. I would also ask what powers and responsibilities the president of a County Association will have. Will the position be analogous to that of a patron of a hospital or of a charity bazaar, or is he really to be a working man on the Association, though not possibly the chairman ? Will he be allowed to vote ? Will he be allowed to resign if he cannot get on with his colleagues ? If he resigns, which and how many of his duties as lord-lieutenant, apart from his duties as *custos rotulorum*, will he retain ? Judging from a subsequent clause of the Bill, it appears to be the intention to substitute the president of the association for the lord-lieutenant, for certain purposes at any rate, because Clause 7, which is almost a verbatim copy of Clause 6 of the Militia Act, transfers to the president, subject to directions which may be given by His Majesty, the power of first appointments in the Territorial Forces. These are all points on which I hope we may get some information later.

Then there is the question of the numbers and composition of the Association. We are told that not less than one-half of the Association is to be composed of representatives of the various branches of the Territorial Forces within the county. That in some counties might mean a very numerous Association indeed, because units are numerous and there is generally a healthy jealousy between them. I cannot conceive that Sir Howard Vincent, for instance, would be satisfied that the Queen's Westminsters were properly represented on any Association by any other Volunteer colonel than himself. There is a further point in connection with the composition of the Associations, which is a very important one. There are to be co-opted members, representative of the interests of employers and workmen. I take it that members of a great trade union and of such Associations as the Miners' Federation would be eligible and probably very desirable members of the association in their respective counties. But what about the employees in His Majesty's arsenals ? There are a great many of them at Plymouth, in the county with which I have the honour to be connected. It has been suggested rather than declared, I think, that men employed in arsenals are not to be eligible in future as members of Volunteer corps. I think that may be a very sound idea, for it is evident enough that in cases of pressure or imminent invasion they would all be wanted in the arsenals and would not be available as fighting men; but that again is a matter upon which I hope we may receive some information.

A more important point is as to the appointment of chairmen and vice-chairmen. Who is to appoint them ? Are they to be elected by the Association or are they to be appointed by headquarters ? And is the lord-lieutenant if president to be eligible to be chairman or not ? What powers will he have in regard to the summoning of meetings and for ensuring attendance at them ? These matters may all be provided for in the scheme under subhead (j) (3) of this clause ; but they require consideration, because if more than one half of the Association are to be officers and commanding officers of territorial units, it is plain that at certain seasons of the year, and still more at any time of pressure or danger, it would be very difficult for these gentlemen to attend, and all the work of the Association would have to be carried on by the remaining members.

Then there is another section which says that counties may be divided. In such an event what will be the position of the president or the lord-lieutenant ? Will he be universal president, a sort of connecting link between the Associations ? And what especially will be his position in great manufacturing counties, where, I suppose, as in the case of Yorkshire and Lancashire, a great number of subordinate associations will of necessity be set up ? Will the president of the central County Association have any *status* in connection with the associations of the great cities within his county, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, and the like ?

My Lords, I do not wish to take up the time of the House on Clause 2, though I may say that it seems to me to err rather in the direction of over-centralisation. I think that such matters as the provision of horses for the peace requirements of the regiment, and the safe custody of arms and equipment should be left much more to the commanding officer of the unit than to the County Association in the county town. I doubt whether those who prepared this Bill quite realise how many square miles companies and squadrons are sometimes spread over, and probably they do not appreciate the difficulty there will be in connection with squad drills and occasional drills in getting arms or saddlery for the instruction of the men unless the commanding officers are allowed to keep them at convenient centres where their men and officers can get at them.

A more important point arises in connection with Clause 3, where we are told that the Army Council is to pay to the association such sums as they think may be required. We have had very little information indeed, and very little was given in the other House, on this important matter of finance. Are we to expect that a block grant, calculated on the strength of the Territorial Forces in the county, will be assigned to each Association to be dispensed under the proper heads in much the same way as the commanding officer of Yeomanry or Volunteers now is allowed to spend his contingent grant? And if the money granted by the Government is not adequate or seems inadequate, will a County Association be expected to take round the hat to obtain what is necessary to make up the deficiency? I think in one of his speeches Mr. Haldane hinted at local funds being forthcoming to supplement this grant. There are certain purposes for which I think people would be ready enough to subscribe locally in connection with the forces within their county. Such matters as prizes for rifle shooting, I am sure, might be provided by local effort; but I do not think people would be inclined to put their hands in their pockets for things which in their opinion should more properly be paid for out of taxation. I think that Associations and those connected with them would be likely to be put in a very false position if they were obliged to come forward and say to the residents in their county: "The Government do not allow enough for the necessities of the Yeomanry, or the Artillery and Infantry who are recruited from among us, and we, therefore, have to appeal to you to supplement your taxes by voluntary contributions in providing the men, for instance, with serviceable greatcoats." Of course, we did that very largely at the time of the South African war, but that was a different thing, and I do not think, if this scheme is to succeed. it would be desirable to make anything of the sort either necessary or possible in the future.

There is another point which concerns only a few of us, but which I hope I may be pardoned for mentioning now, because there is no particular clause in the Bill on which it arises. The Secretary of State indicated that when the Bill was in operation each group of regimental districts would have to find the equivalent of a division. How does that apply to groups of regimental districts in which great arsenals like Plymouth and Portsmouth, and in a lesser degree Dover and Chatham, are situated? As it happens, both Portsmouth and Plymouth are within the same group of regimental districts—the Western Counties. Shall we be expected in that district to find a whole division and to contribute towards the number of men required to garrison Portsmouth and Plymouth besides? I am not aware what the military estimates of the requirements of those two great arsenals might be, but it is obvious that if the western group has to find those garrisons in addition to a division, it will put a very much heavier burden upon them than will be put by the same Act on counties in the eastern or central portions of England. I do not know whether any allowance is likely to be made in connection with the Territorial quota which the districts have to find in the matter of recruits for the Navy, but I find that last year the county of Hampshire alone provided one-eighth of all the recruits for the Naval service, and Devonshire provided 545, which is nearly five time as many as the whole of Wales together. It is only 500 odd, but even put so it is a matter deserving of some consideration before it is decided exactly what burden is to be laid on each part of the country.

I hope my noble friend will not think that I have asked these questions or made these suggestions in any captious spirit. I can say speak for myself and I am sure I can say also for others who hold the posts of lieutenants of counties, that our only wish will be to accept loyally any duties that are put upon us, and to do our best to the utmost of our ability to make the scheme a success. But I think we are entitled to some further information than we have yet had as to the duties and responsibilities which will be put upon us, and I hope the Government will not turn a deaf ear to any suggestions in regard to those duties, when we know what they are, which our knowledge and experience of local government lead us to make.

*VISCOUNT **HARDINGE**: My Lords, I wish to associate myself with what my noble friend the Duke of Bedford has already stated on that part of the Bill which concerns the Militia, but I desire at the same time to express my extreme gratification that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War has been able to see his way to come to a compromise with regard to the Militia, and I trust it will be an honest endeavour to save that old constitutional force from final extinction. Anyone conversant with military matters cannot fail to realise that the abolition or practical destruction of the Militia would be a grave national disaster. If the Militia had been included as originally intended in the organisation of the Territorial Army it would undoubtedly have been no more, and I think, when we remember the great services that have been rendered to this country by the Militia in the past, and that those great services have been rendered voluntarily, your Lordships will agree that the Militia deserve greater consideration at the hands of His Majesty's Government than was proposed in the first instance.

It has been stated by my noble friend the Duke of Bedford that the Secretary of State when introducing this Bill in the other House stated that his reason for taking this unfortunate step in regard to the Militia was the fact that the Militia commanding officers had refused to agree to the supplying of drafts to the line battalions in time of war, and thereby endeavoured to cast the whole burden of blame upon the shoulders of the Militia officers. As a Militia commanding officer I most emphatically repudiate such a charge. I regret that such a misleading statement was made, for I have yet to learn that the Militia have ever refused to carry out anything that was demanded of them. If the Militia commanding officers have erred—and I do not admit that they have—in offering opinions or making suggestions which were not in agreement with the views of the Army Council, I maintain that they have done so in order to preserve the integrity of their regiments. And I think they were fully justified in so doing, when we remember that the Secretary of State for War, in making his first military speech in the House of Commons, said with regard to the Militia that he agreed that the present condition of the Militia was not satisfactory, but that he attributed that to no fault of their own, but to the fact that no definite function had ever been assigned to them, and that he in the future would see that they were not bled while in order to provide the line battalions with its strength in time of war. After a pronouncement such as that I venture to think that Militia commanding officers were not so unreasonable as has been suggested in proposing that, if the Militia were enlisted for service across the seas, they should be allowed to go out to the scene of action in units of battalions for duties for which they have hitherto offered themselves whenever in the past invited to do so, and which they have done to the advantage of the country and the credit of their own honour. It is now made perfectly clear, however, to the Militia that these proposals will not be sanctioned by His Majesty's Government, and I venture to think that rather than sign their own death warrant they will accept any reasonable concessions that may be offered to them and sink some of their wishes for the sake of the public good.

I gather from the statement of my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State for War that the basis of the proposed concessions means that the Militia, instead of being split up in the Territorial Army, and thereby being finally ruined, are to go over *en bloc* to the Regular Army—to use Mr. Haldane's phrase, "lock, stock and barrel"—in order to provide the line battalions with third battalions and fourth battalions, and to find drafts in time of war and for other services. It must be perfectly plain to everyone that the present Militia service becomes absolutely obsolete, for it is proposed that out of the whole Militia service only twenty-seven battalions are really to remain on the Militia basis, but to serve under the Army Act. I should like to ask one of the noble Lords opposite who will shortly answer the different questions that have been put, why it is that out of these twenty-seven battalions, twelve are to be Irish, and only fifteen from England and Scotland? The worst point in Mr. Haldane's latest proposal with regard to the Militia to my mind is that concerning the officers. The officer question of recent years has been a difficult one for commanding officers to surmount. The great question to my mind is whether the Militia officer will be forthcoming in the future when he realises that he is never to attain the rank of field officer in his regiment, and that when he attains the age of thirty-five he is to be transferred to the Army reserve. I trust that the noble Earl who represents the War Office in this House will appeal to the Secretary of State to pause before he makes such a drastic change so unfavourable to Militia officers, who by devotion and great energy have rendered military service in conjunction with their civil employment, and who, if they can prove they can make themselves efficient in the future, should have better treatment meted out to them than is proposed.

In making these remarks I trust that it will not be inferred that I am actuated by any hostile spirit. I am putting them forward merely as an expression of criticism, for I am fully aware that all questions with regard to the Army and Navy are treated in this House at least in a purely national and not a Party spirit, and I feel sure that that will always continue to be so. Nevertheless I maintain that full discussion of this Bill is of vital importance to the people of this country, for their security as a nation depends upon a proper comprehension of its principles, and unless every part of the Bill is fully and freely discussed the nation will, at some future time, find itself committed to a policy which it will be difficult to revoke.

Viscount Hardinge.

THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH: My Lords, the noble Viscount who has just sat down dealt with the case of the Militia, and, without any intention of going into the questions of principle involved, I should like to say a word on the scheme which I understand will be the outcome of the passing of this Bill from the point of view of the Yeomanry. As I understand the Bill, its main objects are, first, to provide a large expeditionary force of 167,000 men for immediate service in the field; secondly, to maintain that force for an indefinite period in the field in case of emergency; and, thirdly, to make adequate provision for home defence. In order to attain these objects the Secretary of State for War is obliged to have recourse for each and all of them to the Auxiliary Forces, and the Militia, the Yeomanry, and the Volunteers are all called upon to make considerable sacrifices. I understand that at the last moment the role which the Militia are asked to fill has been completely changed, and they will be installed in what I venture to think is their proper place, viz., as a real support to the first line. But that entails an oversea obligation and other obligations which are not altogether palatable to the force, and I do not see how under this latest proposal you are going to lift that force from the position in which it now stands of being 1,000 officers and nearly 30,000 men short of its establishment. It will be interesting to know how His Majesty's Government hope to be able to maintain even its present attenuated strength under the additional obligations which they intend to impose.

As regards the Yeomanry, that force is asked to sacrifice its present position, which in many respects is practically that of mounted Militia. They are asked to allow themselves to be absorbed in the Territorial Force under the administration of a local civil authority; they are to suffer a drastic reduction in pay, and, consequently, to undergo considerable unnecessary discomforts at their annual training. They are, nevertheless, asked to increase their efficiency, and to provide fourteen squadrons, which is roughly a troop for every regiment, in order to provide the Expeditionary Force with divisional cavalry for service in the field. Speaking on behalf of the force as a whole, I am confident that, as in the past, whatever role the military authorities and Parliament decide the Yeomanry shall fill, they will do their best to carry it out. But the Secretary of State for War was good enough some time ago to ask the opinion of Yeomanry commanding officers as to the effect this scheme would have on the force, and with this object a meeting of commanding officers was held last April. Fifty-two out of fifty-six regiments of Yeomanry were represented, and the officers present felt it their duty to come to certain conclusions. With your Lordships' permission I should like to read to the House the conclusions to which they came. They were as follows—

"This meeting of Imperial Yeomanry colonels, representing fifty-two regiments out of the total number of fifty-six, while ready as soldiers loyally to carry out the scheme of reorganisation submitted by the Secretary of State and approved by the Army Council, should such scheme receive the sanction of Parliament, nevertheless think it their duty to place on record the following conclusions at which they have arrived :—

"That they agree that owing to lack of organisation the force is unable to take the field ; they therefore welcome the proposal to perfect the organisation, and to provide the necessary staffs and administrative services to put them in a better position to do so.

"That they believe, however, that so long as the nation is content to rely on the voluntary system for the defence of the Empire, that system must be varied to meet the different needs of the various classes of men willing to serve."

"They are consequently of opinion that to merge the Imperial Yeomanry into the proposed Territorial Army purely for Home Defence administered by a local civil authority, is a retrograde step calculated to impair its usefulness and efficiency, to reduce its numbers, and to destroy its character."

"That understanding that the main object of reform of the Auxiliary Forces is to provide for expansion of the Regular Army in time of war, they regret that the terms of enlistment do not include the obligation to serve over-seas, in case of national emergency, as suggested by the Yeomanry colonels at their meeting in July last, which suggestion received the warm approval of the Secretary of State, and which, if carried out, would have preserved the force as at present constituted under control of the central military authority."

"That as regards the details of the scheme they are strongly of opinion that to drastically cut down the pay of the force, at the same time requiring a higher standard of efficiency, will have a disastrous effect, and that it is only by liberal treatment in peace time that men of the class from which the Yeomanry are now drawn will be induced to accept the proposed obligation to serve at Army rates during embodiment in time of war."

"They submit that a knowledge of riding, and of the care of horses, which a yeoman is usually possessed of on joining, is an asset worth paying for, and that the practical difference between a yeoman who has a horse to look after (which he frequently owns) and saddlery to clean, and a rifleman who has neither, justifies additional remuneration."

"They protest strongly against any reduction in the period of the annual training, and also against the abolition of Regular adjutants and any reduction of the permanent staff."

As a result of these representations and of the representations which have been made in another place considerable modifications have been introduced. In the first place, I understand the Regular adjutants and the permanent staff are not to be interfered with, at present at any rate. Then it appears that we are to have what might be called a period of grace ; that is to say, it is hoped that regiments will be preserved more or less intact for a period of three years from the passing of the Bill ; recruits are to be allowed to be taken for the usual period of three years on existing terms and conditions, down to the moment when the unit is transferred to the Territorial Army, and in like manner non-commissioned officers are to be allowed to re-engage on existing terms and conditions for the same period. That concession is undoubtedly a very useful one, and I hope that before the Bill passes into law, it will be extended to privates also who are willing to re-engage, for this reason—it is to our minds essential during the transition period, when it is possible an emergency might arise, that regiments should not be denuded of most of their best men—that is to say, men who have completed their first term of service and who do not care to re-engage under the new terms.

Then there is the question of the reduction of men. Commanding officers regard it as essential, in order to maintain the efficiency of the force, that recruits in the future should come from the same class as are serving in the regiments to-day. If you cease to attract the class who are attracted to-day, you will cease to obtain men who have a knowledge of riding and of the care of horses, and if you lose that asset, which is a valuable one, by shutting the door on the yeoman of to-day, it is absolutely impossible that you can hope to attain anything like the same degree of efficiency in the allotted period of training. An illustration of that is to be found, as the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies will remember, in the evidence given before the War Commission of the very marked difference between the first, second, and third contingents of the Imperial Yeomanry in the South African War. The noble Earl opposite, the Under-Secretary for War, has himself this evening laid stress on the fact that the Territorial Army, it is hoped, will be recruited from the more intelligent classes, and that therefore they will be the more quickly trained. But I wish to point out that there is very grave risk of our losing this class altogether under the scheme as it stands. I believe it to be the fact that the yeoman of to-day, speaking generally, has no desire to make money by his service. He is willing to undergo hard work and to submit to discipline, provided he incurs no expense and is made tolerably comfortable. On that basis he would probably undertake greater obligations than at present. But if you want patriotism in peace time under a voluntary system you must differentiate between the classes who are willing to serve and recognise their reasonable requirements and then they will be perfectly willing to serve on the same terms as regulars in time of war. Mounted troops, when undergoing training, have a great deal of extra work to perform compared with the infantry-men. They have their horses to look after, and their saddlery to clean, and it is reasonable that extra work should receive some recognition. Again, for the same reason, on account of the extra work, it is necessary that the feeding of the men should be done on the catering system, either regimentally or by contract. That costs money, and I understand that the Secretary of State for War has so far recognised that as to give a messing allowance amounting to 1s. a head in addition to the 6d. ration. We submit that that is not sufficient, and we hope that before the Bill passes into law an addition will be made to it. so that the men may receive the same substantial comforts that they are at present receiving without cost to themselves.

There is one other point, and that is in regard to the fourteen squadrons which it is asked shall be furnished for service with the Expeditionary Force. It appears that these men are to be enlisted as special reservists under Part III. of the Bill. If the Yeomanry regiments are to be responsible for these officers and men, I hope it may be possible for them to be obtained under Part II., Clause 12, of the Bill, that is to say, that they should actually belong to, and volunteer from, their units, that they should undertake special service for the specified period, whatever it may be—three years I understand—and then come back and be absorbed into their original units, where they will naturally be of considerable value owing to the higher training they have received. In any other way it seems to me there will be a very poor response to the call for these special service men. I would like to point out that although these fourteen squadrons are to be enlisted for service over-sea, there is absolutely no provision of any kind made for maintaining them in the field in the event of their services being required. The whole of the rest of the force is to be enlisted for Home defence. There is no provision as far as mounted troops are concerned for any expansion beyond the Regular Army. Yet it is one of the vital points insisted on by the Royal Commission. It was on realising this fact that last year the commanding officers of Yeomanry suggested to the Secretary of State that in future the Yeomanry as well as the Militia should be enlisted for over-sea service in case of national emergency. But there is no provision of the kind in this scheme. We know that three months after the outbreak of the South African War there was an urgent demand for 10,000 additional mounted troops. If a similar emergency occurred to-morrow a similar demand would undoubtedly arise, and we should find ourselves in the same position that we were in in 1899 of having to rely entirely on the patriotism of the moment.

I cannot understand how in preparing mobilisation schemes the General Staff are able to deal with this great question. They cannot count on a single man with any certainty, So as far as I can see the scheme as it stands is merely a speculative alternative. Men are enlisted for one service and asked in emergency to volunteer for another, and at the best the nation will be spending large sums annually in training a force for war which in the supreme moment may only be very partially available to support the army in the field. By the Militia being transferred to the Regular side the Infantry of the Expeditionary Force obtain an adequate reserve. But the Cavalry have none, and it seems to me that ultimately the role of the Yeomanry should be to perform for the Regular Cavalry in case of national emergency more or less similar services to those the Militia are now to be called upon to perform for the Regular Infantry. I know that the difficulties of adequate training to fit them for that purpose are great and will prove a serious obstacle, but I hope the possibility will not be lost sight of. I believe the Yeomanry themselves will be willing to do their utmost to fulfil such obligation if put upon them. We in the Yeomanry cannot pretend to like this scheme, but at the same time we recognise that in some respects it is a step in the right direction, more particularly in bringing cohesion to the Auxiliary Forces and in providing the necessary staff and administrative services to enable them to take the field. If the scheme had stopped there we should have been all the better pleased, because in other respects we apprehend that it will discourage recruiting and endanger the character of the force as it exists to-day. But His Majesty's Government may be quite sure that in whatever form the Bill becomes law the Yeomanry will do their utmost to see that it has a fair trial.

LORD MONKSWELL: I should like to say a few words on this Bill from the point of view of a layman. I propose to deal with it on very broad issues and not to go into detail. In the first place, I desire to congratulate the Secretary of State for War upon the splendid testimonial which has been given to his scheme on the whole by the noble Field Marshal on the cross benches. The noble and gallant Earl has said that it is a patchwork scheme. Of that I am aware. But he adds that it is the best patchwork scheme that could have been produced for the money, and that it has been very carefully thought out. I understand that negotiations are going on with regard to the Militia, and I hope that those negotiations will have a successful issue. The noble Earl on the cross benches said that the scheme has been well thought out. No doubt it is the result of very great thought and care, but I think I shall be able to show your Lordships that there are some points on which it has not been particularly well thought out.

First, with regard to what the duties of this Territorial Army are to be, there are two views as to the duties of Volunteers. One view is that the duty of the volunteer is to defend his hearth and home, and the other is that he is to be a sort of second Army reserve. To a great extent this question of Army organisation hinges on whether you take the one view or the other of the volunteer, and the extent to which you take that view. The size of the Regular Army that we must have to meet our needs depends to a very great extent on its power of expansion, because, as Mr. Balfour has said, we shall always have a certain time allowed us in which we can get together our reinforcements. We shall very likely have six months. In six months a soldier can be made from the very beginning. *The Times* the other day said that no less an authority than Napoleon declared that if you only had willing, intelligent men you could turn them in six weeks into soldiers who could fight and do themselves credit in the first line. Therefore it is a most vital point to determine how many troops you want in these islands to protect us against invasion, because the fewer troops you want here, the more you can expand your Regular Army. Consequently the question hinges to a very great extent upon how far you are, or are not, in accord with the blue-water school. The noble Viscount Lord Midleton asked whether the Front Bench of this side adhered to the blue-water school, but he did not get any reply. I am not surprised at that, because it is very difficult to say whether the Front Bench do or do not adhere to the blue-water school. I need not say any more about the great importance of the expansion of the British Army, because it was very fully acknowledged by Mr. Haldane in his first speech as Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons on 8th May last year. He then said—

> "The first thing we want is absolutely clear thinking"—

I suppose we shall all agree with that,

> "we want absolutely clear thinking about the purposes for which the Army exists, and the principles on which it should be organised."

It seems to me that it was a little arrogant on the part of the Secretary of State to imagine that nobody before him had thought it necessary to have clear thinking on the question of the Army. It was, I think, rather an unmerited slur upon his predecessors in office to suggest that they had not endeavoured at all events to bring clear thinking to bear on these problems. It was also a slur upon his own chief, the present Prime Minister, who not very long ago was Secretary of State for War. Mr. Haldane announced this proposition with the air of a man who has made a great discovery—an astronomer, for instance, who has discovered a new planet, or a man of science who has discovered a new metal or a new gas. Mr. Haldane went on to apply this principle of clear thinking. He said that by clear thinking he had found the bed-rock on which Army organisation ought to rest. That bed-rock was this—that England is an island, and that the Fleet is sufficient to safeguard our shores. The whole burden of his song throughout was "England is an island." He talked about "this island," and I think your Lordships, if you look at the speech, will find that the word "island" occurs more often than any other. He quoted with approval Mr. Balfour's statement of 11th May, 1905, that the serious invasion of these islands is not an eventuality we need seriously consider. The Secretary of State also quoted with approbation Mr. Arnold-Forster's statement that to land 5,000 or 10,000 troops would be madness on the part of a foreigner, that they would all be cut up and not one of them would get back. Mr. Haldane then said that in our immunity from invasion—

> "we have the bed-rock fact for the organisation of our defence. If we provide against the contingency of that being wrong we shall have to provide against various other contingencies overwhelming in their number and complexity. . . . . If the Army is not wanted for home defence then its size is something that is capable of being calculated."

And he adds that he looks to the Militia and Volunteers to reduce the size of the striking force. He says also that the Volunteers are not likely to be called upon to defend their hearths and homes but to come to the assistance of the Regular Army in other ways.

After these pronouncements it is not at all surprising that Mr. Haldane was claimed as an out and out supporter of the blue-water school. Mr. Arthur Lee, for instance, in the House of Commons, said that although he belonged to the blue water-school he did not go so far as Mr. Haldane; while Major Evans Gordon said that if Mr. Haldane was correct in his views about our immunity from invasion there was no use at all for the Volunteers, and that they would become as obsolete as Lord Palmerston's fortifications. The matter was put even more picturesquely in this House by the noble Earl Lord Wemyss, who said that Mr. Balfour and Mr. Haldane were both swimming about in blue water. What was the Secretary of State's answer—a very strange answer it was—to that. He said—

> "They could not justify the keeping up of the Volunteers if they were out and out for the blue-water school, but this nation was governed as Mr. Disraeli once said, not by logic but by Parliament. . . . . As long as Parliament remained Parliament, this country would never be logical."

That was rather a strange thing to be said by a man who only a few days before had declared that the one thing necessary for the Army was clear thinking.

The whole bed-rock of his organisation has disappeared, and we have instead merely shifting sands. We hear no more about England being an island, the hearth and home business is gradually brought to the front. On 12th July, Mr. Haldane stated that the functions of the Volunteers were, first, to do garrison duty; some 140,000 Infantry, 8,000 Yeomanry, and 9,000 other men were to do garrison duty; secondly, to repel raids; and, thirdly, to be a second reserve for the Army. It was pointed out by Mr. Balfour and others in the House of Commons that only 170,000 persons were required for garrison duties and to repel raids, and that consequently there were

70,000 or 80,000 of the Territorial Army not accounted for. In answer to that M. Haldane said—

> "It is a duty cast upon the Volunteers in the last emergency to defend their hearths and homes."

And on 25th February, of this year Mr. Haldane had come to the conclusion that—

> "Raids might be serious things, and it is always possible that a considerable force might be got over."

Then on 4th March last he went a step further away from the blue-water school, and said—

> "The primary purpose of the Territorial Army is to defend our shores. The force is essentially a home defence force . . . . they can go abroad if they wish, but the scheme and provision is for a force for home defence, and it is upon that basis that the Bill is framed."

It appears to me that the Secretary of State has absolutely boxed the compass. His first refrain was : "England is an island ; our fleet is sufficient protection." This, he said, is the bed-rock of our scheme. His second refrain is that the primary purpose of the Territorial Army is to defend our shores. "This," he said, "is the basis of our plan." Why has there been this stampede on the part of the right hon. Gentleman from the blue-water school ? I think Mr. Arnold Forster supplied the reason when he said—

> "All who have endeavoured to recruit men for the Auxiliary Forces knew that the defence of the soil argument was the principal incentive to volunteer service. It was unwise to take away that great inducement to volunteer service."

Mr. Winston Churchill said the same, and so did Mr. Ramsay Macdonald from the Labour benches, while Mr. Keir-Hardie said—

> "Men would have no objection to train themselves to defend their hearths and homes, but they would not desire to be placed in a position in which, when war broke out, they would be practically compelled to serve abroad."

Then I would ask the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State to consider for a moment what duties are to be placed on the Volunteers, and whether those duties could really be done by them in time of war. I can quite understand that in time of peace Volunteers would be willing to go through a certain amount of garrison duty ; they would be willing to play at repelling raids, and so on. But when war broke out, when England was in difficulties, when she wanted to send her last man to the front, does anybody suppose that the Volunteers who had learnt their duty sufficiently to be available in the first line, would be content with garrison duty, with loafing about on the shore on the offchance of some raid or invasion ? We all know what the Volunteer would do. He would immediately volunteer to go to the front and he would go, and we should be very glad for him to do so. Therefore, it appears to me that, although you elaborately train your Volunteer to do these various things, in point of fact when an emergency arises he will not be the man to do them. Somebody else will do them. Civilians or persons very imperfectly trained will perhaps do garrison duties ; but, depend upon it, your 170,000 Volunteers who are told off for garrison duties and to repel raids will go to the front. So what occurs to me is this. The Volunteer organisation will not work on the lines laid down in the Bill. It is, to use a classic phrase, an "organised hypocrisy." What we do is to inveigle a man into the ranks of the Volunteers by telling him that he will have to defend his hearth and home, but we do not intend that he shall defend his hearth and home, we know that the will not be called upon to do so ; what we do mean is that he shall be a part of the Army Reserve and go to the front. That is perfectly right, but I think at the same time that the Volunteer ought to be treated with perfect honesty in the matter.

It seems also that besides the potential Volunteer there is another part of the British public who are unfairly treated in this scheme, and that is the British taxpayer. The British taxpayer is asked to pay for a larger Expeditionary Force than is in many people's judgment necessary. He is asked to pay for it on the plea that you cannot denude England of troops, that you must have a large number of well-trained troops to repel a raid or an invasion. But when we are telling the British taxpayer that, what we hope and expect is that these men will not be used to repel raids ; a good many of us do not think they are necessary to repel raids which will never occur. Our hope and expectation is that when the stress comes they will join the Regular Army.

In conclusion I would like to say that from my point of view I discern one bright spot in the Secretary of State's scheme. I am afraid the noble and gallant Field Marshal on the cross benches will not agree with me—and that is that the Secretary of State has set his face like flint against anything in the nature of compulsion, whether for service at home or for service oversea. I think he is perfectly right. I entirely agree with Major Seely when he says that compulsory service saps the spirit of self-sacrifice. If you compel a man to serve at home, he will not be willing to serve abroad; he will give you what you compel him to give, but he will not give you anything else. I think that is profound human nature, and if in this supremely important matter the Secretary of State stands to his guns, as I hope and believe he will, he will have done a great deal to deserve the gratitude of the country.

VISCOUNT MILNER: My Lords, like the noble Lord who has just addressed you I approach this question purely as a civilian. I approach it with reluctance in an Assembly containing so many men distinguished both by their achievements and by their knowledge of matters military, but perhaps I have had rather closer touch with the realities of war than many civilians. I have stood on the brink of and looked into the black abyss of national disaster, and the lessons which that experience taught me I shall carry with me to the grave. I have seen this country with its 40,000,000 of people, and the Empire behind it with some 12,000,000 or 15,000,000 more of the same race, engaged in a struggle with a small people about one-hundredth of their number, and on the brink of defeat. And what made that experience bitterest of all was the thought that it was wholly unnecessary; that this country had immense resources in men, brave, patriotic, and willing, and yet at the critical moment it could only just muster a sufficient number to pull through. That experience impressed upon me for my lifetime the fact that you cannot improvise soldiers, and that no amount of patriotism, willingness, or devotion will save a militarily untrained nation from disaster in any great struggle.

I should have hesitated to have addressed your Lordships to-night, but for two reasons. One is that those who agree with me on the question of compulsory service—I fear we are but a small number in this House, but we are a growing body in the nation—have been directly challenged by the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War. I do not know why he directed so much attention to this puny body of adversaries, unless it was that he felt a little happier in dealing with those generalities with which it is possible to attack the position of the advocates of compulsory service than in dealing with some of the details of the complicated scheme which he was expounding. Be that as it may, I feel bound to say a few words in reply to some of the points which he raised against us. But there is another reason, and that is I have been asked and pressed to speak by the noble and gallant Earl Lord Roberts, who is my leader on this question. I recognise him as my captain and obey his orders, though I sincerely wish he had a more able lieutenant. I will do this at the bidding of the noble Earl, not only because I recollect the day when he came out to South Africa and turned disaster into victory, which alone would have entitled him to my willing obedience in all questions of this kind, but because, if I may say so without disrespect, I feel when listening to the noble and gallant Earl on this subject that I am breathing a different atmosphere from that which prevails when even the ablest and most experienced of those distinguished statesmen who have to deal with military questions in the country are addressing us. It seems to me that the noble Earl keeps continually before him and is always pressing towards two vital points, viz., our requirements and our capacities, which are the only two points which in my opinion profoundly matter; whereas all others who deal with this question, however great the ability and experience which they bring to bear upon it, never get beyond certain given conditions which have no foundation in the nature and essence of things, and are more or less accidental—I mean the existing objection on the part of perhaps the majority, at any rate of large classes, of the people to citizen service, and the idea of a given number of millions which we have drifted into regarding as a sort of generally admitted figure round which our military expenditure is bound to revolve.

When I consider how different has been the experience of many of our most distinguished statesmen at the War Office from their experience anywhere else, when I have seen one man after another, who in every other public office or public duty which he has filled or discharged has achieved great distinction, attempting in succession the task of reforming our military system, and not one emerging from the ordeal with increased credit, I do not believe for a moment that it can be the fault of those distinguished men. Why should they always be less successful as Secretaries of State for War than in any other capacity? The fault lies in the fact that we are trying to deal with this question on an impossible basis, and we shall continue to fail as long as we try to deal with it on that basis. Given the necessities of the British Empire, given the vast responsibility for defence which it imposes upon us, I am firmly convinced that you cannot produce any satisfactory military scheme if you are going to be bound by the two rigid limits of Volunteer service and an expenditure of something like £28,000,000 of money. We shall go on from failure to failure unless we recognise that fundamental condition of things.

Do we approach the question of our naval defence in this spirit? Attention has been called to-night to the fact that the Naval Estimates at one time circled round ten or eleven millions, and they have become £36,000,000—reduced now, I believe, to £30,000,000. Why was it that the nation, which at one time would not agree to spend more than £11,000,000 on the Navy, accepted and accepts with readiness this much larger sum? Because the question of naval defence has once for all been put upon an intelligible basis, because it has been approached from the point of view of a reasoned and thought-out consideration of our requirements. Nothing of the kind is ever attempted—at any rate officially—in connection with the requirements for the defence of the Empire on land. If we were to approach the matter from the point of view of our requirements I do not believe that it would involve so enormous an increase of expenditure, but I have always admitted that some increase would be necessary. We should, however, find that it involves a number of men which we can never hope to get on the present basis. Only numbers far larger than are contemplated by Mr. Haldane's expeditionary force, and far larger than any British statesman has ever dared face, would really suffice to defend this State and Empire in contingencies which are far from improbable. It is because the noble and gallant Field Marshal continually and courageously strives to make his countrymen realise these facts and deal with the subject on the fundamental ground of what is really necessary for the defence of the Empire, instead of for ever arguing upon certain given more or less accidental data which have been conventionally accepted by both Parties in politics—it is for that reason he appeals on this question to his countrymen as I believe no other statesman of to-day appeals, and is producing an effect upon the people of the extent of which I believe political leaders are at present very little aware.

I wish to be as brief as possible, but I should like to reply shortly to some of the arguments addressed to us by the noble Earl who moved the Second Reading of the Bill. I am not sure that I shall cover the ground of all his objections, but I will deal with the most important. One objection which he took, and it is a common one, was that any system of universal military training and service, such as is advocated by the National Service League, would provide us with a much larger Army than we need for home defence, and would not provide what after all we most need, viz., the power of expansion for our Expeditionary Army in case of a serious war abroad. I think that is a fair statement of one of the noble Earl's arguments. But that is an argument which comes strangely from the noble Earl, representing as he does in this House a Secretary of State who has dwelt with emphasis over and over again and has defended his whole plan principally on the ground of the importance of having such a force in this country as would enable us greatly to expand our Army abroad in the event of any really serious danger to the Empire, That is the whole justification of the "Nation in Arms" for which the Secretary of State has made such eloquent appeals.

Let me say how this question strikes me. I consider that we are killing two birds with one stone. I do not believe that we are so safe in this country either from raids or from serious invasion as some noble Lords assume. I believe there is a great deal of the best military opinion on my side, and as long as there is any serious military opinion in favour of the possibility not only of a raid but of a really dangerous invasion, I for my part decline to have anything to do with running the fearful risk of being as unprepared to meet it as we are to-day. Against any serious invasion we require numbers such as the system we advocate alone would give. But there is a great deal more in it than that. The existence of a large body of really trained men in this country would give a freedom to our Regular Army which it does not at present possess, because a certain number under present circumstances will always be retained here. Most important of all, it would give to our Fleet a freedom of action which would at least double its effective usefulness in time of war. There is nothing more serious in our present state of Military unpreparedness at home than the cramping effect which it would have on the action of our Fleet. The first principle of naval strategy, whether we belong to the blue-water school or not, is that the Fleet should be free to go and seek out the enemy's Fleet and destroy it. Can any one who knows the state of public opinion in this country realise what the effect of the absence of the Fleet from these shores with an enemy possibly threatening them would be? Can anybody believe that the boldest Secretary of State would venture to send the Fleet where he ought to send it in case of war with any great Power, as long as we had not such an Army or at any rate such an armed force in this country as would put any danger of invasion out of the question? The existence of a trained nation here would in the first place give far greater effectiveness to our Regular Army, and it would also give far greater effectiveness to our Fleet.

But no doubt the greatest point of all is that, if we had here a trained nation, if we had what the Secretary of State has indicated, viz., a large reserve of men trained to arms, we should be able to send out in case of great emergency a large number of Volunteers who would be effective soldiers from the first moment they took part in the campaign. The risk which we run to-day, the weakness which afflicted us so greatly in the South African War, and the weakness which may destroy us in case of a great war, is that there is no amount of military training and knowledge on the part of the nation at all proportionate to the amount of bravery and patriotism which its citizens undoubtedly possess. The strongest of all arguments undoubtedly for the general military training of the people is the fact that it would put this nation into a position effectively to defend any portion of the Empire if it was convinced of the rightness of the war in which it was engaged. To-morrow you might be engaged in a struggle in which there were not, as there unfortunately were in the case of the South African War, differences of opinion among us—a struggle in which we were all convinced of the righteousness of our cause—a struggle upon which the very life of our Empire depended, and in which we might require 500,000 men. We have got the 500,000 men, but how many of them would be of any use in the field if they were to volunteer and go out? The two vital points of the whole discussion are our possible requirements and our actual capacities. The contention of those who are led by the noble and gallant Field Marshal is that it is the business of our statesmen to see that every potential military capacity of the country is developed in a shape in which it will be sufficient to deal with our possible requirements.

Then one word in conclusion as to the alleged moral superiority of the voluntary principle. We are told that a smaller number of men giving their services freely are better worth having than a larger number acting under compulsion. What I object to in the present system is the premium which it sets upon a man not doing his duty in the matter of personal service for the defence of his country. If we even held the balance fairly between those who undertake this duty and those who do not there would be something to be said for it, but the present system inevitably throws the whole weight of our habits and social arrangements against the men who are willing to undertake this duty and in favour of the men who shirk it, so that the whole weight of the system leans against the volunteer. But I for my part am totally unable to understand how it can be contended on the one hand, that the training of a man to fit himself to take part in the defence of the country and Empire is a duty, and, on the other hand, that it is an injury to the man to insist on his performing that duty. I cannot see the difference between this principle and the principle of taxation. You might just as well contend that, though it was the duty of a man to contribute with his purse to the defence of the country, yet it was unjustifiable to make that contribution a legal obligation upon him. The two things seem to me to rest upon absolutely the same basis of principle, and I am thoroughly convinced that if you are really going to attempt what I believe this Bill honestly desires to do, viz., to obtain a citizen Army of adequate dimensions, you will never be successful as long as you are not in a position to lay down some general rule with regard to it to which all citizens have to conform. On the very threshold of your efforts you are met by the objection of the employers. We are told that no doubt it would be better if these people trained for a fortnight or three weeks, but that while employers would be willing to let them go for a week they would not for a fortnight. The whole national attitude of mind which makes such an argument possible is wrong. If this is a thing which is for the good of the nation as a whole, the question of the convenience of employers cannot be allowed to stand in the way. Yet it will stand in the way, and these difficulties will for ever stand in the way, until you have laid down one general simple rule for every healthy-bodied man with regard to service in the Army, and then, in this country as in other more logical countries, these difficulties will give way before you.

*LORD LUCAS: My Lords, the general military policy of the Government has been, I think, more the subject of debate to-day than actually that part of its policy which finds expression in the Bill now before your Lordships' House, and it is only because I think that military policy is as easily defensible as it is that I venture to rise and address your Lordships to-night. There are a number of specific points that have been brought out in criticism of the Government. The first of these was the question of the reductions that have taken place in the Regular Army. These reductions were made as the result of, and only after, the carefully thought out policy of Army reform was decided upon. Those reductions are all a part, and are really a very important part, of the military system which is under reorganisation. After all, a battalion of Infantry is only an important and a valuable thing in so far as you are able to use it. If the organisation of your Army is such that for the want of other services you are unable to include that battalion of Infantry in your organised force, that battalion will be of less use to you than these subsidiary services, which, in the case in point, those infantry battalions are now to give place to. What has been the net result of these reductions? The result of these reductions is that, although you have a smaller number of valuable and efficient battalions, you are able, as a result of that, to mobilise a force which consists of six divisions instead of consisting of four divisions and that, it seems to me, is the justification of the policy of reduction; the net result of it is that you have been able to strengthen your Army instead of weakening it.

The question of the Reserve was brought up to-day by the noble Viscount, Lord Midleton. It has been the subject of controversy elsewhere, and particuticularly with regard to a Return that was laid on the Table by the Secretary of State for War on the state of our Reserve under the proposed reorganisation. I think this is an important point, because, although I must say that it was not the least included in the noble Lord's speech, there has been an insinuation that the Government, in order to hide the ravages which it is supposed to be making in the Regular Army, has issued something in the shape of a false Return. And therefore under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that (although, as I say, he did not in the least give any colour to that insinuation) the noble Lord threw the great weight of his authority upon that side, I think that perhaps an explanation of that Return may be of some value. The point which he took up was the fact that there were two Returns—one made in 1905, which estimated the reserve which you would get from 156 battalions of Infantry at 55,000 odd, and another Return issued the other day would get from 148 battalions at 63,000. which estimated the Reserve that you The reason of that it is very easy to explain. In the year 1897, at the time when the noble Marquess was contemplating bringing a certain number of three years' men into Infantry battalions, an estimate was ordered of the amount of reserve that would accrue, and the actuaries were instructed, for the purposes of that Return, to assume that 30 per cent. of the men who were joining would continue at the end of their seven years with the colours to serve the remaining five or twelve years' service with the colours, and on that basis the estimate was made. The estimate of 1905 was made on the same basis. What was the result of that? It means that out of every 100 men who join, at the end of seven years, if 20 per cent. of them extend—which is the normal percentage of extension—you will have eighty men in the Reserve, and if 30 per cent. extend you will have seventy in the Reserve. That means that on the basis of the 1905 Return you are estimating your Reserve at an eighth smaller than in the other case. The 1907 Return was calculated on the assumption of 20 per cent. of extensions, so that in the first place that shows that there was a different basis. If you reduce those two Returns to the same basis you must deduct one-eighth from the 1907 Return and you will make it 55,000. But outside that you have also to make allowance for the smaller number of recruits that would be wanted owing to the larger proportion who extend and remain with the colours. This would reduce it still lower—to about 52,000. That places the two Returns on the same basis. If you compare the number of 52,000 as the reserve for 135,000 men with 54,000 odd as the reserve for 145,000 men, it will show you that this estimate was not very far wrong. The fact that it is not in any way an over-estimate is shown by the Returns that have already been given. The Infantry effectives from January, 1884, to January, 1892, averaged 125,000 odd, and they produced an average reserve of 44,000. The present establishment of 135,000 would in the same proportion produce 48,000 men. This is Sections A and B of the Reserve only, and this estimate puts it at 45,000. I hope, my Lords, that that disposes of any idea that any new method had been used to produce this Return.

The noble Lord also criticised the proportion of Reservists which was not included in this Expeditionary Force. I think that that critisism has weight like any criticism that comes from the noble Lord, but I do not know if he attaches very much importance to having a large proportion of men serving with the colours being included in your Expeditionary Force. I do not know how he would have reconciled that with his proposal of the three years service, when inevitably you must have had a larger proportion of Reservists serving with the colours (as after all, you cannot get away from the fact that you enlist men at eighteen), than you would have under the longer period. And what is more, there is a great difference between the man who has been three years with the colours and the man who has served his seven or eight years with the colours, and that I think is a difference that people are sometimes inclined to forget when they are comparing the Army of this country with the armies of foreign countries who have the system of short service—that your men who have been seven or eight years in service with the battalion, and who only give five years to the Reserve, are (as you have heaps of testimony, which you will find all through the South African War Commissioners' Report) in every way some of the finest class of soldiers that we produce, and it was the opinion of those officers out there that battalions did not suffer in the least in efficiency by having a large proportion of Reservists.

But that question of the Reserves still leaves you face to face with the great question of drafts. You cannot, under your present system—under the exigencies of your peace system—provide for the drafts which are necessary to maintain your Army in war; and the question of drafts brings us to the vexed question of the Militia. I do not think that the question which has been touched upon, I think by the Duke of Bedford to-night, as to the actual details of the negotiations that went on between the War Office and the commanding officers of Militia——

LORD RAGLAN: I object to the expression "negotiations" altogether; there was no question of negotiations.

LORD LUCAS: I beg the noble Lord's pardon; I withdraw the word "negotiations" and may, perhaps, be allowed to substitute the word "interviews." After all, I think that the manner in which this change has been brought about is comparatively unimportant. What really is the great question is this—that you have at the present time, with your Militia and with your Regular Army, two separate forces which are both enlisting the same class of man—both dipping their hands into the same pool.

LORD RAGLAN: No.

*LORD LUCAS: The noble Lord says no; but in his speech he admitted that it was so.

*THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: I beg your pardon. There are two distinct classes of men in the Militia—the man who remains in the Militia, and the other who goes to the Army. You have two separate classes.

*LORD LUCAS: If that is so, and nobody has a greater knowledge of that than the noble Duke, all I can say is that the non-Army class in the Militia appears from the figures of the Militia to be an extremely small one. To a very great extent at any rate the two forces are recruiting the same kind of men. At present the Regular Army has the upper hand. The Regular Army gets its recruits, and the Militia has not been so lucky, and consequently the Militia establishment has fallen. What do the friends of the Militia advocate? They advocate practically removing the Militia from what has been called "the decimating influence of the Depot pressgang"—that is to say, to make the Militia an entirely separate force, thereby setting up two rival establishments. You have two forces separate one from the other, and it must inevitably be the case that where you have two forces existing side by side which are in any way rivals, you will have a sort of spirit of opposition growing up between them. Of this I take it there can be no doubt—there can be no question about it—that if you did allow the Militia to be a separate force managing their own recruiting and all the rest of it, undoubtedly they would get larger numbers than they get at the present time. But what would be the result? The result would be that the Regular Army must inevitably suffer. That is the reason why, after all, the Army has been forced—has been compelled—to use the Militia depots and the Militia recruits, and to try and get these men from the Militia, because they are dipping into the same pool, and the Army has to depend largely upon the class who go into the Militia for its own subsistence. And that is the real reason for organising in two lines; the first line must consist of the professional class of soldier—the man who goes into the Militia and who goes into the Regular Army—and the class of men who are able to give up the necessary time for Militia service—sometimes men who are in casual employment, and at other times men who are in employment of a kind which enables them to go and give up the necessary time for training. Those are the men who must be brought together. If you have any system but that—if you have the two forces both trying to draw on the same class of man—then you will inevitably have waste, friction, and inefficiency of one or the other force; and as after all the primary object of the whole of this reorganisation is to strengthen the first line of your forces, it is inevitable, if you are going to have efficiency, that you must so organise those forces as to give you the best results for producing, for mobilising, and for maintaining your Expeditionary Force in the field.

That, my Lords, is the reason why the contemplated change is taking place; that is the reason why these third battalions are being formed. These third battalions are to be primarily and essentially training battalions. I think in many ways they are far the most important feature of the scheme. They have been described as "bridges." I think that almost a better description of them is that these battalions will be the keystone of the arch, supporting upon one side of it the solidity of the Regular Army and upon the other side (with which I will deal in a few moments) the efficiency of the Territorial Army. They will have three separate functions. First of all, the training of the special contingent; they will be the training units of your special contingent, and according to the quality of the training you give those men so will their value in the field be. In the second place, they will form the depot nucleus, and will do the ordinary depot duties of looking after reservists, and they will do the recruiting and look after the clothing of recruits. In the third place, they will assist in training officers and non-commissioned officers for the Territorial Army. For those reasons they are, as I say, training units and are to be organised with a sole eye to training. They are to be local bodies scattered all through the country as training experts, with picked men, both as officers and non-commissioned officers, with the necessary apparatus and with everything they can have to enable them to become efficient trainers.

Then, my Lords, perhaps the most important question just at the present juncture is the method of transferment of the present Militia into these training units. In the first place there is the question of the officers. What is proposed is that you shall draw a sort of line, and divide the present existing Militia officers into two classes, and that division shall be made by age. Sir Edward Ward's Committee, as no doubt your Lordships will remember, recommended the employment of a special reserve of officers up to the age of thirty-five, and that is the age limit which the War Office now propose to set. With regard to the class of existing Militia officer who agrees to go into the special contingent, what he is invited to do is this: all junior officers up to the age of thirty-four, and of the rank of captain and over, are to be entitled to go into the Reserve under the terms of Sir Edward Ward's Committee's recommendation—that is to say, receiving a retaining fee of £20 a year—and they will rise automatically to the rank of captain after so many years' service; they will then pass into the reserve of officers who do not get the retaining fee—with the rank of honorary major—at the age of thirty-five. Then we come to the senior officers over thirty-five. Well, the War Office and the Government realise to the full the great services which have been done by commanding officers of Militia, and they do not want to treat them in any way that could be called at all cavalier, and therefore what they would ask these officers to do is this; that they shall practically continue to be Militia officers; they will not join this new class of special reserve officers who get their retaining fee of £20, but that they shall go into the old reserve of officers, that they shall join the battalion for duty whenever the battalion of the special contingent is embodied; that is to say, they will do their regular training with them; but the Army Council fully realise that the command of both the third and fourth battalions should be within the reach of those officers provided they are competent in all respects to command them. Therefore it is proposed that so long as these officers remain in the special contingent, it should be open to them when the time comes, and when the vacancies occur, to command those battalions just as they would have done if they had gone on in the Militia.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: Would the noble Lord tell us up to what age the men would be allowed to serve in those battalions?

*LORD LUCAS: I am afraid I cannot tell the noble Duke off-hand.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: Could the noble Lord say whether, when the present senior officers have passed away these commands will always be held by line officers?

*LORD LUCAS: After the present commanding officer has passed away there will, if they choose to go into it, be other officers of these Militia battalions, who are at present in the Militia battalions and if they are fit to command Militia battalions they will do so, and that will continue as long as any of these officers who are at present above the thirty-five-year-old line remain in the Militia. At the end of that time, in the case of the third battalions, which have to fulfil, as I say, primarily the function of training battalions, it is probable after the present generation, so to speak, of Militia officers has passed away, that they will be commanded by line officers.

LORD BATHURST: Can the noble Lord tell us at all what number of officers of the present Militia are over the age of thirty-five, and how many that will affect?

*LORD LUCAS: I will let the noble Lord know that, but I cannot answer the question offhand.

LORD BATHURST: That is a question that does not seem to have been gone into at all.

*LORD LUCAS: All these questions, I think, are known about. I have dealt entirely, up to this moment, with the third battalion. The officering of the fourth battalion will always be a different matter. It is not primarily a training unit in the same way that the third battalion is, and therefore it will not have the same staff of regular officers for instructional purposes that the third battalions will eventually have. The third battalions, as time goes on (and it can only be done gradually) will have posted to them more and more regular officers until you have an establishment of something like nine or ten. The fourth battalions will almost certainly have a much smaller establishment of regular officers than the third battalion will have.

*VISCOUNT HARDINGE: Might I ask the noble Lord if he can tell us where the fourth battalions will get their reserves from in time of war?

*LORD LUCAS: The fourth battalions will receive their reserves probably from the third battalions, and also it is quite conceivable that they may perhaps under exceptional circumstances be reinforced from elsewhere. Then as regards the men. The men will be enlisted, or will be invited to enlist, in the Special Contingent under Part III. of this Bill, and if they do so they will receive a bonus of £2 for transferring. The Army Council hopes, and it is their intention (and the reason why the Bill was framed in this way, and why you add a third battalion to every two line battalions was because that is the intention of the Army Council) as far as possible to allow a man, when he goes from the Special Contingent as a draft to the line regiments, to remain in his Territorial corps. That is distinctly the intention of the Army Council, and I know that Militia officers attach a great deal of importance to that. It is distinctly the intention of the Army Council that wherever it is possible that shall be done. Of course I know that it would be impossible to ask the Government to pin themselves to do that, because, as is well known, you may meet with circumstances in war where a battalion is absolutely cut up, and where you have got to produce practically an entirely new battalion to fill up the cadre. In exceptional cases (and, after all, fortunately those cases are exceptional) you may have to transfer a man outside his Territorial corps, and therefore it is not proposed in this Bill to put in any provision under which the men joining the Special Contigent shall only reinforce their own Territorial corps, though, as I say, it is the intention of the Army Council that it should be so wherever possible. But it is intended that existing Militiamen—and that perhaps is the point that will appeal most to commanding officers of Militia—existing Militiamen who transfer to the Special Contingent, shall have a promise given to them that they shall not be drafted under any circumstances outside their own Territorial corps unless by their own consent. That only applies to the existing Militiamen who choose to transfer, and does not apply to any man who may, after this Bill has passed, be recruited into the Special Contingent, although the intention is to do it wherever possible.

My Lords, there is the question of the Territorial Army, which I think has had extremely little consideration in to-day's debate. There you are dealing with an entirely different class of men from those with whom you have dealt in the first line as Regulars and as men of the Special Contingent, and it is at any rate in this country the first attempt—the first scientific attempt that has been made—I should think it is probably the first attempt under any voluntary system that has been made really to organise for the purposes of war, and to allot a definite place in the military system to men who admittedly in time of peace cannot give up sufficient of their time, as far as we know at present, to make themselves what is called efficient to meet trained troops in the field. But after all, inefficiency is a question of degree, and the value of the second line depends upon how near you can get it to that high-water mark of efficiency, and that to a very great extent will depend upon what use you make of the time those men can give you, and what kind of training you propose to give them. This is a question which has been absorbing the attention of the General Staff for a considerable time, and with the utmost pains they have been working out a scheme that shall enable them to get the greatest value from the time these men are able to give. And in doing so, I think, perhaps a new principle in the training of Auxiliary Forces is to be put into practice, which I will explain as shortly as I possibly can. It is this. Hitherto, in dealing with your Auxiliary Forces, you have attached to your Auxiliary units, in the shape of a Regular adjutant, an instructor whose business has been not only the administration, but also, to a very great extent—and in practice, to an enormous extent—the instruction of the troops. The adjutant turns up at parade, it is the adjutant's advice that is taken; the adjutant very often drills the men himself, and always the auxiliary officer, whether company officer, sergeant or whoever he is, defers and plays second fiddle to the adjutant. It is indeed only natural that it should be so. Now the General Staff feel that if you continue that system you will never really give to the officer or the non-commissioned officer that confidence in himself which is desirable. What is really proposed to be done is this—that everything shall be done which can possibly give to the officers and the non-commissioned officers a thorough grounding and training in the work that they have to do, and that then, having been grounded and well trained in that work, they shall go back and command their own men. After all, the thing that makes a man a good commander is to have confidence in himself, and the thing that gives him confidence in himself is the knowledge that he is master of the thing he is instructing his men in, and that is where these training units are going to come in with regard to the Territorial Army. They will supply instruction in every way possible for officers and non-commissioned officers of the Territorial Army. Under their auspices will be held schools of instruction in such things as musketry, gunnery, and signalling. Courses will be held in tactics, reconnaissance, sketching, and a dozen other kindred subjects. You will also have in the Territorial Army, which you have not had before, the divisional and brigade staffs, who will be able to give instruction in such things as staff rides. It is proposed by those means to give that scientific instruction which is so desirable, and if necessary those training units will go on detachment in order to bring the instruction really to the men's doors. One knows how unworkable it is that you should have these schools of instruction a long way away, where neither the officers nor the non-commissioned officers have time to attend them; but if you bring them to the men's doors, then they can take advantage of them, and having learned their subject, they will go back, and it is the theory of the General Staff that, having been given the necessary grounding, they will then be able to teach themselves how to act and to train their men at the same time, and that in that way you will be able to get a really sound foundation for the training on mobilisation when it comes. As to the training on mobilisation, that is a thing as to which you are

Lord Lucas.

not taking any more powers in this Bill than you had before. You are only to be able to mobilise all the Auxiliary Forces, in case of a great emergency, just as you can do now, and as to its being a bugbear, as it is sometimes described as being, and a thing that is going to keep men out of the Territorial Army, I think when you come to consider that in the whole of the last century the Territorial Army would probably have been mobilised at the outside three times, in the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the century (I admit that that is a rather large Number One) possibly in the Crimea, and finally in the South African War. That is to say, once in a generation. Well, I do not think any patriotic man—and the men who compose these forces are patriotic—would fear a contingency so remote as that. In conclusion I have to apologise for taking up so much of your Lordships' time.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, I am sure every one of your Lordships will welcome the noble Lord opposite upon his advent to this House. His arrival here has been a matter of considerable and dramatic interest, and I am sure that we are all very glad that he has followed up that dramatic incident in so excellent a speech as he has just made to the House. He showed a very great knowledge of his subject, and I am sure we all hope that we shall often hear him address us upon this and similar subjects, and I hope further, my Lords, that we may look for a similar knowledge of his subject in the official representative of the War Office when we get into Committee and come to discuss this Bill clause by clause.

We are still in a difficulty, my Lords. We were in a greater difficulty before the speech of the noble Lord (Lord Lucas) as regards the discussing of this Bill, because we really have had very little power of understanding what it really intends to do. A few Papers dealing with it have been presented to Parliament—not very many—I do not think nearly anything like as many as have been asked for. But most of those Papers can now be torn up, because they were presented to Parliament before the recent rearrangement or reconstitution of the intentions of His Majesty's Government with regard to the Militia, and therefore very few of them are worth the paper they are printed on. Secondly, we are at a disadvantage because we realise that, unlike many Bills that come up to your Lordships' House, this Bill has been most inadequately debated in another place. I have seen it stated that only nine clauses out of the thirty-eight in the Bill have been discussed at all. I do not suppose that my request will be carried out, but it would be of great interest to us all, I think, if the noble Earl could arrange for a copy of the Bill to be printed, showing in one coloured ink how much of it was discussed, and, in another coloured ink, how much was not discussed, and had not even one word mentioned with respect to it in another place. It would assist us considerably in the many questions we are going to ask when this Bill goes into Committee.

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: Perhaps the noble Lord will suggest how that may be done.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: It is easy enough to print in different coloured inks.

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: That is easy enough, but not the other part.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I could easily do the whole thing, but I am not going to print it at my own expense. Now, my Lords, the hour is late, and for that reason, if not for the other reason—that we are here to get information more than to get a Second Reading debate—I am going to confine myself more to asking questions, if I may do so, than to following the speeches which have come from this side of the House criticising the Bill—speeches with many of which I cordially agree.

This Bill of course is of a highly technical nature; it comes to us, we understand, with the unanimous approval of the Army Council as well as of the Cabinet behind it, and therefore it is quite certain—it has been certain from the first—that it should receive sympathetic treatment from your Lordships, and I naturally assume that it will eventually pass into law. I sincerely hope that it will so treat it, and that it will be given a thorough trial and a thorough chance when it is passed into law—because, my Lords, I do believe that it is one of the last bulwarks against any form of compulsory military service, or, as I venture to call it, against any form of conscription. Mr. Haldane has told us most frankly from the first that he regards conscription as out of the question; and the noble Earl the Under-Secretary followed him in that line this evening. I am extremely glad to hear it. It cannot, to my mind, be too often repeated, and I am more particularly glad to hear, when I take it in connection with what we have been told, that the Army Council are behind the Secretary of State in promoting this Bill. I was reading this morning the evidence given by one of the military members of the Army Council before the Royal Commission, which was presided over by the noble Earl opposite (Lord Elgin). He was extremely emphatic in another direction from that to which the Army Council turns at present; he stated—

> "Personally, I should be in favour of compulsory militia service."

And four questions later on he said—

> "That would make them liable to go abroad in time of war, as every other foreign nation does."

I am glad to understand, or to believe, that that distinguished general has repudiated that opinion, which was given four years ago. He must have repudiated it, if he supports this Bill; and I hope that his repudiation is likely to be a final one. The noble Viscount upon the cross benches (Lord Milner), who spoke so keenly as an opponent of the voluntary system in this country, discussed a subject which has been very often debated in this House; and I am not going to follow him in detail through all his arguments. I would only like to point out one thing: the noble Viscount gave us to understand that one of his strongest objections to any voluntary system lies in the fact that we can never hope to get the numbers that we require for it. And I confess that I should have liked to have heard very much what number it is that he considers necessary. He mentioned later in his speech the number 500,000; but I did not gather for certain whether he intends that to represent the number we should raise by compulsory service, or not. It is interesting to think of how many troops at this minute—troops of every possible kind—we have that can be called upon in various parts of the world to serve under the British flag. I have a list of them here; I am not going through them in detail, but the list gives the numbers of the Regular Army, the Auxiliary Forces, the Navy, the Naval Reserve and the Colonial and Indian Forces; and the total comes to 1,200,000 men. Well, that number, so far as number is concerned, seems to me amply adequate for anything we could possibly require. But I think the real problem before us is not so much to get the men, as to train them when we have got them; and I think that compulsory service is going to help us very little towards that desirable end.

*EARL ROBERTS: I do not think the words "compulsory service" have been used by me this evening.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I beg the noble Lord's pardon—I was not referring to him, but to a remark made by Lord Milner. Now, I want for one moment to express regret for the fact that in moving the Second Reading of this Bill the noble Earl (Earl Portsmouth) did not go more into detail as to why it is necessary at all. Why has it been necessary to place this long Bill upon the Table of the House? The noble Lord (Lord Lucas) in the course of his remarks claimed that the power the Government are taking to mobilise the Auxiliary Forces in certain conditions was no more than a power that the Government already have. Then why is it necessary to have a Bill to give them this power? As far as I can judge, speaking very generally, there are only two things that have made it necessary for them to bring in this Bill. The first is, that they are going to take the Militia and put them under the Army Act, and they are going to make them liable to serve abroad. That undoubtedly requires legislative action; it requires legislative action such as the noble Earl opposite, as he knows, voted against not very long ago. Secondly, undoubtedly they need legislation in addition to set up these County Associations and to give them certain powers under the law. But putting aside those two things, I do not think there is very much need for legislation; and, therefore, why not have, as they might have had, if the Government had really given their minds to it, a very much more simple Bill? I do not complain—I merely mention this in passing—but I want to pass on to what this Bill does incidentally; because, as the noble Lord (Lord Lucas) pointed out to us, this debate is spread over the whole of the British Army organisation; and it is necessary that it should do so, because there are so many points in our organisation that this Bill touches indirectly, as well as those which it touches directly.

Now, we are to have, as has been often said this evening, this new Territorial Army. To put it in perfectly straightforward language, the Yeomanry and Volunteers are to be called in future the Territorial Army. It is a change of name and a change of very little else. We all understand the reasons. There is nothing the War Office likes better than a change of name, that is always their great idea in carrying out any great reform. We had an Army Order on 1st January this year, which came out with a tremendous flourish of trumpets; it organised the Army at Home into six divisions—in other words, it organised the troops in England, Ireland, and Scotland under a new name as regards their local headquarters. There was not a man added; there was not, as far as I know, a man moved from one place to another in order to fit into the new organisation; it was simply a change of name, and nothing else. In the same way, we are going to have a Territorial Army where hitherto we have had the Yeomanry and the Volunteers. In the first place, I regret extremely that the Yeomanry have been touched at all, and I do not see that there was any necessity to touch them. They are a contented force, contented in absolutely everything, I believe, except the fact that they are not allowed to drink whiskey in their canteens, which was not a matter, at all events, that required legislation to put right; and they are thoroughly efficient, as my noble friend Lord Midleton pointed out, though naturally enough he did not go on to point out why it is they are so efficient. That omission on my noble friend's part is easily understood when we remember the part he himself took in bringing about that efficiency. Now, they have been threatened with all sorts of terrible things. They were to have had their pay reduced. We remember that when Mr. Haldane made his original announcement it seemed to imply that they were only to be paid 5s. a day for a short time, and that he called the Yeomanry "a costly experiment," an experiment, by the way, which has only lasted 100 years! But although they were originally threatened with a reduction of pay, we are glad to think that they have now received a three years' respite. I most sincerely hope that that three years will be prolonged indefinitely; because, unless the Government are prepared to show us that they have something very much better to give us in their stead, it is surely only true caution, in this particular case, to leave well alone.

I want, very briefly, to touch on two points that are proposed, I believe, with regard to the Imperial Yeomanry; and the first is, that I regret extremely that this idea of a special service section has been revived. I have always believed that the idea of a special service section, or of a special service company, in any part of the Auxiliary Forces was about the most mischievous thing that you could introduce into it; because, after all, it does mean that the best men in the regiment come into that regiment for a time, and then are taken away from the regiment at the time when they are most particularly wanted. I know it was a very favourite thing to propose from the military side of the War Office that we should have these special service sections in the Auxiliary Forces; and I regret extremely that that old idea has been revived upon this occasion. Secondly, I feel bound to point out that in future the corps troops in an expeditionary force are to be selected, so far as the cavalry are concerned, from the Imperial Yeomanry; they are to be provided as I understand, from these special service sections. I have no objection, of course, *per se* to the Yeomanry carrying out this duty; but I do think it is a lamentable thing that these special service sections are to be taken into the corps troops when they go to war—that is to say, sent to serve in war with other troops with whom they will not have served in time of peace. It seems to me that this is opposed to the whole essence of any organisation for war, which is recognised after all by the Secretary of State in his desire to organise the Territorial Army into brigades, divisions, and such like in all arms of the service; it seems to me to be a complete negation of that excellent rule that you should use these special service sections in the way which I have described.

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: Is the noble Lord criticising the use of them as divisional cavalry?

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I have no objection to their being used as divisional cavalry if they have been trained as divisional cavalry in time of peace with the people with whom they are going to work in time of war; but I understand there is no such proposal. The proposal is that they shall be earmarked as Yeomanry Special Service Section; and that in time of war they shall be added to the corps troops.

I pass from the Imperial Yeomanry, and come for a moment to the Territorial Army. They are to be put under these new County Associations; and the first point which strikes me with reference to this is that the responsibility of the commanding officer is to be very considerably diminished. He, obviously, is the person who, up to now, has had all the management, as far as the Volunteers are concerned, of his regiment—all the administration of the regiment has been under his thumb, but this is to be taken away from him, and handed over to the County Association; that is to say, I presume, it will have to be carried out by him under the orders of the County Association. Who are the County Association to be? A majority of the County Association are to be military officers, but not necessarily colonels of regiments. The Army Council will select any military officers they like in the command, and turn them into the County Association. Clause 1 (3), Subsection (*d*) says—

> "For the appointment of such number of officers representative of all arms and branches of the Territorial Force raised under this Act within the county (not being less than one-half of the whole number of the association), as may be specified in the scheme."

Well, my Lords, is it the intention of the Government that those should ever be junior officers? Will a major who happens to be a cousin of the Secretary of State for War be put on the County Association, and thus be in a position to criticise his own commanding officer in the regiment which happens to be under that County Association? I do not believe it is the intention of the Government that anything of that kind shall happen; but looking at the extremely loose way in which this clause is drafted, that is a thing which it is perfectly possible may happen. And I hesitate to think of what might happen. I can think of one or two particular instances where something of this kind might be carried out, and the trouble would be absolutely endless if it was carried out as the Bill takes power to carry it out. So much for that point. The serious part of it, I am afraid, is that the responsibility of the commanding officer is to be very seriously diminished in matters of administration. Then the Territorial Army is threatened with all sorts of pains and penalties; there is the familiar £5 fine if they serve less than four years and do not do six months training when war breaks out, which, obviously, will be a serious deterrent to many men enlisting. However, we have hopes that possibly these things may not be very strictly insisted upon. And one of course gives credit to the Government at once for the very excellent change they have made in relieving the commanding officer of his financial responsibility, because I have always felt not only that this was a serious detriment to him, but that it was a serious wrong that such a liability should be put upon him.

But, my Lords, personally I doubt very much whether, even with all that the

Government are going to do they are doing enough. I confess I have severe qualms as to whether what they propose is going to improve the Volunteers sufficiently, as compared with what they are at present, to make them (always aiming as I believe we should aim, towards that one goal) as fit as we possibly can to meet the best foreign troops. But there is one point to which I have already alluded, on which I will say a word. The suggestion that they should be organised into divisions of all arms I think worthy of your Lordships' most cordial support, and I hope it will be pressed on as rapidly as it possibly can be. But the pressing on of this scheme makes one thing necessary. It makes it necessary that the Artillery should be organised for the Territorial Army, and I understand it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to organise what I will call, for the sake of brevity, Volunteer Field Artillery, as it is necessary for them to be able to provide 1,000 guns at least for the Territorial Army. This of course will be a pure experiment. It is an experiment that we shall all watch with very great interest, and I only hope that the respite that we understand has been given to reductions in the Regular Field Artillery will remain until we are assured that this experiment in the Volunteer Field Artillery is a complete success.

I do not wish to go in detail into the proposals of His Majesty's Government with regard to the Militia. They have already been referred to considerably in the course of the debate, and I do not think I could add very much to what has been said. They are, as we know, to be organised into the third and fourth battalions, of which we have heard so much; they are to be brought under the Army Act, and under the Army Votes; a certain number of Regular officers are to be added to them. At first sight the addition of Regular officers to Militia regiments must inevitably tend to increase their efficiency. I only hope I did not quite understand what my noble friend Lord Lucas was saying about the position of the Militia officer in future in these battalions—whether he would be allowed to get right up to the top and eventually to take command. The noble Lord was being subjected to a fire of cross-examination at the moment, and I perhaps—not he—rather lost the thread of his statement. But I should like to say that I sincerely hope that the door will never to closed to an efficient Militia officer getting command of his own regiment. It seems to me absolutely necessary, when you add regular officers to a regiment, to keep the three or four highest official positions in the regiment entirely in their preserve. I see no objection to a Militia officer having much more work than he has now. I feel sure you will always get a better class of man if you always leave that door open to his progress.

The Government also intend, as we know, to amalgamate certain battalions of the Militia, and I am very anxious to know whether that is possible without some legislative power enabling them to do it. The question was often discussed when I was at the War Office, and we always understood that the authority of Parliament would be necessary before any county regiments, or regiments representing half a county, could be amalgamated. There is nothing in the Bill, I believe, to make such amalgamation possible—doubtless owing to the fact that such amalgamation is only part of the scheme recently decided upon. But I should like the noble Earl to look into the matter with a view to seeing whether some Amendment will not be necessary in order to give the power which he requires. I hope care will be taken to see that these amalgamations are carried out with discretion. I believe no Papers have been laid before Parliament definitely showing what regiments are to be amalgamated; but a rumour has been going about—I do not know whether secrets have been leaking out or not, but I have a letter from the North of Ireland full of the most anxious fears as to what are believed to be the intentions of the War Office with regard to amalgamation. It is a letter sent to me by an officer of one of the Militia regiments, and if the rumours of which he speaks are true, well so much the worse. If they are not true, they may be taken as an example of what might happen unless great care is taken, and therefore that must be my excuse for mentioning the matter to your Lordships. The regiment in question is the Royal Irish Rifles, and the rumour which is current is that the third battalion is to be amalgamated with the fourth battalion, and the fifth with the sixth battalion. Of course, that is the natural thing that would strike any person who did not know anything about the local circumstances—to amalgamate the third and fourth, and the fifth and sixth battalions. Well, if noble Lords opposite amalgamate the fifth and sixth battalions of the Royal Irish Rifles, they will be amalgamating two things between which there is really no sort of possible connection. The 6th battalion —the Louths—are a most distinguished regiment—a very old Militia regiment —and they are Roman Catholic to a man. The South Downs, on the other hand, are a Protestant regiment, and I think I am perfectly safe in saying that no Roman Catholic recruit has ever been taken into the South Downs. Now if those two regiments are to be amalgamated in a part of these islands where religious feeling sometimes—though by no means always—reaches a heat which is almost inconceivable in modern days, I hesitate to think what will happen to the noble Earl opposite the next time he goes to the North of Ireland for a holiday, or for some other purpose. And, my Lords, I do suggest that this is an example of what might happen when the obvious thing is done to provide amalgamation without proper knowledge of the local circumstances. We do know from a statement of Mr. Haldane's as to the Phœnix regiments what is in contemplation, and I would suggest to him quite seriously that none of these amalgamations should take place until some local inquiry has been held into the circumstances of each case.

The next outstanding feature of the future treatment of the Militia is that the men are to be enlisted for six months, and do fifteen days training. I prefer to adopt the phrase of the noble Field Marshal, Lord Roberts, and call it a short service machine. It is a change of name, and I make the noble Earl a present of the fact that I have taken advantage of a change of name in the same way that I have accused the War Office of being so fond of doing. It is a short service machine, and I cordially welcome it, and sincerely hope it will be a success, as it will be if the Government put their shoulders to the wheel and spare no time in endeavouring to make it the success we all should like it to be. I must say the Government are rather light-hearted in the way they try to make us believe that these changes are not going to result in a very considerable increase of the Army Estimates. What is the position? The Militia are to be organised into twenty-seven regiments of 800 strong—that is, 21,600 men—and seventy-four regiments of 500 strong, or 37,000 men, a total of 58,000 men. Well, at present our Militia number about 90,000; therefore your Lordships will see that the Militia are to be reduced by about one-third in numbers. At present Militia recruits number about 30,000 a year. Of those, about 12,000 go on to the line. Therefore we may say about 18,000 pure Militiamen have to be taken every year to keep the Militia up to the strength of 90,000. It has slightly declined of late, but we may take the figure as being fairly constant at 90,000. Twelve thousand from the Militia, and 12,000 going from the Militia into the line leaves a total of 24,000 men to be trained for six months in each year—that is to say, you will have an average of 12,000 men always in barracks plus your officers and so on, which we may put at 5,000. If you are to have these in addition to what you have now, you have got, to begin with, to provide housing for an additional 17,000 men every year. Are those going to cast nothing extra upon the Army Estimates? Obviously there must be a very considerable increase in the Army Estimates. Speaking roughly, it was generally assumed at the War Office as a rule of thumb—not as a close estimate—that it cost £200,000 to house 1,000 men. Some 17,000 men have to be housed under this scheme, which, if I understand it correctly, the Government are putting forward, which means a very considerable increase to provide barracks, which will be wanted at once to carry out the scheme in its entirety. That is only one item which it seems to me will gradually increase the cost of things as compared with what it is at present. There are other items, such as ranges and training grounds, which will be required, and I think it is only fair that His Majesty's Government before we get into Committee should give us a detailed estimate to show how Mr. Haldane came to the conclusion, on the Report Stage in another place, that practically no difference would be made in the Estimates by the very considerable change that is to be made. But if it does cost extra money, one is tempted to ask where is this money to come from? I sincerely hope it is not to come from further reductions of the Regular Army. What, after all, is the position? Is it not perfectly obvious that very soon, at any rate (I shall be very glad to be corrected by the Secretary of State if I am wrong) within a year or two, troops will be coming back from South Africa? We are not going to keep British troops in South Africa for ever doing police work. As troops come home from South Africa, what is going to be done? They will upset the balance you have re-established of feeding battalions at home with battalions abroad—linked battalions. The obvious temptation of the Government will be to unlink them and to abolish them, thus saving money in order to provide money for the Territorial Army. That is the Government's favourite way of doing things. They have already reduced the Regular Army in order to provide money for the Auxiliary Forces. I sincerely hope it is not the intention of the Government to carry that a step further, and in case extra money is found necessary for the Territorial Army to provide it by further reductions in the line regiments and in other portions of the Regular Army.

The Special Contingent has already been dealt with this evening, and I do not wish to say much upon that point. I was very much struck by one proposal of His Majesty's Government—a proposal which I understand still holds the field—that in future recruits enlisted for the Regular Army should go straight from the battalion at home, and not go through the depot at all. That was the position, I understood. I sincerely hope that the proposed changes will not do away with that excellent position. I always regard the time spent by the recruit in a line depot as being absolutely wasted. He was not at all under the care of the officers with whom he would eventually serve. We know that he did three months with them at his line depot, finishing with fairly advanced drill, but when he got to his battalion he at once dropped back to the equivalent of goose-step and was practically treated as if he had not done a course of anything at the depot at all. I understand that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to do away with that, and that in future recruits will go straight to the home battalion, and go through all their training in the home battalion until they are sent abroad. I most sincerely hope that that position will be maintained. Personally, I would prefer to see a great depot such as Caterham or Walmer, but apart from that, I sincerely hope that no change will be made in the present proposals of His Majesty's Government in this matter, because they can have nothing but an excellent effect.

Now, my Lords, the hour is getting late, and I only want very briefly to recapitulate three only of the points which it seems to me were confronting His Majesty's Government when they undertook the proposals which culminated in this Bill, and to see how far they meet them. It seems to me that they had three problems before them. They had to carry out the recommendation of Lord Elgin's Commission; they had to provide us with an expansive power machine; they had to provide us with officers and non-commissioned officers in order to realise the possibility of expansive power; and they had to provide us with a striking force. What are they doing to meet those three necessities? They are slightly increasing Section A, but they are not really giving us a striking force, though I confess they are altering the position from what it is at present. They are going to give us some extra officers if the Report of Sir Edward Ward's Committee is found to be practicable, and if it is carried out, although I am obliged to say, as a *caveat*, that they are concentrating their attention at present more upon giving us a quantity of officers, and providing facilities for training them properly, than upon giving us quality. Then as to expansive powers, about 50,000 of the present Militia are to be made available for reinforcing the line in time of war. But as my noble friend Lord Midleton said, if this expansive power has been provided, it is almost nullified by the reductions His Majesty's Government have made. They have knocked off eight battalions of the line—battalions which I claim to have showed your Lordships were efficient. They were not reduced from military necessity; they were reduced because of political pressure. And the same with the Guards. One battalion of the Guards has been reduced; another has been sent to Egypt, condemned to die. The Secretary of State has told us of his unalterable intention of destroying it, although the General who said "Good-bye" to them on the occasion of their last parade in England told them that if they behaved themselves properly, they might be reprieved. But it is interesting with regard to the line battalions to notice a picturesque little incident that happened in Ireland last year with regard to the fourth battalion of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, which was one of the regiments condemned last year, and which I presume has been depleted, if not disbanded by now. At the All Ireland Rifle Meeting this battalion of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment obtained seven out of ten of the trophies that were offered for competition in shooting, and I see that Lord Grenfell, the Commander-in-Chief, said that it was his intention to send a special report to the Army Council as regards the efficiency in shooting of this particular battalion, which they had condemned. I presume that that Report was received by the Army Council, and I hope that they liked it when they got it. The Secretary of State told us on the First Reading of this Bill that he had been cutting down all things that were merely for show, and not useful for war, and that remark, I think, was an interesting comment on the loss that the Army has sustained of ten efficient battalions. Secondly, the Secretary of State, as my noble friend said, has reduced the strength of battalions at home. He has, thirdly, reduced the Royal Garrison Artillery by 3,400 men, and he has announced his intention of reducing the Horse and Field Artillery, though I believe up to the present there has not been any very great reduction. I notice that last October the Field Artillery was 18,000 men strong. I believe they are as a matter of fact a little less than that at present, though I should be glad to receive the exact figure. I believe they have probably by the efflux of three years men reduced this by about 800 since that date. I have been told that that figure has been given in the House of Commons. I have not been able to find it this evening, and I should be glad to know whether it is correct or not.

Such, then, is the position. The Government have provided expansive power by turning these Militiamen into 50,000 Reserve men, but they have very nearly nullified all that they are doing by the reductions of which I have spoken. We must remember—we cannot forget—the fact that the Government all along have had two ideals. We have on the one hand Mr. Haldane's ideal, and the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty's ideal, of increasing the power of the fighting forces. But we have also the Prime Minister's ideal—that ideal which he expressed when he rushed into print and wrote to one of the Saturday weekly papers—the ideal that we should convince a number of foreign diplomatists who are now sitting at The Hague that we are making reductions in our fighting forces with the object of encouraging them to do the same. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's words are extraordinarily explicit. He said—

> "We have already given an earnest of our sincerity by the considerable reductions that we have effected in our naval and military expenditure, as well as by the undertaking that we are prepared to give if we find that there is similar disposition in other quarters."

You cannot have it both ways. You cannot say at one and the same time that you are increasing the efficiency of your fighting forces and also that you are ready to weaken yourself if other people will do the same, and that you have proved your readiness to weaken yourself. An attempt has been made to bluff somebody, and I want to know who it is. Are the Government trying to bluff the extremely astute diplomatists who are now sitting at The Hague, or are they trying to bluff your Lordships' House? Because the two positions taken up are absolutely irreconcileable, and I will conclude by expressing a sincere hope that it is not your Lordships, and the nation behind your Lordships, who are going to be bluffed, but that the scheme which has been announced is going to be carried out in its entirety and as thoroughly as it possibly can be done, because if it is not, the result of what has been done by the Government during the last eighteen months cannot fail to be most seriously prejudiced.

Further debate adjourned till To-morrow.

DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS AND PESTS BILL [H.L.]

Order of the Day for considering the Commons Amendments read.

EARL CARRINGTON: I have to propose one Amendment, which is simply a verbal one, for the purpose of including Ireland in the Bill as well as the other parts of the United Kingdom. I hope your Lordships will agree to this simple verbal Amendment, and I move that the Commons Amendments be agreed to.

Commons Amendments considered and agreed to.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

The Lord Brassey discharged from serving on the Select Committee, and The Lord Stanley of Alderley added to the Committee in his place.

House adjourned at five minutes before Twelve o'clock, till To-morrow at a quarter-past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 25th June, 1907.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Sutton Coldfield Rectory Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (Surrey, etc.) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolution reported from the Select Committee. "That, in the case of the Renfrewshire Upper District (Eastwood and Mearns) Water Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 128 in the case of the Petition of the 'Calico Printers' Association,' the said Standing Order ought to be dispensed with."

Resolution agreed to.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP H.)

Sir JOSEPH LEESE reported from the Committee on Group H of Private Bills; That, at the meeting of the Committee this day, notice was received from Sir Walter Nugent, one of the Members of the said Committee, stating that he was unable, on account of an urgent public engagement, to attend the Committee this day.

Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petition from Oldbury, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

WEEKLY REST DAY BILL.

Petition from Burton-on-Trent and other places, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SPAIN (No. 1, 1907.)

Copy presented, of Notes exchanged with the Spanish Government respecting the Maintenance of the Territorial "Status Quo" in the Mediterranean and the East Atlantic Ocean, 16th May, 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES.)

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Report, Annual Series, No. 3839 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Newport (Mon.), and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain Shops within the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES.)

Copy presented, of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to remissions and punishments [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 217.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1859.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 17th June, 1907, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Permanent Secretary to the Welsh Department of the Board of Education, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired in the Public Service are required [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).

Copies presented, of Reports Nos. 524 (Jamaica, Report for 1905–6) and 525 (Uganda Protectorate, Report for 1905–6) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN ACT, 1903 (BY-LAWS).

Address for "Return of Local Authorities which have made By-laws under the Employment of Children Act, 1903, distinguishing those which have made By-laws prohibiting street-trading by girls under sixteen years of age."—(*Mr. Tennant.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Paper Transfer of Postmen.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that in a number of post offices there has been a paper transfer of postmen from head to sub-offices, no difference being made in duties, the only alteration being that the men now receive their wages at the sub-office instead of at the head office; and whether he will state if, in the event of the pay at the head office being raised and the pay at the sub-office remaining stationary, this paper transfer will deprive the men of the benefits they would have received otherwise.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I am not aware of any transfers of the kind described by the hon. Member, but if he will furnish me with particulars I will have inquiry made and will communicate with him further.

Jury Service.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that in certain cases in North London individuals have been summoned annually to serve on juries; and whether he can see his way to take any action, by legislation or otherwise, which would lead to the fairer distribution of this duty amongst different classes and localities.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I have no knowledge of the particular cases to which my hon. friend refers, but, as I informed him on the 6th March last in answer to a Question on the same subject, the large number of jurors who have to be summoned annually in London makes it impossible altogether to prevent the contingency that the same person may be summoned twice within a short period. I do not see my way at present to propose any legislation on the subject.

Regulations Governing Exhumation of Bodies.

MR. REES: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether exhumation of a body may under any circumstances be effected without a certificate from himself or from the coroner of the locality concerned.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) If my hon. friend has in mind any particular case of the exhumation of a dead body, I should prefer to have the facts for consideration. The general question is a wide and difficult one.

Working of the Uganda Forests.

SIR C. HILL (Shrewsbury): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the opinion expressed in Cd. 3561 by the Government inspector as to the value of the forests of Kenia, it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to undertake the construction of a railway connecting the forests with the Uganda Railway; if not, whether they will entertain tenders for such construction by private individuals or companies; and whether it is their intention to work the forests as a Government undertaking or to let them out to contractors.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) I regret that I am unable at present to make any statement with regard to the matters raised in the first two parts of the hon. Member's Question. With regard to the last part of the Question, the proposal which is now under consideration is to work the forests as a Government undertaking, but to preserve them as Government forests and to let out the right of felling timber in them to private individuals.

Maundy Money.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state for the last available period the number and value of each of the coins issued by the Mint for Maundy purposes, the total amount realised by the sale or distribution of these coins, the net loss in connection with the issue of this money, and whether such loss is met by payments out of the Consolidated Fund.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The issues of Maundy coin in 1906 were:—

	£	s.	d.
8,602 fourpences -	143	7	4
8,482 threepences -	106	0	6
9,376 twopences -	78	2	8
10,926 pence - -	45	10	6
Total -	373	1	0

There is no loss on the issue of Maundy money, as payment of this coin is made to the Mint, and the profit resulting is in the same ratio as that on the other silver coinage.

Alterations in Civil Service Examinations.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that the new scheme of examination for the Exchequer and Audit Department has been framed after conference with headmasters representing various types of higher grade schools, he will state what headmasters, other than those of public schools, took part in this conference; and what schools other than public schools have been favoured with special centres for this examination.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) I am informed by the Civil Service Commissioners that, in the course of their deliberations leading up to the change in the scheme of examination for junior appointments in the Admiralty and the Ordnance Factories, second class assistant accountantships in the Army Accounts Department, and examinerships in the Exchequer and Audit Department, they consulted among other persons the headmasters of eighteen schools. A considerable number of these schools rank as grammar schools, but all are public schools in the sense that they are not conducted for private profit. Among them are four of the great London public day schools. The two secretaries of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters were consulted as conversant with the conditions of a large number of smaller public schools whose heads could not be individually asked for their views. Under the old conditions this examination was held together with the competitive examination for Sandhurst and Woolwich, and the schools which were centres for the Army examination were utilised for the convenience of candidates, not for the convenience of the schools. Under the new conditions this will not be possible, and it is not proposed at present to hold examinations elsewhere than in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin.

Treasury Rules affecting Irish Land Purchase Finance.

MR. GINNELL (Westmeath, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if the promised Amendments of Treasury Rules affecting Irish land purchase finance are now complete; will he give the text of the amended rules; and will he point out the parts of the amended rules, if any, which he expects to prevent or check exhorbitancy of price or bonus.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) The Amendments are not yet drafted; but, as I stated in answer to a Question by the hon. Member on the 8th May, they will not deal with the matters referred to in the last paragraph of the present Question.

Reserve of Heavy Guns.

MR. NEILD (Middlesex, Ealing): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the question of an adequate reserve of heavy guns has been reconsidered in the light of the experience gained in the Russo-Japanese war; and, if so, whether any, and what, change has been or will be made in the reserve hitherto maintained of one gun in reserve for every four afloat.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, it is not considered desirable in the public interest that information regarding reserves of guns should be given.

Postal Servants—The Efficiency Bar.

MR. STEADMAN (Finsbury, Central): To ask the Postmaster-General what penalties are inflicted in the case of officers who fail to pass the efficiency bar on first or further trials, but subsequently are able to qualify; whether such penalties are regarded as punishment; and whether the rules which apply in these cases are general to the service.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) When an officer fails to pass the efficiency bar his pay does not rise above it until he attains the required qualifications. Thereafter, if his conduct and work continue satisfactory, his pay rises by annual increments until it reaches the maximum of the scale. If an officer cannot pass the efficiency bar his services are not considered to be worth more than the amount at which the bar is fixed, and he does not receive more. There is no question of punishment. All rules relating to the efficiency bar are of uniform application.

Grants to University Colleges—Report of Treasury Committee.

SIR W. J. COLLINS (St. Pancras, W.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer when the Report of the Permanent Advisory Committee of the Treasury on grants to University Colleges, together with the decisions of the Treasury thereon, will be published.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) I hope to be able to lay the Report on the Table in the course of a few days.

Lord Tweedmouth and Meux and Company.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): To ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware of the number of shares held by Lord Tweedmouth in Meux and Company; and whether he made any declaration of his holding on taking office.

(*Answered by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*) I am not aware of the number of shares held by Lord Tweedmouth, and it was unnecessary for him to make any declaration on taking office.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Dockyard Employees and the Workmen's Compensation Act.

MR. BRAMSDON (Portsmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state whether a new or amended scheme will be submitted for adoption in lieu of the compensation that will be payable under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906; and, if so, when such proposed new or amended scheme, to be applicable in respect of the workmen employed in the Royal dockyards, will be put upon the Table; and when an opportunity will be given to the House of discussing it before it is certified by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, and adopted.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. LAMBERT, Devonshire, South Molton): The question is still under consideration.

Home Fleet—Prize Firing Ammunition.

CAPTAIN HERVEY (Bury St. Edmunds): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if the ships of the Nore division of the Home Fleet are allowed the same allowance of ammunition per ship as is allowed for prize firing and all other firings usually carried out by similar ships of the Channel, Mediterranean, and Atlantic Fleets.

MR. LAMBERT: Yes, Sir.

Inspection of Admiralty Contract Work.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the construction and ordnance departments of the Admiralty and the dockyards each have their own representatives for the inspection of contract work; whether any other departments have separate representatives; and what has been the total number of separate individuals engaged during the whole period of building in inspecting work of all kinds, whether hull, engines, guns, or armour in connection with the four sister armoured cruisers "Achilles," "Cochrane," "Natal," and "Black Prince," built by contract.

MR. LAMBERT: The Answer to the first and second parts of the Question is in the affirmative. As regards the last part, the construction of any one of the cruisers referred to involves the placing of so large a number of separate orders for the various materials employed that a considerable amount of clerical labour would be necessary even to determine with accuracy the number of persons engaged on their inspection.

Naval Manœuvres.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that the Selborne Memorandum, 15th March, 1905, laid down that for the future there would be three sets of combined fleet exercises annually in addition to the naval manœuvres in June and July; whether any combined fleet exercises have taken place since the new scheme of distribution was first brought into operation; and whether he can state what combined fleet exercises are to take place annually in addition to the naval manœuvres, in view of the official statement that the new scheme of distribution will increase the fighting efficiency of the Navy.

MR. LAMBERT: Since the termination of the Lagos manœuvres about four months ago, no combined exercises have taken place. The Board of Admiralty fully realise their responsibility for the fighting efficiency of the Navy, as alluded to in the Question, and accordingly arrange for such exercises of the Fleet as in their discretion they consider most desirable. They are not prepared to make any definite statement as to what exercises will in future be carried out.

MR. BELLAIRS: Will the exercises be quite as frequent and as extensive as in the past?

MR. LAMBERT: I can only repeat the last sentence of my Answer.

Woolwich Arsensal and Trade Union Wages.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War when it is the intention of his Department to pay the trade union rates of wages to the carpenters and joiners employed at Woolwich Arsensal; whether he is aware that the conditions of employment prevailing are such as to preclude trade unionists from working therein; and whether he can remove this embargo and make Woolwich a fair house.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): I can only refer my hon. friend to the Answers which I gave to the Questions put to me on this subject by the hon. Member for the West Houghton Division of South-East Lancashire on the 6th March and 13th March last.† The statement I then made has not so far as I am aware been controverted; I am, of course, quite prepared to consider any evidence that the wages and privileges of these workmen are not equal to the current rate of the district.

Special Reservists.

MR. GRETTON (Rutland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can now announce the calculation showing the number of special Reservists to be enlisted under the new scheme who will be twenty years of age, and consequently available for foreign service, when the plan is in working order.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxx., 775; clxxi., 22.

MR. HALDANE: I would refer the hon. Member to the reply I gave to a similar Question put by the hon. Member for the Blackpool Division on the 3rd instant.†

MR. GRETTON: Has the right hon. Gentleman no reliable estimate to place before the House?

MR. HALDANE: I have any quantity of estimates, but I do not like to say anything until I am certain.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham): Will the right hon. Gentleman lay Papers on the subject?

MR. HALDANE: When the proper time comes I will give the House full information, but I cannot say what form it will take.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

MR. SCOTT (Ashton-under-Lyne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that Lala Lajpat Rai has for many years devoted his time and private means to social and religious reforms, and that during the famine of 1900 he exerted himself to relieve distress; and, if so, whether he can point to anything in this gentleman's antecedents to justify his being regarded as a danger to the State.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. MORLEY, Montrose Burghs): It may be quite true that Lala Lajpat Rai may have done all that my hon. friend says, but I think he will see that he cannot on that account expect immunity from the consequences of actions which, at a later stage, constituted him a danger to the State.

SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.) asked whether Lajpat Rai had made only two political speeches in the Punjab during this year, and that in neither of those speeches was there anything of a seditious character.

MR. MORLEY asked for notice of the Question.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): Is there not a greater danger to the State in stopping leaders of the people from expressing the desires of the people by sending them to gaol than in leaving them free to express the views of the people?

*MR. SPEAKER: That is a matter of opinion.

Newfoundland Fishery Question.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield Central): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies when he will lay upon the Table the Correspondence which has passed since the Imperial Conference between the Colonial Office and the Prime Minister of Newfoundland concerning the fishery question; and when opportunity will be afforded for arraigning the action of His Majesty's Government therein.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): No further Correspondence on the Newfoundland fishery question can at present be published as negotiations are still proceeding with the United States Government. I shall, however, be prepared to defend any action taken by His Majesty's Government whenever it is arraigned by the hon. and gallant Member, who can, of course, avail himself of any of the ordinary opportunities of debate.

St. Helena.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the distressed condition of many of the householders in Jamestown, St. Helena, he will grant a suspension of the payments due under the Drainage and Waterworks Ordinances until there is some chance of the inhabitants, who have suffered severely owing to the withdrawal of the garrison, being able to meet their liabilities.

MR. CHURCHILL: The Governor has been instructed that every possible consideration should be shown to those who were rendered unable by stress of circumstances to pay the sums due, and, although it has not been thought necessary to grant a general suspension of the payments due, each case will be dealt with on its merits.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 287.

Transvaal Loan.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can now state when it is probable that the Transvaal Loan Bill will be passed through the Legislatures of that Colony.

Mr. CHURCHILL: No, Sir, not at present.

British Grants to the Transvaal.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if the Colonial Office has received an audited statement showing the destination and allotment of the various sums of money which have been loaned and granted, since May 1902, by the British Government to the Transvaal.

Mr. CHURCHILL: An account of the various funds will be found in the Report of the Central Judicial Commission published in Cd. 3028, but, owing to questions having arisen with regard to the disposal of certain balances, the audit is not yet complete.

Private Enterprise Railways in Ceylon.

Mr. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Colonial Office proposes to sanction the construction by private enterprise of railways to Ratnapura, Manaar, and Badullah Passara, in order to meet the requirements of the planters of tea, cocoa, and rubber in Ceylon.

Mr. CHURCHILL: No, Sir; the lines in question, if and when made, will be, like other railways in Ceylon, made and owned by the Colonial Government.

Transvaal Finance.

Mr. BRIDGEMAN (Shropshire, Oswestry): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if the Estimates of revenue and expenditure in the Transvaal Colony for the current year show any surplus out of which the interest on the proposed loan of £5,000,000 can be paid; and, if so, what is the amount available for that purpose.

Mr. CHURCHILL: The Estimates of the Transvaal Government will in due course be laid by Ministers before the Parliament to which they are responsible. In the meantime the hon. Member will have learnt from the Answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer yesterday that the maximum amount required during the next twelve months is not likely to exceed £1,000,000.

Mr. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square) asked whether the promise of His Majesty's Government to guarantee the Transvaal loan to the extent of £5,000,000 was unqualified or not, and, if it were unqualified, whether the information which the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave yesterday, to the effect that £1,000,000 only would be granted, was obtained only within the last two or three days.

Mr. CHURCHILL: His Majesty's Government intimated that they were, in principle, prepared to guarantee a loan of £5,000,000, if such a measure should pass the Transvaal Parliament. Of course, the period when that loan should be floated depends upon when the Transvaal Government requires the money. At present only £1,000,000 is required, and upon that the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the statement yesterday.

Mr. LYTTELTON: Was that fact known when the promise of a guarantee of £5,000,000 was given?

Mr. CHURCHILL: Yes. The actual dates on which specific sums would be required were not known in complete detail. But at a very early stage of the negotiations we were informed by the representatives of the Transvaal Government that they would not want the whole loan at once, but that it would be spread over a period more or less long.

Viscount TURNOUR: In view of the debate on this Loan Bill, can the right hon. Gentleman give some idea of the revenue and expenditure of the Transvaal?

Mr. CHURCHILL: I think a full statement of the financial position of the Transvaal should be before the House, and before the loan is made I will take steps to bring that about.

Incomes.

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state what is the estimated aggregate value of all incomes between the limits of £160 to £700 and £700 to £2,000; what proportion of the aggregate income between £160 and £2,000 is estimated to be earned, as defined in the Finance Bill; and whether any estimate has been formed of the aggregate value of pensions enjoyed by persons with incomes between £160 and £2,000.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): It is possible, from the information obtained through claims for abatement, to estimate with approximate accuracy the aggregate of incomes lying between £160 and £700, and the amount (before deduction of abatements and allowance on life premiums) may be put at about £275,000,000. No similar data are available in respect of incomes between £700 and £2,000, and any estimate of the aggregate amount of such incomes must be exceedingly speculative. The figure of £150,000,000 has been suggested, but this cannot pretend to be anything but a guess. Of the total income between £160 and £2,000, it has been estimated that rather less than half—say about £200,000,000—would come within the definition of "earned" income contained in the Finance Bill. There are no materials for estimating the aggregate value of pensions enjoyed by persons with incomes between £160 and £2,000 per annum.

Income-tax Inquiries.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will lay upon the Table particulars of the forms, schedules, and rules to be issued to employers respecting the incomes of their employees; and if he can explain what steps are to be taken to meet the difficulty that in many instances wages appearing in the books of an employer as paid to an individual does not represent the individual wages of the employee.

MR. ASQUITH: I shall be prepared to lay the particulars asked for, when the provisions of the Finance Bill, upon which the forms and rules are dependent, have taken final shape. As regards the second part of the Question, it is not intended that an employee should, as a matter of course, be assessed to income-tax on the amount set opposite his name in the employer's return. Such cases as the hon. Member refers to will become the subject of investigation, and the assessment on the employee will be limited to the amount of his personal profits and gains.

Cost of Income-tax Collection.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether any item has been included in the Estimates for 1907–8 covering the increased cost of collection of the income-tax entailed by the new system which he proposes to employ; and whether he can state what is the estimated increase in the cost of collection on this account.

MR. ASQUITH: No provision for increased cost of collection due to the changes proposed in this year's Budget was inserted in the Estimates now before Parliament, which were prepared before the Budget was introduced. It is not possible to make a complete estimate of what this increased cost will amount to, until the provisions of the Finance Bill have been finally settled by Parliament; but, when this has been done, I will have such a statement prepared with as little delay as possible.

Orange River Colony.

MR. PIKE PEASE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if it is proposed to guarantee a loan for the Orange River Colony.

MR. ASQUITH: No, Sir.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): Is it intended to grant a loan to Jamaica?

MR. ASQUITH: I do not see how that arises out of my Answer.

Precautions Against Industrial Accidents.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can state the number of accidents which took place on railways and in the factories and large industrial undertakings of Great Britain during the year 1906; whether he will furnish information to the House with regard to the museums of security already in existence, notably at Charlottenberg, Amsterdam, Munich, and Milan; and whether he will arrange for an expert to report as to the advisability, or otherwise, of establishing in England a similar exhibition of life-saving and life-guarding apparatus and machinery.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): The number of accidents to persons employed in premises under the Factory Act, reported during 1906, was 111,904. The number of accidents on railways during 1906 to passengers, railway servants, and other persons was 21,690. The suggestion of an exhibition of safety appliances has been under my consideration for some time. Information has been collected as to the exhibitions already in existence in certain foreign countries, and the Chief Inspector of Factories hopes to be able to arrange a visit to some of these exhibitions in the autumn.

Clerks to Licensing Justices.

MR. STEPHEN COLLINS (Lambeth, Kennington): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the action taken by several standing joint committees with regard to Section 8 of the Justices' Clerks Act of 1877; and whether he will prepare a Return giving the names of the clerks to the licensing justices, distinguishing those who are paid by salary and those who are remunerated by fees, and include with the Return a list of the fees paid in licensing matters to such clerks.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not sure that I understand my hon. friend's Question, but I think he is under a misapprehension. Justices' clerks throughout the country are paid by salary, as is required by the Justices' Clerks Act, 1877, not by fees; and the salaries are fixed with regard to the total amount of work they have to do as justices' clerks. I have no information as to circulars issued by standing joint committees, other than that contained in the memorandum my hon. friend has sent me, and with regard to that memorandum I may say that justices' clerks' salaries are certainly not governed by the number of licences in existence. A Return giving the names and salaries of all magistrates' clerks was prepared in 1904, and can be purchased through the Stationery Office, and I do not think it desirable to go to the trouble and expense of another such Return at the present time. The fees in licensing matters are uniform and statutory, and can be readily ascertained by consulting the Licensing Acts.

Metropolitan Police Commission.

MR. BOWERMAN (Deptford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of the fact that statements containing serious allegations against the police had been submitted to the Royal Metropolitan Police Commission but that the Commission was unable to consider them as they did not come within their terms of reference, he will advise His Majesty to widen the terms of reference, in order that the work and Report of the Commission may be made more complete.

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. The terms of the reference to this Commission are fixed by statute, and I have no power to alter them. Moreover, the Commission was appointed to deal with a specific subject, and I think it very desirable that their Report should not be delayed.

Overcrowding on the District Railway.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that, notwithstanding the assurance given to his Department by the District Railway Company as to providing adequate accommodation for those using their line, except during certain hours of the mornings and evenings many of their trains consist only of three carriages; will the Board of Trade see that the company does what it can to obviate the overcrowding, which is principally caused by the fewness of the carriages composing the trains.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): The railway company inform me that the loading of their trains is constantly under supervision, and that, except during the busy hours of the morning and evening, three or four-car trains are sufficient, unless there is a sudden or abnormal rush of traffic.

MR. POWER: I beg to give notice that on the first opportunity I will draw attention to the shameful overcrowding that takes place.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): Will the right hon. Gentleman give his personal attention to this matter? It is the experience of many Members that there is constant overcrowding.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have given the matter my personal attention, and I took the trouble of communicating personally with the railway company. I sent one of the inspecting officers of the Board of Trade there after what I saw myself. I thought it was rather dangerous, I must say. Since then, however, I think there has been considerable improvement.

MR. POWER: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that, as a rule, there are only three-car trains except morning and evening.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I agree that that is the case during periods of the day which are rather slack, but it is not the case in the evening, when the overcrowding takes place. After all, we do not want to enforce on a railway company the obligation to run empty carriages, especially when, on the whole, the company is not paying. One must take that into consideration.

Llanfair Talhaiarn School.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether the Board have determined that the non-provided school at Llanfair Talhaiarn is unnecessary, and if they have sanctioned the enlargement of the provided school in that parish at a cost of £1,650; and, if so, what ground have they for thinking that this is in accordance with the wishes of the parents and conduces to the economy of the rates.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. LOUGH, Islington, W.): The Board sanctioned in December, 1906, the enlargement of the council school and determined that upon the completion of the enlargement the voluntary school would be unnecessary. I cannot say if the noble Lord's estimate of cost is correct. The overcrowding at the council school, to which His Majesty's inspector has called attention for some years past, proved in the opinion of the Board that an enlargement was necessary. The fact that in the school year ending May, 1906, out of the 160 children on the books of the two schools only twenty-one attended the voluntary school must be taken as affording evidence of the wishes of the parents, and I have no doubt that the existence of one school instead of two conduces to the economy of the rates.

Grants-in-Aid for Hostels.

MR. GRETTON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education when he will be in a position to make a statement as to grants-in-aid of the cost of the provision of hostels.

MR. LOUGH: I must refer the hon. Member to the Answer which I gave on the 13th June on this subject.†

Sheep Dipping Order.

MR. RENDALL (Gloucestershire, Thornbury): I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that certain local authorities have not received full information for the purpose of enabling them to discharge their duties in regard to the Sheep Dipping Order, 1907; will he say what circulars or instructions have been issued by the Board containing such information other than the order itself; whether he is aware that different local authorities are interpreting the order differently owing to the difficulties of understanding it; and whether he will give directions for persons interested to be consulted with a view to the amendment of the Order.

THE TREASURER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Sir EDWARD STRACHEY, Somersetshire, S.): Full information was given to all the local authorities concerned with the administration of the Order to which my hon. friend refers, and I shall be happy to supply him with copies of the Circular and Memorandum which we issued for the purpose. In a few cases local authorities, at the outset, placed an interpretation on the Order which did not accord with our own views, but all these cases have been satisfactorily disposed of. The Board are at all times glad to receive expressions of opinion as to the practical working of their Orders from those interested.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 1576.

Swine Fever.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, can he state whether there has ever been a well authenticated case of swine fever having been imported into Great Britain from Ireland; if so, can he state when the importation took place; whether he is aware that swine fever has been much more successfully dealt with in Ireland than in Great Britain; can he state who is responsible for the passing of the Order restricting the importation of Irish pigs; and what other restrictions, if any, on the movement of animals between Ireland and Great Britain are in force.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: We are aware of over 100 cases in which swine fever has been found to exist in pigs which had quite recently been landed from Ireland, and in which the circumstances place it beyond reasonable doubt that the infection was contracted in that country. Since the present restrictions have been in force only one or possibly two such cases have occurred. The number of outbreaks of the disease in Ireland is less that the number in Great Britain, but in the differing circumstances of the two countries no fair comparison can be made. The Board of Agriculture are responsible for the regulations governing the importation of animals into Great Britain, and the Irish Department for those governing importation into Ireland, and I may point out that, while we have only imposed restrictions with regard to pigs, those of the Irish Department extend to all classes of stock, including horses.

MR. BOLAND: What was the date of the importation?

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: I must ask for notice of that Question.

MR. BOLAND asked who was responsible for the passing of the Order, and whether the law officers of the Board of Agriculture had been consulted before it was put into force.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: The Board of Agriculture, of course, is responsible.

MR. BOLAND: Was the opinion of the law officers to the Board of Agriculture taken before the Order in Council was issued?

[No Answer was returned.]

Judicature Acts Committee.

MR. RUFUS ISAACS (Reading) asked the Attorney-General when the Committee appointed by the Lord Chancellor on the working of the Judicature Acts might be expected to report.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir JOHN WALTON, Leeds, S.): It is impossible to say definitely when the Committee will report. I understand, however, that an *interim* Report would be presented shortly. The ultimate Report cannot very well be prepared before the close of the present year.

Scottish Prisoners' Escorts.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the practice of detailing warders for escort duty from Barlinnie Prison to Perth late in the afternoon still continues; at what hour the escort on 3rd June returned to Barlinnie; and at what hour they went on duty again.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL, Yorkshire, Cleveland): My right hon. friend has asked me to answer for him. During the past twelve months three escorts, owing to sudden influx of prisoners, were carried out late in the afternoon. The 3rd June was one of these occasions, and the warders did not return to Barlinnie until 1 a.m. next day. They, however, took duty three hours later than usual on that day, *i.e.*, at 9 a.m. The Prison Commissioners are endeavouring to discontinue these late removals altogether.

Prosecutions for Agrarian Offences in Ireland.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL (Dublin University): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland in how many cases during the last three months have prosecutions by his direction been instituted in Ireland in agrarian offences under the provisions of the statute of King Edward III.; and will he state what has been the result in each case of these prosecutions.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. CHERRY, Liverpool, Exchange): During the past three months summonses requiring persons to show cause why they should not be required to find sureties for the peace or good behaviour have been issued in fifteen cases arising out of the agrarian agitation. In all these cases the proceedings were taken by my express direction or with my sanction. Proceedings of this kind in all cases, agrarian or otherwise, are, as the right hon. Gentleman knows, taken under the Commission of Peace and the Statute of Edward III. together. The results of the fifteen cases referred to have been as follows: Orders to find sureties were made in five cases, and were refused in two cases; one case was abandoned; one was adjourned for three months; and in six cases the proceedings are pending.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked whether it was a fact that in these proceedings the person proceeded against had no power of calling evidence for the defence, and whether that state of things had not been condemned more than once from the Bench by Irish Judges; and also whether proceedings were ever taken under this Statute in England.

MR. CHERRY: With regard to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, as a matter of practice the magistrates do hear witnesses for the defence, but it has been decided by a case in the King's Bench Division that they are not bound to receive that evidence. I understand that proceedings are taken under the same statutory jurisdiction in England. Some of the suffragists were sent to prison under the same statutory provision.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: But have not the prosecutions under this Act in England reference to an entirely different class of case?

MR. CHERRY: The cases may be different, but the statutory jurisdiction is the same.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the Lord Chief Justice had said the exercise of this jurisdiction was an anomaly, but he had no power to change the law.

MR. CHERRY: It may be an anomaly, but it is an anomaly which prevails in both England and Ireland, and this jurisdiction has been exercised for a great number of years.

Irish Prosecutions—Divided Benches.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether, in the cases which, owing to an equal division of the justices, prosecutions in Ireland by summons for agrarian offences have recently proved abortive, it is his intention in these and similar cases in the future to proceed, in accordance with constitutional usage, against the accused by information and warrant, or by indictment before the grand jury at assizes, and thus obviate the scandal and expense of these abortive proceedings.

MR. CHERRY: I cannot undertake to lay down any general rule as to how I shall proceed in such cases as are mentioned in the Question. Each particular case must be dealt with according to its special circumstances. Hitherto, where the Bench has been equally divided the case has been always adjourned to the next sessions, and in all cases I think a decision one way or the other has been ultimately arrived at. In the future, as in the past, every constitutional means at my disposal will be used to bring to justice persons who are believed to have violated the law.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: Take a concrete case. In the Roscrea case the Bench has been equally divided on three occasions. Does the right hon. Gentleman now propose to drop further proceedings?

MR. CHERRY: I must ask for notice of that Question.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is it in accordance with constitutional usage to proceed by information?

MR. CHERRY: I think it must have been done in recent times.

Irish Agrarian Outrages.

MR. PIKE PEASE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can now inform the House of the results of the following cases:—The riot on an evicted farm in September, 1906, when sixteen offenders escaped from justice, some of whom subsequently surrendered; four cases of outrage, or attempted outrage, in which firearms were used, in county Clare, during the month of January; the attack upon a Dowra postboy on 20th February, in connection with which fifteen persons were arrested; the assault and robberies committed against the Bradys in the same month; the wrecking of Mr. Tomb's house at Upperlands, county Derry, on 25th March; the stabbing of Mr. Ryan, a gamekeeper on the Rooney property, on 7th April; the disturbances connected with the cattle driving at Carrick-on-Shannon on 25th April; the wounding of Mr. McAuliffe in Kilbogin district; the dispersal of cattle and wounding of police at Earl's Park, Ballinlawless, and Tullyhill on 29th April; the disturbances in connection with Mr. Russell, of Kilmore, on 5th May; the unlawful assembly at the Lambert Minors estate near Athenry on 9th May; the unlawful assembly at Ballintubber on 10th May; offences arising at the agitation against the grazing system in county Roscommon, referred to by the Chief Secretary on 15th May; the attack upon Lord Kenmare's bailiff near Killarney on 27th May; the unlawful assembly at Shrole referred to by the Chief Secretary in the House on 29th May; and whether he can state in how many cases the accused were dismissed, or sent for trial, or convicted.

MR. CHERRY: The hon. Member's Question refers to a large number of cases. I will give the results briefly:—(1) Riot at Ballingeary in September, 1906: Three persons were convicted, and two acquitted at assizes; and fourteen are awaiting trial at next assizes. (2) Four outrages in Clare: One person was prosecuted in each case. In one case the magistrates refused information, and in the other three the accused were acquitted at assizes. (3) Attack on Dowra postmen: Fifteen persons proceeded against. Informations refused. (4) Attack on the Bradys: This case occurred in July, 1906. Eight persons were prosecuted at Winter and Spring Assizes, and the jury disagreed on both occasions. The prosecution is still pending. (5) Wrecking Tomb's house: Seven persons have been returned for trial. (6) Stabbing Ryan: Four persons have been returned for trial. (7) Carrick-on-Shannon disturbances. Six persons were summoned to find sureties. The summonses were withdrawn in two cases, and the magistrates refused the application as regards the remaining four persons. (8) Wounding McAuliffe. One person has been returned for trial. (9) Earl Park, Ballinlawless, and Tullyhill cattle drives. Ten persons returned for trial. (10) Disturbance at Kilmore. Eight persons committed to prison in default of finding sureties. (11) Unlawful assembly at Athenry. Twelve persons prosecuted. Informations refused. (12) Unlawful assembly at Ballintubber. Twelve persons prosecuted. Informations refused. The Attorney-General has directed a bill against the accused to be sent up at Assizes. (13) Offences connected with the Roscommon grazing agitation. Of the three cases referred to on 15th May, two are identical with (10) and (12) above mentioned. In the remaining case the magistrates refused an application to require four persons to find sureties. (14) Attack on Lord Kenmare's bailiff. One person prosecuted. Case adjourned for six months. (15) Unlawful assembly at Shrole. Proceedings have been taken against six persons, and the case is pending.

Crookenden Estate, Cavan.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have sanctioned the sale of parts only of the Crookenden (late Earl of Morley's) estate, county Cavan, and have allowed the vendors to omit a number of tenants who were perfectly willing to purchase on the same terms.

MR. CHERRY: The Estates Commissioners have had this estate inspected with the object of making an offer to purchase it. Before making such an offer, the Commissioners will deal with any question which may arise as to the proposed exclusion of certain tenants from the sale.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Report of the inspector has been over two months in the hands of the Estates Commissioners?

Mr. CHERRY: I am not aware of that, but the Estates Commissioners have, I know, an immense amount of work to discharge at the present moment.

Birr United Irish League.

Mr. MOORE (Armagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that two Protestant farmers, namely, John Gill, of Tinny Cross, Five Alley, Birr, and George Bruce, of Marsfield, Clareen, Birr, were recently notified by the secretary of the local branch of the United Irish League that if they did not surrender certain lands in their respective occupation they would be dealt with by the League; if these tenants were thereby intimidated into surrendering the two farms held by them of which this demand was made; if the police have the actual letters now in their possession; if the Estates Commissioners are now about to make advances for the sale of these lands to carry out the objects of the League; and if the Government propose to take such action as will prevent such intimidation in the district.

Mr. CHERRY: The police have been informed that Messrs. Gill, Bruce, and several others have received letters purporting to have been sent by the local branch of the United Irish League requesting them to surrender their grazing farms. The letters are not in the possession of the police. Both Gill and Bruce have stated their intention of giving up their farms. Twelve persons have been returned for trial at assizes for driving the cattle off Gill's farm. The Estates Commissioners are unable to identify the case of these farms as being the subject of purchase proceedings by or before them. My right hon. friend the Chief Secretary has repeatedly stated that the police have taken, and will continue to take, all possible measures to protect the holders of grazing farms in the exercise of their legal rights; and whenever sufficient evidence is forthcoming against persons guilty of intimidation, the offenders will be prosecuted.

Mr. MOORE: Will the Estates Commissioners be permitted to deal with the farms which have been surrendered through intimidation?

Mr. CHERRY: I do not know anything to prevent them.

Mr. MOORE: But is not that putting a premium on intimidation?

*Mr. KETTLE (Tyrone, E.): Had the fact that these two men were Protestants anything whatever to do with this case?

Mr. CHERRY: So far as I know nothing whatever.

Mr. MOORE: It made it safer to attack them in this country.

Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL: Were the police applied to by these two gentlemen for protection?

Mr. CHERRY: I cannot say.

Irish Magistrates and Agrarian Prosecution.

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the result of communications which have passed between the Lord Chancellor and local justices who have adjudicated in agrarian cases outside the petty sessions districts to which they are attached.

Mr. CHERRY: The Lord Chancellor informs me that he has been in communication with six magistrates who had acted at petty sessions outside their proper districts. Three of them have undertaken in writing not to do so again; one has ceased to be a magistrate owing to the expiration of his term of office; another has not yet complied; and the case of the sixth is under consideration. Pending the determination of the last-named case, the magistrate has been required to abstain from sitting on the Bench.

Mr. MOORE: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the names of the three who have given the undertaking?

Mr. CHERRY: That is a matter for the Lord Chancellor. In the information given me I have no mention of the names.

Armagh Land Purchase Agreements.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state how many agreements have been lodged to the 1st June last under the Land Purchase Act, 1903, for the sale of estates in the county of Armagh; how many tenants are concerned in these agreements; in the case of how many holdings have advances been made; how many cases are still awaiting completion of purchase; and how many evicted tenants have applied for reinstatement in the county.

MR. CHERRY: The Estates Commissioners' Report for the year ending 31st March last will contain, for each county in Ireland, full information of the character asked for in the Question. The Report is in course of preparation and will be presented to Parliament as soon as possible.

Irish Bank Deposits.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the facts that in December, 1906, there was an increase of deposits and cash balances in the Irish joint stock banks as compared with the corresponding period of 1905, amounting to £2,477,000; that the total of the balances in the Post Office and trustees' savings banks in Ireland is the highest amount of which there is record, and has nearly trebled since 1886; that the number of depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank in Ireland has more than trebled in the course of twenty years; and whether, in view of these evidences of improvement in the condition of the Irish people and the threat of a vigorous and sustained agitation in Ireland during the coming autumn and winter, he will take special measures, if necessary, to uphold the law and maintain order so as to prevent interference with the rights of individuals and the development of trade and industry.

MR. CHERRY: The Question correctly states the facts as shown by the banking and railway statistics for Ireland recently presented to Parliament. Independently of any question as to the prosperity of Ireland, the Government will in the future, as they have in the past, take all proper measures for upholding the law and maintaining order.

Arterial Drainage Commission—Secretary's Salary.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state what remuneration Mr. Strange received for his services as secretary to the Arterial Drainage Commission, how long he was absent from the Board of Works, what his salary in that Department is, and whether it was paid in full during his absence.

MR. RUNCIMAN: Mr. Strange has not yet received any remuneration for his services as secretary to the Arterial Drainage Commission, nor has any such remuneration yet been fixed. He was absent from the Board's Office from 1st September, 1905, to 6th May, 1907. His salary in 1905 was £250, in 1906 £260, in 1907 £270. His salary was paid in full during the period of his absence, according to the regular practice in such cases.

Irish Board of Works Accountant.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state why the vacancy caused by the death of the late accountant in the Irish Board of Works has not been filled; and whether another non-Catholic will be appointed to this office over the heads of the senior Catholic officials in the accountant's department.

MR. RUNCIMAN: The appointment has not yet been made; it is now under consideration by the Treasury. The Treasury have no knowledge of the religious beliefs of any members of the staff of the Irish Board of Works.

Viscount Ikerrin.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether his attention has been drawn to the advertisement of the Norwich Union Insurance Company, in which the name of Viscount Ikerrin figures as a director of the Dublin board of the company; whether Viscount Ikerrin holds the office of inspector for Irish agricultural interests in Great Britain in the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

(Ireland) at a salary of £600 per annum; whether it is in accordance with the rules of the Department and of the Civil Service that a Civil Servant and an officer of the Department should hold a directorship of a public company; and what explanation, if any, is there for the union of the offices of public company director and inspector of Irish Agricultural interests by this nobleman.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR IRELAND (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.): On learning the facts, which are substantially as stated in the Question, I communicated with Lord Ikerrin suggesting the resignation of his position as a director of the Norwich Union Insurance Company. He has ceased to hold that office.

Ireland and the Education Report.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether the writer of the recently issued special Report on educational subjects, volume 17, has any acquaintance with educational affairs in Ireland, and in particular with the work of the Gaelic League in promoting the study of the language, history, and poetry of Ireland on the very lines adopted by Bishop Grundtvig in founding the Danish high schools; and, if not, can he say why this writer should have gone out of his way, at page 118 of this Report, to make a wholly unwarranted reflection on Irish educational efforts by stating that if in Ireland some Father Mathew could initiate a high-school crusade with something of the Danish enthusiasm, Ireland's day of prosperity would have come indeed.

MR. LOUGH: My right hon. friend has already stated that the Board must not be taken as necessarily endorsing the opinions of the author referred to in the Question. We have no information with regard to the specific points now raised.

MR. BOLAND: Will there be any opportunity of correcting this statement in the Report, which is wholly without foundation?

MR. LOUGH: I must ask for notice of that Question.

Irish Pig Imports into Great Britain.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he can state what restrictions on the importation of Irish pigs into Great Britain are now in force; with what object are these restrictions kept on; and why were they enforced.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: The restrictions now in force are those contained in the Swine Fever (Movement from Ireland) Orders of 1904 and 1906, copies of which I shall be glad to send to the hon. Member. The restrictions were imposed and have been maintained with a view to regulating the movement of swine between Ireland and Great Britain in the same manner as such movement is regulated between district and district in Great Britain with the object of guarding against the spread of swine fever.

The County Magistracy.

MR. HENRY (Shropshire, Wellington): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether, having regard to the dissatisfaction prevailing as to the predominance of magistrates attached to one political party on the county benches, he will give an early opportunity of discussing Civil Service Estimate, Class 2, Vote 1, Subhead (A) (Department of the Lord Chancellor).

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): I cannot pledge myself to giving an opportunity, and I am afraid it would be of no use if such an opportunity could be found, because it has been decided that the Lord Chancellor's salary, which is voted by this House, is only given to him as Chairman of the House of Lords, and can only be discussed with regard to his conduct in that capacity.

Parliament and Peers.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to the statement of Lord Cranworth, speaking as Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords on 7th February, 1856, that the right of a Peer to sit in the House of Lords is not derived from the patents but from the writ of summons which he is entitled to receive in consequence of his patent of nobility, and the question whether a person is or is not entitled to such a writ rested with the Crown to decide; whether he is aware that there are cases in which Peers have been summoned for a single Parliament and for a single session, then discontinued, and then summoned again; and whether he, in his proposed modification of the powers of the House of Lords, in acting in opposition to the other estates of Parliament, contemplates that these modifications should be in substitution for, or exclusive of, or ancillary to, the resources furnished by the Constitution for bringing the House of Lords into subjection to the will of the people.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have no doubt my hon. friend correctly cites the opinion to which he draws my attention. He is a high constitutional authority, and I would not think of verifying his references or disputing his history. But after my statement of yesterday, I do not think he requires any more instruction on the subject.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: That is a perfectly satisfactory Answer.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) asked for the business for Thursday and Friday.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied that the first business on Thursday would be the Board of Trade Estimates, About 8.30 that evening the Home Office Vote would be taken for the purpose of a certain discussion which had been promised, and it would after that be withdrawn and brought up again on a later day. On Friday the Bills would be taken in the following order:—British North America Bill, Committee; Telegraph Money Bill, adjourned debate, Second Reading; Australia Constitution Bill, Second Reading; Evidence (Colonial Statutes) Bill, Second Reading; Criminal Appeal Bill (Expenses), Committee; Companies Bill, Second Reading; Motion for a new Judge. He put in at the end his usual *et cetera*—"other Bills."

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A (added in respect of the Leeds (South Parade Chapel) Charity, the Kingswood (Whitfield Tabernacle, Schoolroom, etc.) Charity, the Longton (Caroline Street Chapel) Charity, and the Board of Education (Hulme Trust Estates Educational Confirmation Bills): Mr. Leicester Harmsworth; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the said Bills): Mr. Dobson.

Report to lie upon the Table.

NEW BILLS.

TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

"To promote and facilitate arbitration in Trade Disputes," presented by Mr. Cleland; supported by Mr. Walters, Mr. Parker, Mr. Whitwell Wilson, Mr. Findlay, Mr. Dalziel, Mr. William Jones, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor; to be read a second time upon Friday, 5th July, and to be printed. [Bill 254.]

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL HEATING.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.), in asking leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the heating of National Schoolhouses in Ireland, said that he always deprecated legislation for one part of the United Kingdom if it was possible to avoid it. His excuse for asking leave to introduce this Bill was the very peculiar and characteristic circumstances which prevailed in Ireland at present in regard to the heating of schoolhouses. The measure was entirely non-Party and undenominational, and he trusted it would be considered as uncontroversial. The conditions which prevailed in Ireland were very different from those which existed in England. In Ireland no funds were provided by the State for providing lighting, heating, and ventilation of the national school buildings, and the Bill dealt entirely with the poorer classes of national schools throughout Ireland. One special claim he had to make was that owing to the decreased rents which landlords were receiving from their land,

and the fact that large numbers of them had left the country and others were in process of selling their estates, it had become impossible for them to contribute for this object in the same generous measure as they had done in the past, and unfortunately in the remote parts of Ireland there was no other way in which they could approach the subject of heating school premises except by asking the National Board of Education to take the matter up, and with the assistance of the County Councils to provide proper heating for the various class-rooms. In answer to a question last year the late Chief Secretary informed him that the total cost of carrying out the scheme would be something like £24,000, which, divided between the county councils and the National Board, would mean their finding £12,000 each in one year. That was independent of the voluntary agencies which had lent a certain amount of assistance. One of his objects in introducing the Bill under the ten minutes rule was to try and enlist the generous sympathies of all Members of the House, for if the Bill was slipped in in the ordinary way and blocked there would be no chance of its becoming law, and he was anxious that something should be done for the poor children of Ireland before the bad weather came. The fact that the children were compelled to travel miles in wet weather over mountains and bogs, and on arrival at the school find nothing but white-washed walls, and in many instances not even a piece of burning turf, could not fail to appeal to them. In confirmation of what he had said, he would quote the Report of the North Dublin Inspector, who declared that it was not an extravagant supposition that a large part of the sickness amongst the children in the country was brought on by badly ventilated school-houses, combined with want of due warmth in the cold and wet weather. The Inspector for the Galway District declared that it was painful to see little groups of poorly fed boys and girls, miserably clad, trying to make their way on a winter's morning to the neighbouring schools. In such cases one hoped that the schoolroom when reached would make these poor children warm and comfortable, but unfortunately that was not the case. His experience was that the school in most cases was a cold and cheerless apartment; some clods of turf had been placed in the hearth and lighted, but they gave out no heat, only smoke. He was examining, this same Inspector continued, in such a cheerless room in January when the children came in and sat down, cold and miserable, while he had to keep his overcoat on, though he had the advantage of walking about. All these reports tended in the same direction. Seeing that the Boards which looked after the welfare of the working classes insisted upon a certain temperature being maintained in rooms where work was carried on, it seemed to him that the State should also insist upon a certain temperature in the school buildings throughout the country. In the large towns where there might be wealthy people prepared to put their hands in their pockets and pay a certain amount per annum towards this laudable object the cases were not so severe as those he had mentioned, but it was neither fair nor humane that the children in the poor districts in the south and west as well as the north of Ireland should be asked to sit in cheerless rooms and receive instruction. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had already stated that he intended to spend his autumn holidays in Ireland studying the great University question, about which many of them held there was no urgent necessity, if any necessity at all. He would suggest that the right hon. Gentleman should begin at the bottom of the ladder instead of at the top, and remedy some of the glaring evils at present existing among the poorer classes, one of the foremost of which was the evil he had been discussing. When the teachers found it was impossible to obtain any heating material, they had often, rather than see the poor children suffer, to put their hands in their pockets and pay for material themselves. He had been asking several questions lately of the heads of the various Education Departments in the United Kingdom in order to ascertain whether Irish teachers were really able to bear this burden, and he contended, from a comparison of the salaries of school teachers in Ireland with those in Scotland and England, that both in the higher and lower grades it was impossible to expect so poorly a remunerated class to carry out the heating of the schools. The Bill, therefore, which he asked leave to introduce, would have the double effect of saving a little out of the miserable salaries of school teachers and of spreading the cost of this small but important improvement over the whole of Ireland, which was quite able to bear it. He hoped that the Government would give the Bill their support, and so do something for the real welfare of Ireland.

Motion made, and Question—" That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide for the Heating of National School Houses in Ireland "—put, and agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Captain Craig, Colonel M'Calmont, Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. T. L. Corbett, Mr. Charles Craig, Mr. Barrie, and Mr. Moore.

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOLS HEATING BILL.

"To provide for the Heating of National School Houses in Ireland," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 255.]

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [24th June], " That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Question again proposed.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): I have been forced to the conclusion that there are many who are in doubt as to whether or not this Resolution should be treated seriously, and who are inclined to treat it with a levity which I am sure must be depressing to its authors. I am aware that no less an authority than the Prime Minister has described the merriment with which it has been received in some quarters as "mirthless laughter." The right hon. Gentleman might have completed his fanciful picture by saying that it had been received by his own followers with hollow jubilation. At any rate, if the mirth on our side is forced, and if the gloom on his side is feigned, then the occasion has revealed a wealth of histrionic talent which has lurked hitherto unsuspected in our midst. But I propose to treat the Resolution with all seriousness and with that respect to which its long period of gestation and the responsibility and dignity of its sponsors entitle it. The Resolution itself is of very little consequence, of course, were it not for the legislative proposals which are to follow it, and we respect it not so much for itself as for the display of physical force which we must assume is marshalled behind it. Until the Bill is introduced the Resolution itself is hardly worth the attention of the House. It is merely in the nature of an I O U issued by the Government in acknowledgment of its debt to its more truculent and impatient supporters, or it may be likened to a lurid and eye-arresting poster, with which the theatrical managers of the Party are placarding the hoardings in order to distract attention from the failure of the piece that is now running, and to excite anticipations of a more successful melodrama in the coming season. The wording of the Resolution is curiously involved: it seems to exhibit what scientists call "irregular crystallisation," a phenomenon which generally results from a state of extreme internal tension. That makes it all the more interesting, and I think, therefore, it is worth while examining it a little carefully. The first two lines, if intended to suggest that the present House of Commons is a true reflection of the will of the people, are singularly misleading. The Prime Minister yesterday quoted Burke, who he said had eulogised the House of Commons as being the "express image of the nation." I hope the Prime Minister does not consider the House of Commons was the express image of the nation in Burke's time, nor is it anything like it to-day. Even immediately after the last election the composition of the House of Commons bore very little relation to the true state of Parties in the country, and it bears even less resemblance to it now. This is no mere expression of opinion on my part, it is a question of arithmetic which may be demonstrated by the contemplation of half-a-dozen figures. Liberal votes (including constituencies in which there were no contests) showed a majority over Conservative votes, at the general election, of only 13 per cent., but in the House of Commons there is a Liberal majority over Unionists of 60 per cent. There are 387 Liberal Members to 158 Unionist, or a majority of 229, whereas, according to the number of voters, the Liberals are entitled to a majority of only seventy.

AN HON. MEMBER: Are you including the plural voters?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: I am taking the facts as they are according to the present franchise; the hon. Member would surely not wish me to establish a new franchise for the purposes of my own calculation. I say that the present position of the House of Commons was a caricature of the state of political feeling, even at the time of the general election, and it is even more so to-day. The second part of the Resolution is not a very ingenious or honest paraphrase of the Government's intention to introduce single chamber government; no pretences at qualification can possibly make it anything else, and there is, I believe, not the slightest chance of the country being deceived as to the real issue by any of these verbal disguises or by parading the Prime Minister's illusory safeguards for the protection of the people. The Government have had various possible alternatives for dealing with this problem. They might have effected a reform of the constitution of the House of Lords — a course which I myself believe in—but then they would be faced by the fact that the reformed and reconstituted House of Lords would necessarily be a stronger and more influential body than the present House, and would demand and be entitled to a larger share in the Government of the country. It is obvious, therefore, that that line of procedure would not commend itself to them. Then there are various alternatives which may be generally classed under the head of the "referendum." We listened to a very interesting speech last night from the Under-Secretary to the Home Office, in which he condemned the referendum as impracticable because, he said, the people would be quite unable to understand the legislative proposals of the Government. And yet this is the Government which claims to be interpreting the will of the people in the measures which it is introducing! But the Prime Minister condemned the general principle of the referendum on quite different grounds, because he said it gave to the Lords a right they should not possess of demanding that any question in dispute should be submitted to the people; he said, in effect, that it amounted to a usurpation of the Royal prerogative. I should like to ask how many times the House of Lords has forced a dissolution, at any rate since the Reform Bill of 1832. As far as I know, no such case has occurred, and at any rate this usurpation of which the Prime Minister complains has not existed in his lifetime or that of most hon. Members of this House. Then the Under-Secretary made considerable play on the argument that it was a strange coincidence that the House of Lords had never rejected any Conservative measure during the last thirty years, and he asked if this was a case of "telepathy." Well, I do not think it necessary to seek any such elaborate explanation as that. I am not in the secret of Cabinets, but I think the natural explanation is that when the Unionist Party is in power it is the habit of the Leaders of the Party in the Commons to consult the Leaders of the Party in the Lords as to their views before introducing Bills. [Ironical cheers.] I am aware that hon. Gentlemen opposite think the other House has no right to have views in regard to legislation brought before Parliament. But that opinion does not prevail on this side of the House, and that is possibly a simple explanation of the phenomenon to which the hon. Gentleman referred. Then the Government had another obvious alternative, and that is the swamping of the Unionist majority in the House of Lords by the creation of a sufficient number of Liberal Peers. That is the policy not of abolishing, but of replenishing the House of Lords. It has been, I believe, the policy of the Liberal Party in the past. Since the Reform Bill successive Liberal Prime Ministers have created 250 fresh peerages, considerably more than the Conservatives. The result has been most disappointing. It has been like pouring water through a sieve. Out of that band of stalwart Liberal Peers fifty or less have remained true to the faith of their creators. The present Government, however, commenced by renewing this process of creating peers, and up till now the sieve has held water. At the same time the policy of replenishment is not generally popular on the other side of the House, although I believe there is a small, but influential section of the Prime Minister's supporters—gentlemen who have spared no effort or expense to prove their devotion to the cause—who strongly hold the view that it would be a brilliant and artful stratagem to introduce them into the Upper Chamber so that, like the Greek warriors secreted in the horse before the walls of Troy, they might issue forth to harass the enemy from within. It is unfortunate, but a little significant, that this debate has been so timed as to be concluded before the auspicious occasion of Friday next, as before that date it will be impossible for this House or the country to judge whether the urgent advice of these deserving gentlemen has or has not prevailed. Personally I hope it will have, because it is always refreshing to see merit rewarded. At the same time I think that the hesitation of the Prime Minister is only natural, and I understand, for example, he only hesitates to promote the hon. Member for Sutherland to the other House because of his fear that by some subtle process of alchemy his stalwart principles may by his passsge into the rarer atmosphere of the House of Lords be transmuted into some vicious form of Toryism tainted with militarism, extravagant finance, and goodness knows what. I do not think the Government is likely to proceed far with this policy of replenishment. The only remaining solution is the abolition of the House of Lords and the establishment of Single Chamber government. That is the course to which the Government have definitely committed themselves. They may pretend that their Resolution does not say this, but it means it, and even though they are proposing to embalm the corpse instead of cremating it, it will none the less be dead, and they will have secured full control of the property of the deceased. What it comes to is this, the House of Commons has only got to say twice or thrice that it wants a certain thing and it is to become law. This is quite a new theory, that because a foolish demand is repeated twice or thrice it thereby becomes endowed with wisdom and invested with inviolable sanctity. The Prime Minister in his outline of the proposed legislation told us about these periodical conferences which are to take place before a Bill will be re-introduced, but I venture to say that these are not safeguards—they are mere banderillos which the Government propose to stick into the House of Commons Bull, in order to excite it to the requisite pitch of fury before it is let loose in the national china shop. And, moreover, this power increases as Parliament draws near to its latter end, so that the further the House is out of touch with the electorate the more omnipotent it becomes. During its final session a House of Commons would have unfettered power to decide on the spur of the moment, and with an eye to the general election, what shall prevail. Could anything be more dangerous to the Empire or the community than the giving of such a power to the House of Commons when in the throes of dissolution? The Government's proposed remedy is perfectly intolerable, but you say the grievance is real and must be redressed. What is the grievance after all? It is that the House of Commons is not allowed to have its own way in everything. What popularly elected Chamber in the world has its uncontrolled way in any important country? I have heard it stated that in no democratic country would the people tolerate the limitations placed upon the power of the House of Commons by the Upper Chamber. The Prime Minister yesterday dismissed the analogies of Continental Parliaments and said they were not really democratic Parliaments.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): I said there were some autocratic Governments in which the autocracy had supplemented itself with an ornamental representative body.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: I do not think the right hon. Gentleman can apply that commentary to the case of what is generally looked upon as the greatest democracy in the world, the United States. In the United States the House of Representatives has far less power than the House of Commons under present conditions, and yet it is far more representative of the people. In the first place, it has to be re-elected every two years. There is an automatic scheme of redistribution consequent upon the increase of population and there is also payment of members, which hon. Members opposite think would be productive in this country of more democratic representation. But is this democratic people's House in America entrusted with unrestrained power? No; its every action is subjected to the revision and approval of the Senate. It has not even the financial independence possessed by this House. It is true that Financial Bills must originate in the House of Representatives, but they can be amended, and are frequently amended, in the Senate, and the Senate itself can initiate Pension Bills and Bills dealing with salaried officials. It may be said that the Senate is a democratic body. It certainly is an elective body, but its political complexion does not necessarily agree with the political complexion of the House of Representatives, and it is not democratic in the ordinary sense.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is Republican.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: Yes, it has been Republican in its politics for a long time past, but it is a wealthy body and has even been somewhat irreverently styled "the Millionaires' Club." It is elected certainly, but by the State Legislatures, and if hon. Gentlemen opposite are in favour of a Second Chamber I would like to ask if they would like one elected or nominated by the county councils, for that would be the analogy. In the case of the American Constitution even the two Houses together are not invested with full power, because all their Acts are subject to the approval or the veto of the President. This is no mere form, because this veto has been not infrequently exercised in recent years, and although it may be over-ridden by a two-thirds vote in both Houses that expedient has seldom been put into practice. The President's veto, like the veto of the House of Lords, is of a purely negative character. But beyond all this there is a further safeguard in the shape of a check upon rash legislation. Above all, and above Congress and the President is the Constitution, that Magna Charta of American liberties, under which any individual, or any section of opinion which considers itself aggrieved by the legislative action of Congress, can appeal to the Supreme Court. Even if the action of Congress is unanimous that individual or section of opinion can go to the Supreme Court, and if that Court finds that the Act of Congress is contrary to the Constitution it becomes null and void. Perhaps I may be permitted to tell the House of a somewhat interesting case which occurred in my own personal experience at the instance of a near relative of my own. It occurred some years ago when the United States Congress instituted the income-tax. The right to levy that tax was contested by this relative of mine. He went to the Supreme Court, and that tribunal by means of arguments which I neither appreciate nor understand, decided that the tax was contrary to the Constitution and was therefore null and void. The result was that the American Exchequer was compelled to refund 45,000,000 dollars which it had collected up to that time. Think of any individual citizen in this country having the power to appeal to the Courts against the decision of both Houses of Parliament and getting a tax repealed and the money refunded. It may be said that this too rigid Constitution of the United States can be revised, but in practice it cannot be revised. I remember discussing this question with the celebrated speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Thomas B. Reed, and he said that although the Constitution of the United States can never be changed it can be stretched. It has been stretched by the Supreme Court when the national interest demanded it. A legal alteration of the American Constitution cannot be made except by the votes of three-fourths of the States in the Union. That is indeed an elaborate safeguard. But the Prime Minister now proposes to remodel our ancient Constitution and give us the embryo of a written one, which he proposes to write himself, and all on a wintry June afternoon. It is the most amazing proposal ever made in the history of the British Parliament. The American Constitution may have been badly designed, but it was at any rate deliberately designed after full consultation and with the advantage of a clean slate on which to write. If the Single-Chamber Government which the Prime Minister now proposes is so democratic and so desirable in the interests of a free people, why did the founders of that great Constitution so emphatically reject the idea? Why has every other country since also rejected it? The hon. Member for Denbighshire the other day quoted a passage from an American newspaper condemning the House of Lords. I propose to quote a somewhat higher American authority, that of a man who is perhaps the greatest statesman that country has ever produced. I refer to Alexander Hamilton who, when speaking against a single Chamber at the Convention in Philadelphia, said—

> "Give all power to the many, and they will oppress the few. Give all power to the few and they will oppress the many. Both, therefore, ought to have the power, that each may defend itself against the other. To the want of this check we owe our paper money, instalment laws, etc. To the proper adjustment of it the British owe the excellence of their Constitution. Their House of Lords is a most noble institution."

[Ironical NATIONALIST cheers.] Hon. Members below the gangway may ridicule that, but it was made by a statesman belonging to a country to which they do not hesitate about appealing when they require assistance for their cause. [AN HON. MEMBER: What is the date of that speech?] The date is 1783. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh, oh!"] The Prime Minister yesterday quoted Burke, and if he was justified in falling back upon the opinions of the past I am sure hon. Gentlemen opposite will not deny me the same privilege. Let us see what Alexander Hamilton's argument is. He says—

> "Having nothing to hope for by a change, and a sufficient interest, by means of their property, in being faithful to the national interest, they form a permanent barrier against every pernicious innovation, whether attempted on the part of the Crown or of the Commons. No temporary Senate will have firmness enough to answer that purpose."

If hon. Members opposite think that the wisdom of Hamilton is a little out of date I would appeal to another well-known authority who makes this interesting statement—

> "It is an interesting commentary on the tendencies of democratic government that in America reliance is coming to be placed more and more (in the nation, in the State, and in the city) upon the veto of the executive as a protection to the community against the legislative branch. Weak executives frequently do harm, but a strong executive has rarely abused popular confidence. On the other hand, instances where the executive, by the use of its veto power, has arrested mischiefs due to the action of the legislature are by no means rare. This circumstance leads some Americans to believe that the day is not far distant when in England some sort of veto power or other constitutional safeguard must be interposed to protect the people against a hasty decision of their representatives."

That is not the statement of Alexander Hamilton but a quotation from the work of a democratic statesman who until a few months ago adorned the Front Bench opposite and who is now His Majesty's representative at Washington. The framers of the American Constitution foresaw and provided against the dangers of the popular House grasping at supreme control, and the policy of the framers of that Constitution has been endorsed and strengthened by the spirit of the American people to-day. I do not advocate the copying of the American Constitution in this country. I believe it is much too rigid. I believe it gives insufficient power to the people's House, but if it represents the extreme of caution on the one hand, I am justified in saying that the Prime Minister's proposals represent the extreme of recklessness on the other. In this Resolution and the Bill that is to follow it the Prime Minister is grasping at supreme and uncontrolled power in the State. By virtue of his position he necessarily at present controls the majority of the House of Commons. He is now endeavouring to cancel and destroy all existing checks on the action of that transient majority. He told us yesterday in an eloquent passage that he and his Party needed no shelter from the people. I think that possibly he may later on. But that is not the point. It is the people who need shelter from him. He is endeavouring to deprive the people of their last safeguard against the caprices and depredations of an uncontrolled popular House. This is the naked essence of the Prime Minister's proposal, and when it is understood by the people, as I earnestly trust it will be—[Cheers]—that is a wish which is apparently shared on both sides of the House—when it is understood by the people I believe they will reject it with an emphasis which will scatter the Liberal Party to the four winds of heaven. We on this side, therefore, will, I think, be the last to complain of this Resolution, or of the reckless enterprise on which the Government is embarking, because I do not believe there is any issue upon which we can appeal to the judgment of the country with so much confidence or greater certainty of success.

*THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir JOHN WALTON, Leeds, S.): The hon. Member who has just sat down in his concluding words spoke the language of prophesy. The Liberal Party are to be scattered to the four winds of heaven, and in some remote future he foresaw a new function for the Party of which he is a member. They are to save the people of this country from a Liberal Government which has been elected to represent them. The Prime Minister is to be prevented by the hon. Member and his friends from acting treacherously towards those who have elected him to office. The hon. Member detained us at some length with a review of the American Constitution. Among all the various checks which the United States have set up against an arbitrary democracy his researches did not lead him to the discovery of any chamber enshrining the hereditary principle. While the hereditary principle remains a dominant factor, or, at all events, a strong, if not a dominant, factor of our Constitution it will be hard for the most ingenious constitutionalist to find any parallel between the written Constitution of the United States and the slowly evolving modern developments of the Constitution of this country. The hon. Member tells us that we ought not to proceed by Resolution.

MR. ARTHUR LEE: I did not say so.

*SIR JOHN WALTON: Well, I gathered that the hon. Member said so. It has been suggested that a Bill should be at once tabled. If the hon. Member does not take that view, it is certainly a criticism which has been made. I know no other constitutional method of proclaiming the constitutional privileges of this House except by Resolution. It was adopted in 1678 and it was renewed in 1860, and unless you suggest a Bill which either House may throw out, there is no machinery by which we can express our opinions as to the limit of our powers other than that which the Government has now adopted. The hon. Member has revived the suggestion which was made, I think, by some of my hon. friends on these benches that the difficulty might be obviated by a reform and a strengthening of the House of Lords. Let me point out that the language of this Resolution is entirely consistent with any measure which has for its object the strengthening of that House. You may strengthen the House of Lords as much as you please, but you do not, by increasing its power, obviate the danger of friction with this House. You rather increase the tendency to difference of opinion and the obstinacy with which that opinion may be held by the other Chamber, if you give it representative elements or strengthen the way in which it is composed. This Resolution does not propose to introduce any remedy for such a state of things. It contemplates a division between two Members of the Constitution for which there is no other solution proposed for the consideration of this House except that embodied in this Resolution. [Cries of "No."] Well, I think I shall establish that proposition to the satisfaction of murmuring critics later on. First of all, what is the source of this difficulty? The British Constitution is a compact which has two marked peculiarities. In the first place, the first member has no voice in our legislature until the other two members are agreed, and in the second place there is no arbitration clause by which these other two members can be brought into harmony. You, therefore, have an element of discord with regard to legislation for which there is no solution provided. There is no ground on which they can meet, and from which their united voice can be expressed, before legislation can be obtained. The hon. Member for the Fareham Division has already referred to the various schemes which have been put forward in order either to bring this House to submission, or to enforce acquiescence upon the House of Lords. Either there must be action against us at the instance of the House of Lords, or there must be action against the House of Lords. It has been said that within the sphere of legality, this House supporting a Minister with the approval of the Crown, might increase the Members of the House of Lords sufficiently to enable the controverted legislation to pass. It has been said on the same advice that the Crown might refuse to issue writs to the majority of the Peers who would otherwise be entitled to take part in the deliberations of that House. There is still a third and more desperate remedy darkly hinted at by Constitutional writers, namely, that this House might refuse to grant Supply. Well, these methods violate the practice of the Constitution. Lord Lyndhurst in the House of Lords pointed out that it would be well within the province of the King to call up a troop of His Majesty's Guards and confer a Peerage upon every Member of that body. But he indicated that it would be unconstitutional, because, although strictly within the limits of legal right, it would be entirely against the spirit and practice of our Constitution. The same observation applies with equal force to the other two expedients I have suggested. Therefore, the remedy of bringing pressure on the House of Lords does not solve the difficulty or remove the friction, because there are constitutional safeguards which prevent that remedy being adopted. A short time ago I was addressing my constituents in Leeds. I indicated those revolutionary methods as a last and desperate resource of a popular body which is being kept in check by the hereditary Chamber. You may have unconstitutional action defended where it is a reprisal against unconstitutional action that has been adopted; and against unconstitutional action of the Lords in regard to the popular House there might be much to be said in defence of conduct equally unconstitutional on the part of the people defending their constitutional rights. I was subjected to newspaper criticism which took the form of sensational headlines, providing attractive posters, and no doubt increasing temporarily the circulation of the organs that resorted to that method of criticism. I take no notice of such criticism, but even the Leader of the Opposition affected the view that the Liberal Government seriously advocated a revolutionary policy in regard to this question, and he paid me the doubtful compliment of drawing a parallel between myself and one of the most odious and sanguinary of the statesmen of the French Terror. It may be that his estimate of myself was just. If I am a fit agent for revolution, I think he is an ideal instrument for putting one down. If he contemplates with satisfaction my officiating at the guillotine in Palace Yard, acting against the aristocracy which is warring against popular rights, I can contemplate with equal certainty the right hon. Gentleman turning the artillery against the people at the barricades who are seeking to assert their rights against the House of Lords. Our view in regard to this matter is that the true line to adopt is not the line of menace or of violence, but the line of constitutional action. In the long struggle between a privileged House and a popular Assembly there has been a series of victories which, step by step, have involved concessions by the aristocracy to the people which have slowly made us the freest democracy in the world. I have pointed out one solution, a solution involving the straining of the constitution in order to bring pressure to bear upon the House of Lords. What is the alternative solution? If the Lords mutilate the Bills of the Commons, or cast them out without consideration, if they allow themselves to be actuated by Party feeling, then their action is unconstitutional. What is the basis upon which the House of Lords rests on the constitutional theory? Is it that they possess an inherent legislative wisdom? Is it that there is a kind of hereditary transmission, a kind of aristocratic faculty for legislation? If that is not the true view, what is the true view? Lord Coke tells us that when the King issues his writ to a Commoner and that writ gives him a right to sit in the House of Lords his blood becomes ennobled. But if he were ennobled for life only, he had no right to sit in the House of Lords and therefore did not get legislative endowment. Historically, as the hon. and learned Member for Oxford University said, the House of Lords is representative. He said it was representative now, but the only reason he gave for that opinion was that it was a body of rich men who had seen something of life. But in earlier days in our history the House of Lords was truly representative. It was then an Assembly of the great feudatory lieges of the Crown; when you had Earls who were not mere Peers, but who held great offices of State, with wide powers of territorial administration; when you had Barons who were charged with the defence of the realm; when you had Bishops and Abbots possessing wide jurisdiction, and in that way acting on behalf of large sections of the population; when the burdens of the community were cast directly upon those great feudatories and indirectly upon the large classes under them; then the House of Lords had something more than the mere blood-ennobled theory to justify their exercise of legislative rights. They acted in a high sense as a representative body. But where is that title now? The hon. Member for Salford made an amusing speech in order to establish that the present House of Lords to a large extent consisted of the recipients of rewards for political services or of the favours of a Minister and of their descendants. The peerage was hereditary because the descent of land was hereditary. Even the offices in State and Court in those days were hereditary. The King's cup-bearer, steward, butler, and even the scullions in the Royal kitchen were hereditary posts. We only hear of these hereditary offices on such occasions as a Coronation. The House of Lords has entirely changed its character in recent years, and one looks about in vain to find any solid justification in reason or in constitutional theory for the position which, by some process of survival, they still hold in our Constitution. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London told us that the House of Lords has no absolute veto, acting in their own wisdom, upon the legislation of this House, but a sort of judicial function to step in between the representatives of the people and the people who sent them to ascertain what really is the popular will. I should like to know where is the constitutional authority for such a doctrine. We say that the people's wishes are what we interpret them to be. "No," said the right hon. Gentleman, "nothing of the sort. The House of Lords is entitled to step in and decide whether what you do or do not do expresses the wishes of the people." I say again, that there is no such constitutional doctrine. How can the right be defended to interpose between the people who send us here and ourselves some alien authority? Who made the House of Lords a judge and a ruler over us? The right hon. Gentleman said that what the House of Lords has to discover is not the popular will at any particular moment of time, because the popular will changes. He told us that we represented the interests of generations unborn. We are the heirs of the ages and the fathers of time. Then said the right hon. Gentleman, every elector whose will they wished to ascertain must act and speak, not only for himself and the interests of his time, but apparently in the interests of posterity, for whom he is a trustee. That creates a sort of political entail with a life estate subject to the most amazing restrictions ever yet known in conveyancing law. Curiously enough, the hon. Member for the University of Oxford, who is a constitutional lawyer of considerable repute, and has written works of high authority on the Constitution, adds to the difficulty of estimating the period during which the popular will must be gauged, because he told us that it changed every three weeks, and that this House does not represent the constituencies for more than three weeks after a general election. Well, it is impossible to resist the comment that, if that is true, there must have been a long era of misrepresentation before the last general election. What I want to know is, by what alchemy are the Lords to find out what the popular will is? What are the arts, what the necromancy, that they are to use? My right hon. friend the Prime Minister hinted at the difficulty. In the first place, there is no authority for the proposition; in the second place we are not enlightened as to the method by which that inquiry is to be pursued; and in the third place the House of Lords is conspicuously lacking in those qualifications which one would look for in an Assembly charged with a duty of that kind. Is this function to be intelligently performed? If so the House of Lords will have to approach it in a judicial spirit. Justice is represented blindfold. Does anybody suppose that the House of Lords are not very wide awake to the interests of their own friends? Justice holds the scale; but, with the Tory Party in one scale and Liberal legislation in the other, what chance has Liberal legislation? I can imagine the tribunal which would have to settle that question and decide the issue aye or no. Do the people want this Bill? I can imagine their meeting in one of the committee-rooms of the House of Lords known as the Moses Chamber because it is associated with the name of a great lawgiver. There they would have Lord Lansdowne, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London, and probably the principal Conservative Whip, whose moderate expressions on politics entertain us, and whose stimulating Whips add to the gaiety of politics. That admirable judicial tribunal will solemnly meet together to decide the issue, aye or no. Do the people want this Liberal Bill? Is there any doubt about the result? Why, it would be a tribunal for the massacre of Liberal legislation under the forms of justice and law. I can think of no parallel except a committee of some secret society. It can be demonstrated that the action of the House of Lords in regard to that issue has been, must be, and would be influenced by Party considerations; and Party feeling is a dangerous solvent of the judicial faculty, We are asked to entrust to the House of Lords the decision of a question which ought to be solved in a spirit of strict impartiality, with a wish to be guided by true wisdom and justice, although the history of last session and the principles of human nature satisfy us, that, instead of those fine qualities being present in such an inquiry, the issue will appeal to all the weaknesses of human nature, and be determined by the inclination to assist the political interests of the majority of their body. We were told that the House of Lords in passing the Trade Disputes Bill and rejecting the Plural Voting Bill showed that they were above Party spirit. There is a Member of the House of Lords for whom I have the profoundest respect. He is the late Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, and I had the pleasure of listening to a speech of a very vehement character by the noble Lord, in which he denounced the Trade Disputes Bill. In his peroration he told us that the Bill would enthrone tyranny and strangle liberty. But he concluded by saying that he would not vote against it. Why? Was it because he thought the people wanted it, or because it was a useful measure? No. It was because if he voted against the Bill he would separate from and cease to be acting with his own political friends who had not divided against the measure when it was in the Commons. The House of Lords is acting in precisely the same way. It is Party spirit which has invaded them. They are within the organisations of Party, and the effect of placing in their hands judicial functions of this kind can only lead to injustice and produce results which will be resented by the people of the country. What is the scheme of this projected Bill? We are told that the result of it will be to create one Chamber only. I strongly quarrel with that construction of it. I say that the result of it will be simply to declare the true Constitution of this country, and the true constitutional position of the House of Lords. Look at what the great writers on the Constitution say upon this subject. Great writers on our Constitution, in defining the true sphere of the Upper Chamber, have said that it has the power to amend, the power to check, the power to correct, the power to delay, and the power to secure that there shall be full consideration and deliberation before a proposed measure passes into law, and there the definition ends. This Resolution provides ample scope for the exercise of those functions, and so it simply defines what is the true constitutional practice. Twice the House of Lords will have a Bill before them; three times they will have a conference. During that period we shall all be in touch with our constituents; and the newspaper Press, in so far as nowadays it is intelligent and impartial, will be discussing the question whether or not the Government are justified in forcing this measure after its rejection, and whether or not there is a strong popular feeling in its favour. The position of a Bill after it is once rejected will be very different from that of a Bill when it is first introduced. The question for the Ministry of the day will be whether they are justified in pressing the Bill upon the House of Lords after they have expressed a strong opinion against it, and their decision will be taken after they have ascertained what is the real trend of popular opinion on the subject. I submit that the machinery of this Resolution provides ample opportunity for such steps to be taken as will enable the representatives of the people to come to a conclusion whether or not they will be straining their mandate in forcing a Bill through; and if they face that responsibility there ought to be no power in the Constitution to control their giving effect to that conviction. If they act wrongly they can be called to account, and if the period of the life of a Parliament is reduced to five years they will have to give an account of their stewardship within a shorter time than at present. This provision shows that in bringing this Resolution forward it is our sincere and anxious wish to provide a practical solution for this question. There is precedent after precedent which shows surrender of power by the House of Lords and the acquisition of power by the popular Chamber. Throughout history the tide has ebbed from the House of Lords and has set towards the House of Commons. The House of Lords can no longer make or unmake Ministries. No statesman when he accepts service under the Crown pauses to consider whether he will have the confidence of the House of Lords or not. No Ministry thinks of resigning because the Upper House has censured its action. While the House of Lords are heaping compliments upon Lord Milner and are approving his policy, the House of Commons are giving a Constitution to the Transvaal and beginning the repatriation of the Chinese. The House of Lords cannot preserve a single tax, however necessary they may think it. They struggled hard to keep control over the Press by means of the paper duty, and the Press to-day are subservient enough to support them in this struggle against the popular Chamber. The House of Lords cannot resist a tax which may reduce their resources enormously—almost to penury. They have already lost control over financial legislation. We are told by the hon. and learned Member for Oxford University that they have given up the right to initiate legislation of first importance. It is only one step further to ask them to give up the right to veto it. This Resolution has been introduced in no unfriendly spirit towards the House of Lords. It does not seek to destroy the Upper Chamber or its position in the Constitution—it seeks to define its sphere in a way that will tend to its preservation. It seeks to indicate the lines upon which it may long exist and may long discharge useful and legitimate functions as a Chamber of review. But if the Resolution is not approached in the spirit in which it is proposed, those who attack it must face the responsibility. If they flout it, if they disparage the motives of those who have introduced it, if they turn contempt upon the representatives of those in whose name the Government are acting, then the future of the House of Lords will far more probably be indicated by the Amendment which is to be moved below the gangway than by this Resolution. I and I believe my colleagues are anxious that the House of Lords shall retain a position in which it can exercise its functions usefully and pay proper respect to the behests of the popular will. If this view actuates the more sober and prudent counsels of that body then this Resolution will tend to harmony and will put an end to friction. But if it is not treated in that spirit, then history may read in the language of this Resolution the handwriting on the wall of the Upper Chamber, and the handwriting will be that of the House of Lords itself.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): I recognise in the speech to which we have just listened a strong family likeness to that in which the Resolution was introduced last night by the Prime Minister. They both began with malevolent condemnation of the House of Lords and denunciation of the hereditary principle, and concluded with the assertion that the speakers are in no sense hostile to that Assembly, but merely desire to define its position in the Constitution. The Attorney-General referred to his speech at Leeds and he seemed to feel a little sore because there had been quoted against him a phrase to the effect that the House of Lords cannot be dealt with without a revolution. I cannot think the Attorney-General is wise in rejecting that interpretation of his Leeds speech, because revolutions are not necessarily made with rifles and bayonets. A revolution means a complete change in the Constitution of the country, and I have no doubt that the Resolution submitted to the House by the Prime Minister involves a revolution in the Constitution of the country. The Attorney-General introduces into this question of revolution the connotation that it must be accompanied by menace or threats of violence, but that is not so. The hon. and learned Gentleman made a great attack on the House of Lords because he said, it was completely different now from what it was originally, and he indulged in a very eloquent defence of the feudal system. He said that so long as the Lords were the persons who provided for the defence of the country——

SIR JOHN WALTON: And paid the taxes.

LORD R. CECIL: They did not pay the taxes wholly. He makes a great mistake if he thinks they did. He said that so long as the Earls who exercised a kind of military jurisdiction, and the abbots and bishops who had an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole country, attended for those considerations, they were all right and nothing could be said against so admirable a body. It was only when the hereditary principle was introduced that they became indefensible. But that was introduced, I think, in the reign of Edward I., so that they became indefensible some little time ago.

SIR JOHN WALTON: I did not say that.

LORD R. CECIL: I do not wish to disagree with the Attorney-General more than I can help, and I agree with him in this, that the House of Lords were originally distinguished because they rendered great public services, Imperial and local, to the country, and it was largely on account of those great services they retained the confidence of the country. Very largely that is true at the present day. [Laughter.] I am glad to hear that laughter, because it shows that hon. Members are attacking men of whose character they are ignorant. No one who knows anything of the country life of this country will doubt that, taking them as a body, the House of Lords have discharged important public duties, discharged them gratuitously, and set an example, in my judgment, to the whole of the civilised world, of gratuitous services rendered because they regarded it as part of the duty they owe to their country. For my part I entirely assent to the proposition of the Attorney-General that those who are prepared to render gratuitous services to their country are entitled, at any rate, to the respect of the country. The Resolution before the House contains a major premise, a minor premise, and proceeds to a conclusion. Its major premise is that the will of the people shall prevail. I do not quarrel with that except to the extent that I do not think the truth is very happily expressed. The "will of the people" is one of those phrases which are very useful on the platform, but one which is, I think, not often used with a very definite idea of its meaning. Because after all the "will of the people," in the sense of the whole people, does not exist. Nobody pretends that the will of the people of this country, Ireland, Wales and Scotland, coincides on every question. It is a mere abstraction, a mere confusion, to talk of the will of the people. But it does imply a real meaning, and the real meaning is the will of the majority of the electorate, which is a very different thing from the will of the people. Hon. Members from Ireland will assent to that proposition, because in Ireland no one pretends that the will of the people prevails. You must limit it in that way, and in that way I assent to the proposition that it is desirable that the will of the people shall prevail. Then I come to the minor premise—and here I think I quarrel with the right hon. Gentleman—that the will of the people as expressed by the decision of this House shall prevail. It seems to me to be so astonishing a proposition that I have difficulty in believing it. The will of the people is not expressed by a decision of this House. No one believes for a moment that it is. [Cries of "Oh."] Does any hon. Gentleman seriously suggest that any of the opinions of this House express the will of the people? Nothing of the kind. It is the merest legal fiction. How often does it happen that the decision of a Committee of the Whole House is reversed on Report? Do both those opinions represent the will of the people? Of course not. How about the late Parliament? Did that represent the will of the people? [AN HON. MEMBER: "Not at the end of it."] When did it cease to represent the will of the people? I remember reading night after night in that brilliant organ of the Liberal Party, the *Westminster Gazette*, references to what was called a "Khaki election."

MR. J. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): Hear, hear.

LORD R. CECIL: That is cheered by the hon. Member for Stoke. What did that mean? It meant that the Parliament had been elected upon a single issue, and did not represent the will of the people on any other issue. Then what nonsense it is to talk of the will of the people being expressed by the decision of this House. I am prepared to go further. I am prepared to maintain that the decisions of this House do not represent the opinion of this House, and I do not believe anybody thinks they do. Look at the decisions we come to under the guillotine. It is notorious that Ministers congratulate themselves on the fact that they have not to face certain Amendments, that they will not be discussed, that they will fall under the guillotine, and thus the Government will escape a great danger. That is only one instance. The real truth is that in the House as it exists and is at present constituted the decisions do not represent the opinion of the House, but the opinion of the Cabinet. The truth is—and I wish the Secretary of State for India were in his place, because he would be the first to recognise the truth of what I say—that in other days when Members were sent as envoys from their constituents to do the best they could for their constituents they were not bound to surrender their own view to the constituency. And this is why I wish the Secretary of State for India was in his place, because in a well-known passage in his *Life of Burke* he quotes a statement of Burke that he would never surrender his opinion and judgment to his constituency.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): But he lost his seat.

LORD R. CECIL: True, even in those days he lost his seat. What is the state of things now? We are now told that the sole duty of a Member is to vote with his Party. [Cries of "No."] Hon. Members do not agree with that, neither do I, but it is clearly laid down.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): Where?

LORD R. CECIL: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman to consult the Patronage Secretary? That is the truth; let us face it, and recognise what the whole truth is.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: You can consult your brother.

LORD R. CECIL: I admit there are exceptions and I hope there always will be. I ask the House seriously to consider the working of this principle. The Cabinet comes down and presents a Bill to the House. That Bill is not passed because the majority agree to it, but because the majority must not, politically, vote against it. Everybody knows that on every Government measure every point is passed by the pressure of the Government on its supporters in the lobbies. Therefore, when you say that in future the will of the majority of the electorate shall prevail, it is really carrying (I do not wish to use a hard phrase) British self-deception too far to say that these decisions represent the will of the people or of this House or of anybody but the Cabinet.

We all agree that the great object of statesmanship is that the will of the people should prevail in the sense I have described. I believe that has been the object of statesmen for many years, long before this Government came into office; and they have devised from time to time different plans for securing that the will of the people should prevail. The plan now in existence is this. You have your House of Commons elected for a certain term in order to give stability to the Government, and you have the Second Chamber, whose object and duty it is, if they think the measure is one not approved by the country, to refuse to accept that measure until an opportunity has been given to the country to express its opinion. That is the working of the present Constitution, and that is and must be the working of any Second Chamber. It is, in other words, a kind of power of referring a matter to the country. I do not deny myself that it is open to criticism as it at present works. In the first place, it is no doubt a clumsy method—that of appealing to the country. The only way you can do it is by dissolving the House of Commons, and requiring every Member to seek re-election. I myself think that a very clumsy way of ascertaining the opinion of the country on a particular question; I admit that fully. But there is a more serious charge brought against the system. It is said that it operates one-sidedly, and that under the existing Constitution, if the Party to which I have the honour to belong produced some great constructive measure, as to which there was a real doubt whether the country approved, there would be no security that the House of Lords would require the opinion of the country to be taken upon it. But may I remind hon. Members that the Party on this side of the House is or ought to be essentially a Conservative Party. In my judgment it ought not to embark on great legislative experiments. I do not think that is its true function in the State. I know there have been distinguished statesmen who have taken a wholly different view of its functions; but I think if this Party became a rival of the Liberal Party, by a great constructive policy of its own, it would be very difficult to defend the Second Chamber which was prepared to accept one side's constructive measures and not the other's. The defence of the House of Lords must be that it is a conservative body. I agree in that fully. I think that the case is made out to some extent for securing that if the House is misled by its political opinions into passing a great constructive measure, some plan ought to be devised whereby the country should have a right to call upon the Legislature to consult it before that great constructive measure becomes law. What is the device that we recommend and which would accomplish all these objects? It is a device which was sneered at by the Prime Minister as a foreign device—the referendum. Just see how it works. It gets rid of the clumsiness at once, though I do not say it is absolutely simple; it gets rid of the clumsiness to a large extent. A measure is sent by the House to the other House, and after a discussion, or a conference if you like, the House of Lords is unable to accept it. The House of Commons settles the final form which in its view the measure should receive. And if the House of Lords is unable to accept that, then the country is asked to say aye or no, whether the measure in that form should become law. That is the skeleton scheme. That is the way it would work here and in the country, and I believe it is substantially the way it is worked in other countries. That would dispose to a very large extent of the clumsiness. Then as to the contingency that the House of Lords would check great constructive measures. I think that there ought to be for a certain body of electors, say one-fourth of the electorate, power to petition in such a case that the measure should not be passed until it had been referred to the people. That also is a foreign device. In that way I believe you would secure to a very large extent that legislation should be in accordance with the will of the people. For my part I should be very glad to see some such proposal as that carried into law. I observe that the Under-Secretary for the Home Department in his interesting speech yesterday objected to this proposal, because he said it would give undue power to the wealthy, who would be able to organise in such a way that they would be able to reject every measure submitted. What a commentary is that on the will of the people! Still, I admit that there is something in the objection, and I would have any change of the kind I suggest strengthened by a far-reaching Corrupt Practices Act. The other objection raised is that the issue would be so very difficult to the electors, but I really have the greatest difficulty in understanding what is meant by that. What is the issue submitted to the country at the general election? Why, it is an issue as to the merits of half-a-dozen Bills, complicated by every kind of personal question, and every kind of personal abuse. It would be far simpler to submit, aye or no, do you want the Plural Voting Bill or the Education Bill, than to put before the electors an issue as to half-a-dozen measures embracing the policy of the Conservative Party on the one side or of the Liberal Party on the other. The solitary criticism that I have heard on this proposal is that of the Prime Minister, who says it is a foreign device. I do not think that a very powerful criticism, with the greatest respect to the Prime Minister. Certainly we know that the proposal of the Prime Minister is quite free from that objection. I venture to say that the proposal to pass a Bill after repeated conferences is one that has never been made in any other civilised country of the world. May I call the attention of the House to the working of the Prime Minister's proposal? He suggests that first the Bill should be passed in the ordinary way, that is to say, under the guillotine. Then it is to be sent up to the House of Lords, who, it is assumed, will disagree; whereupon a conference is to take place. Four Members of this House are to go up the Lobby, and four Members of the House of Lords are to come down the Lobby, and they are to meet in some intervening space. What is the purpose of the conference? It is, as far as I can understand, to enable the four Members of this House, in a brief interview, to convince the four Members of the other House of their grievous sin, because it is quite plain that four Members of the House of Lords could have no chance whatever. Just conceive the Liberal Party submitting to the dictation of the House of Lords. Of course, they would never be able to face their constituents or even their obedient Party if they did such a thing. They would be called upon in every tone and by every newspaper to stand fast by the decision of the Commons. The conference would be a mere futility. What happens next? Back comes the Bill to the House of Commons, and either in that form or some other, it is passed by a somewhat accelerated procedure, I do not quite make out how much faster, but a little faster. There is another conference. Again the four Members of the House of Lords and the four Members of the House of Commons meet; there is a private conference, but this time it is abundantly clear that the House of Lords has nothing to expect, because whatever happens no further change is to be made in the Bill, if I rightly understand the Prime Minister's proposal. Therefore, this conference is absolutely confined to convincing the Members of the House of Lords of their wickedness in opposing the House of Commons. Then the Bill comes back here once again, and this time is passed with lightning rapidity; no discussion, no debate; through it goes; why, I cannot conceive; through the legislative machine it goes once again, and then these four devoted Members of the House of Commons make one last effort to convince the four devoted Members of the House of Lords. Really, is it worth while submitting a proposal of that kind? That is what I believe the Attorney-General describes as an arbitration clause. The Attorney-General has great skill, but I must say I should immensely enjoy having such an arbitration clause in any contract to which I was a party—to have the arbitration three times.

*Sir JOHN WALTON: I did not say arbitration clause; I said conciliation clause.

Lord R. CECIL: No doubt that is what the Attorney-General meant. One of two things must inevitably happen. Either the passing and re-passing of the Bill, which had already been fully discussed presumably, is to have some effect, or it is not. If it has some effect it will be immediately denounced by the Prime Minister and by the Attorney-General as an encroachment on the supremacy of the House of Commons; the Prime Minister would not have to alter a single word or sound of the whole of the earlier part of his speech; he would be enabled to denounce the then condition of affairs in exactly the same way as he denounces the present condition of affairs. And so would the Attorney-General. The hereditary principle would be untouched, and all that elaborate talk about people being born with a talent for legislation would be just as good then as it is now. Why, such a guarantee as that would not stand a fresh breeze, much less a storm. They would all be swept away instantly. For my part I would rather have no guarantees than guarantees of that description. Though it is a very old metaphor to say that a rotten fence is much worse than no fence at all, yet it is a true one. It is far better that the people of the country should know the worst, that they should know exactly what they are doing, that they should know that they are electing a Single Chamber with no checks upon its decisions, than that we should have those miserable safeguards which the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General have sketched. I should very much prefer the clear issue suggested by the Labour Party. It is far better, if that is the real opinion of the House, that they should say it boldly, and submit the issue to the country that they are in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords. Let that be the clear issue. Remember that from this time to the next general election this is the only question in which the country will take an interest. You may produce, if you like to trifle with your character for sincerity, your Licensing Bill or your Education Bill, or any other Bills; but if you believe that the country want this great and revolutionary change in the Constitution, the country will think that you are merely trifling with their ideas if you proceed on the humdrum round of ordinary legislation. Let the issue with regard to the House of Lords be submitted clearly to the country. Let it not be confused with the misleading verbiage and empty ceremonial suggested by the Prime Minister. Let them ask the country boldly and clearly—"Are you in favour of the abolition of the Second Chamber altogether?"

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I am not a believer in the hereditary principle. But as I listened to the great speech of the Member for East Marylebone, I had to admit that the mantle of his great historic ancestors has descended brilliantly upon my noble friend. I may also add that the speech of my noble friend also suggests to me an Oxford don of the 13th or 14th century arguing 20th century questions. I have intervened at this stage because I do not represent any section of opinion which has yet been voiced in this House upon this question. This is, in the opinion of British Members of Parliament, a very great Party debate. To me it is something far more. I belong to no British Party, but on this issue I am here speaking not as a Party man but as an Irishman, and as a representative of the feelings of the Irish people. There was an expression used yesterday by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London to which, after twenty years experience in this House, I take absolute exception. He said, "We all must admit that politics is a game." There are a number of men in this House to whom politics is not a game, but a great religion, and to whom the advancement of the liberty of their fellow subjects is everything. If politics is a game then, in Heaven's name, what are the stakes? Are the stakes human lives, human liberty, and human justice? I wish to say just one word in defence of an absent man, Mr. Bryce. Every time during the life of this Parliament when the question of the House of Lords has come up for discussion Mr. Bryce has been trotted out as a supporter of the House of Lords, and as a great Radical who is a Second Chamber man. His views were referred to yesterday by the late Prime Minister and by the hon. Baronet the late Secretary to the Board of Education, and to-day Mr. Bryce has again been quoted by the hon. Gentleman who opened the debate in a very interesting and well-digested speech. This is what Mr. Bryce said for himself on the 17th of May, 1879—

> "We think that any hereditary House must be a weak one, and we would rather have no Second Chamber at all than a weak one. We say that to have a stick which breaks in your hand when you lean on it is worse than having no stick at all, and if I had to select between the present House of Lords and one Chamber I should prefer one Chamber.

It is to declare the opinion of the Irish Party that I venture to intervene in the debate. The first person to raise in the House of Commons the question of the reform of the House was Daniel O'Connell, but his was only a voice crying in the wilderness. We have got in Ireland a body called the United Irish League, and the executive of that body on Tuesday last passed a Resolution on this subject in which they affirm that they recognise in the House of Lords a body of irresponsible legislators invested only through the accident of birth with power which they have invariably used in a way which has shown them to be the implacable enemies of Irish rights and liberties. They further declare that the Lords have always treated every measure of conciliation and justice towards the Irish people with contumely and contempt, and that—

> "While holding ourselves independent of all British Parties, and acting solely in the interests of Ireland and the advancement of the principles of liberty, we welcome measures for the reduction of the subordination of the will of the people to the House of Lords."

With regard to the Resolution which the Prime Minister has moved, the hon. Member who opened the debate to-day spoke of it as savouring of the ludicrous, but it is nothing of the kind. A Resolution of this kind if it never is embodied in an Act of Parliament, or even if its substance is never placed on the Statute Book, will still have an immense effect, because it is the first Resolution of its kind in the whole history of Parliament. Resolutions have been passed before on the motion of unofficial Members of the House of Commons with reference to curtailing the privileges of the House of Lords, and it is surprising how this matter has grown and magnified during the last two years; but this is the first time in the history of Parliament that the Executive Government have moved a serious Resolution which if carried into operation will mean practically the abolition of the veto of the House of Lords. If it is simply passed and goes no further it will still remain on the Journals of the House, a bright example to others in the future, and I doubt whether, in the case of a change of Government, anyone will have the temerity to move that it should be expunged. Therefore any measure you may introduce to bring the House of Lords into accord with the House of Commons will have the hearty sympathy and support of all who wish that the will of this House should prevail in legislation which the people of the country desire. It is not consistent with the dignity, the manhood, and the intellect of hon. Members that they should be treated like schoolboys. We come here and slave day after day, moulding measures into the form desired by those whom we represent, and then when our Bills are sent to another place they are so amended as to be greatly impaired or they are kicked out altogether. The wonder is that you have borne this so long. I should have expected you to be quick to resent treatment of this kind, but I am afraid you are not half so nimble-witted as you ought to be. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London challenged the Prime Minister yesterday to mention any Bill of first-class importance which the House of Lords had thrown out in late years with the exception of Home Rule Bills. I do not know how the right hon. Gentleman proposes to meet that challenge, but I can meet it easily. I will simply state what Ireland has to complain of. First of all, there was the Catholic Emancipation Bill, a measure of importance not only to Irish Catholics but to English Catholics and English Nonconformists. That measure was passed by this House and twice rejected by the House of Lords. Pitt made the great promise that England and Ireland should be governed by equal laws. In the agitation against the Union from the time of O'Connell down to the present day the Irish people have always asked for the equalisation of the laws of England and Ireland. First of all, they asked for the equalisation of the franchise between England and Ireland. Although Ireland is a poor country and England a rich country, the Irish franchise for fifty years was higher than the English franchise. On three occasions the House of Commons passed a measure to remedy that inequality and the House of Lords rejected it. The municipal franchise in the Irish cities was very much higher than the English municipal franchise. No fewer than five times were Bills passed in this House with the sanction of the Government in regard to that matter, and on each occasion they were rejected by the House of Lords. These were all measures of first class-importance. When my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland was about to bring forward the Evicted Tenants Bill, I asked whether it would be like the Evicted Tenants Bill of 1894, and he replied that it would be *ejusdem generis*. It was reported in the Press that it would be just and generous. The Bill of 1894 was passed through the House of Commons, its provisions being in accordance with the advice given by a Commission headed by one of the most illustrious lawyers of his day, Mr. Justice Mathew. That Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords, and yet there are some people who look upon the House of Lords as a wonderful place where detached beings, utterly exempt from human prejudices, arrest the unwise measures submitted to them by this House. They seem to be regarded as so many angels sent down for our good. It is said that Bills are sometimes passed through this House in a rush, and that hon. Members are subject to the fits and gusts of passion, and that it is valuable to have such a Chamber as the House of Lords to deal with such measures. The Criminal Law Procedure Act of 1887 was one in which the English

Liberal Party took the greatest interest. They took an interest in it out of kindness to Ireland, and also from the instinct of self-preservation, for they knew pretty well that if things of this kind could be done in Ireland they might also be done in England. That measure is known to the Irish representatives as the Jubilee Perpetual Coercion Act. The Bill was brought forward in the second session of a new Parliament in which there was a Tory majority. It is no exaggeration to say that at the election not a word about coercion for Ireland was heard on any platform. The Government of the day had no mandate whatever. They had a mandate the other way. They were elected to grant equal laws for Ireland, and not to impose coercion. When the Bill was passing through Committee Lord Weymouth, now the Marquess of Bath, took a yellow poster out of his pocket and read out the words: "Vote for Weymouth and no coercion." That was the appeal which had been made to his constituents at the election. One of the most curious things of all was that, on the day of the Second Reading of the Bill, the Piggott forged letter appeared in *The Times*. It afterwards appeared from the evidence given at the Parnell Commission that the letter was printed in order to affect the vote on the Second Reading. When Mr. Parnell stood up to deny the authenticity of the letter the then Chief Secretary who was addressing the House refused to give way, and Mr. Parnell's denial did not appear in its integrity in the English Press. When that Bill was passing through this House free use was made of the guillotine. I remember Sir Charles Russell stood at the Table protesting that a promise had been given which had never been fulfilled, and it has not been fulfilled from that day to this. The Bill was bitterly contested, and the proceedings in this House lasted five or six weeks. Having been forced through the House with the aid of the guillotine, it was sent to the House of Lords. If the Lords had exercised their function as the guardians of the interests of future generations, they would have taken care that a measure which was to coerce not only the present generation, but future generations, was fair and equitable. That Bill by which jury trial was abolished, and by which new offences were created, was not subjected by the hereditary House to the revision it ought to have received. Tribunals were set up under the Act in which the magistrates were merely the creatures of the Crown. One man who had been dismissed for fraud was appointed a resident magistrate. The Bill received First, Second, and Third Reading in a few hours at one sitting of the House of Lords. What is to be said for a Second Chamber which performs its work in that way? What becomes of the hereditary wisdom in such a case as that? The fact is that there is no revision in the House of Lords when a Tory Government is concerned. Certainly there is none when Irish legislation is concerned, if it is proposed by a Tory Government. I am sorry that the late Prime Minister is not here, because although he is not a gentleman of a very ardent temperament, I should like to say something which might appeal even to him. There was another Tory once Prime Minister who knew how to manage the House of Lords. I refer to the Duke of Wellington. He has left a document which is familiar to every student of constitutional history, showing how he managed the House of Lords. He was a Tory of the best kind. When Catholic emancipation was proposed, he opposed that reform, but when he found that Irish soldiers cheered O'Connell the Liberator, he quickly altered that opinion. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, which the Duke of Wellington had bitterly opposed, was passed by the House of Lords. The Duke was an old strategist, and he did his best to save the Lords from themselves. In a letter written in April, 1844, he gave advice to Lord Stanley as to how he was to proceed in connection with the repeal of the Corn Laws. He said—

> "Although I disagree with the Government measures, knowing what the House of Lords is now, knowing that it no longer reflects the will of the people, I have done my best with a considerable amount of management to bring them into line with popular opinion in order to preserve them."

The late Prime Minister did not take the advice of his godfather, the Duke of Wellington, but in language which could not be misinterpreted told the House that although the Liberal Ministry were supported by a general majority of 350 over his followers, he would go to another place and defeat the decision of the

House of Commons; and by doing that he lured the other place to destruction. The late Prime Minister attributed the preservation of Ireland to the rejection of the Home Rule Bill of 1893 by the House of Lords. If Mr. Gladstone had had his will on that rejection there would have been an appeal to the country, but, by the dilly-dallying of certain gentlemen, that was prevented, and the result is that we are only at the stage we were thirteen years ago, when Mr. Gladstone was overborne in regard to what he wished for as to how the House of Lords should be dealt with. The English Radicals have some representatives in the House of Lords; but there is not a single representative of the Nationalists in that Chamber.

AN HON. MEMBER: There is Lord Dunraven.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: He is not a Nationalist and he does not want to be in the House of Lords. The Irish Tories have twenty-eight representative Peers in the House of Lords—all of whom are Irish landlords of the Clanricarde type. It is a very remarkable fact that not one hon. Member has ventured to say that the House of Lords have a right to dictate your legislation here, to throw your measures out, to treat them with contempt, while Tory measures are passed automatically, or to erect barriers against Liberal measures, because they are the sons of their fathers. We do not view the ludicrousness of this, because we have got accustomed to it. It has been said by some hon. Members that Englishmen dearly love the House of Lords. I will examine in a general way as to the origin of some of these Peers. If I said all that I know in regard to them outside this House I might be subjected to prosecution by the Society for the Discouragement of Vice. I can consider nothing more cowardly or unmanly than to throw in anyone's teeth his antecedents. It is our glory here that every man stands on his own merits and that, however humble his origin, if he has ability he can rise to the highest honours. But when you come to this, that we are told that the Peers must revise the laws passed by this House, that they are the guardian angels of the people, that they are the trustees of posterity because they are the sons of their fathers, then we may inquire who their ancestors were. To begin with the Dukes. There are four of them whose ancestors must have been very precocious, because one was created a Duke when he was three years of age, and another when he was twelve years of age; and they rose to that position by the merits or demerits of Charles II. of blessed memory. Do you think it right that the descendants of these gentlemen should legislate for you and thwart your legislation because they are the spurious representatives of the divine right of royalty that was kicked out of the country? Another branch of the Dukes owed their position to the robbery of all the abbeys and the priories of the Catholic Church. I do not say whether that was right or wrong, but it should not have been used to give a hereditary right to sit in the House of Lords. There was another branch of the Peers who owed their position to royal favouritism or to honest purchase. Then William III. of glorious, pious, and immortal memory conferred a dukedom on a man named Bentinck, but before it could be conferred a special Act of Parliament had to be passed in order to naturalise him in this country, and the descendant of this noble Duke, who was of Dutch origin, the Duke of Portland, was the most bitter anti-Boer in this country in the recent war. Edmund Burke described the Duke of Bedford of his day as the great leviathan of pluralities. I come down to the time of the Georges. George III., who lost us America, created 388 Peers, who were described by Lecky as respectable nonentities, for their support of the policy of the Crown. Next come the peerages of our own day. What about the brewers who have got peerages, men who have brewed as much ale and porter as would float ten ships of war. They had no great ability about them except that of flatulent pockets; but no sooner do they get into the peerage than you find them with an ancestry that would take all the shine out of the blood of the Howards. I will say nothing about the military Peers; but as to the political Peers, Lord Clive, like Lord Curzon, obtained an Irish peerage because he had purchased seven seats in the House of Commons; and he was disappointed because he did not get an English peerage. During the Chinese debates it was pointed out that in China they did not ennoble a man for special service but his ancestors! A great many men who are made Peers to-day are the shunted twaddlers of politics; the wall-flowers of the political ball-room who are obliged to retire gracefully. My recollection of twenty years in this House is that the Lords are the shunted dowagers of politics and the wall-flowers in the political bowl. [Laughter.] All these things create laughter, but although they are very ridiculous they are infinitely mischievous. But if they are ludicrous they are also true. This is the very best House of Commons that has ever been elected in the whole history of Parliament, and I do not include in that description only those hon. Gentlemen who agree with me and the Labour Party and the Irish Members, because I see there are yet elements of earnestness in the younger Tory Members. But how are you to begin to reform? How are the leaders in the Executive Government of this country, under whom some of us will not flinch, to deal with this situation? Are you going to think of the constituencies and those who come after you? If you are going to do a man's work to put down this indignity and make the world better than you found it, why not rise to the height of your strength and brush away all impediments of a gingerbread character! Let us all direct our attention to this urgent matter and say we will not allow any man merely through the accident of birth to thwart our wishes and stand between us and the desires of the people. Speaking with some little knowledge of Cabinet dissensions, and I daresay there have been dissensions in the present Cabinet, I believe that if we support them we shall bring this glorious campaign to a triumphant conclusion.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Durham, Barnard Castle): I rise to move the Amendment standing on the Order Paper in my name which runs, "The Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished." The first observation I have to make is that the longer we listen to the debates the more convinced we must become that the position of the House of Lords as it is to-day is absolutely indefensible. If there was any doubt in our minds upon that point before, I think after the excellent review of the House of Lords to which we have just listened all doubt ought to be removed. We can congratulate ourselves, therefore, that we have had the opportunity of listening to the speech of the hon. Member for West Donegal, as he has refreshed our memory in regard to the position of our hereditary Peers. All this explanation makes it very much easier for me to put the proposition contained in the Amendment, but before proceeding to state my case I should like to make a very brief reference to the plan of the Government as unfolded to us in the able speech of the Prime Minister yesterday. I have examined the plan which he submitted as carefully as I can in the very short time at my disposal, and having regard to the whole circumstances of the case, I have been compelled to come to the conclusion that it is altogether too cautious, too moderate, and far too considerate for those against whom the Prime Minister made out such an excellent case. Applying the right hon. gentleman's scheme to the circumstances of last session, I may point out that it was the first session of a new Parliament, and happily the driving power of the new Parliament was such as to produce an output of legislation not only in quantity but in quality that, I believe I am right in saying, exceeds anything which has taken place in any session of Parliament in the lifetime of any single Member of this House. Supposing that this excellent plan of the Government had been in operation last session, I should like to ask what would have been the result. Let me take for instance the three measures in which many of us were most keenly interested the Trade Disputes Bill, the Amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the Education (Provision of Meals) Bill. I know that every one of those three measures would have been a subject of conference had the system now proposed been then in operation. I do not doubt that if this machinery gets into working it may facilitate the passage of some simple uncontroversial Bills, but I have the strongest conviction that it will be the means of hindering the passing of progressive legislation in general. I know I may be told that had this scheme been in operation a Bill very closely associated with the right hon. Gentleman on the Front Government Bench might have been after all his tremendous efforts passed into law. I may be told that if there had been this machinery the Government plan in regard to education would ultimately have been successful. Yes, but what I want to ask is this: Supposing the right hon. Gentleman had been successful, and I think he himself would make this admission, he would only have been successful in getting a Bill passed on to the Statute-book which would be far out of harmony with the pledges which the Government had given to the country and with that which the supporters of the Government were entitled to expect. [AN HON. GENTLEMAN: You would not have got a stronger Bill.] All I can say is that if we did not get a stronger Bill there would have been more compromises than there were before the Bill left this House, and if we are going to have more compromises in regard to our Bills as the result of the conference, its establishment will not be the least concession. I say that is a fatal argument to my mind against our too readily adopting the scheme which is put before us by the Government. It has been suggested that after a little time the House of Lords will tire of this method of proceeding, that after a session or two they will hesitate to put the provision in force, and that the necessary Bill referred to yesterday when it becomes law will enable the Government to put on the Statute-book any Bill they wish. That to my mind is a delusion and a snare. I do not think the recent history of the other House justifies our concluding that after a year or two they will cease to resist legislation, and I am strengthened in that opinion by the character of the legislation which we hope this Government may be able to send to the Upper House before it again goes to the country. There never were such demands as there are to-day for advancing social and economic legislation. We are recognising that social problems must be dealt with and are realising that economically and industrially there is much that the worker should receive at the hands of the Government. There is nothing that leads me to suppose that when we get these advanced measures the House of Lords will be more anxious to let those measures pass than they have been to pass other measures that have been sent up to them from this House in days gone by. For these not altogether unimportant reasons we look with some suspicion on the scheme unfolded by the Prime Minister in his speech of yesterday. Now I want before passing away from the scheme to urge the Government to reconsider the position, and see whether it is not possible to reduce the amount of time that may pass between the first disagreement between the two Houses and the final passage of the measure into law. That in my opinion is essential if we are to pass through both Houses legislation that is commensurate with the present needs of the people. Let us try to look at this scheme from a practical standpoint. Suppose in the first three sessions of a new great radical democratic Parliament we are engaged as we were last session with important controversial measures. Take the Trade Disputes Bill, the Workmen's Compensation Bill, and the Provision of Meals Bill and the Scottish Land Bill. Suppose the House of Lords seeks to avail itself of the right you are able to confer upon it by this scheme to put the conference machinery into operation on all those four Bills, how far are we going to be from the end of the third session of the new Parliament before those measures pass on to the Statute-book? But that is not all. What about the next two years? I hope hon. Members, and especially those who like ourselves came flushed with our promises of industrial and social reform, will ponder carefully over this. What about the last two years of the quinquennial Parliament? To what can we turn our attention during those two years? We cannot turn our attention to great controversial measures, because if we send up such measures in the fourth session of the Parliament there will not be time for them to run to the final period when the command will go forth that if the House of Lords opposes the Bill again it will pass without them. I allow therefore if we are going to have this scheme of a quinquennial Parliament, and I hope we shall have it—I should be prepared to go further and vote for a triennial Parliament, especially if we do not have a House of Lords—let us be very careful that we are not establishing a scheme that will restrict the activity of Parliament to three years of the quinquenial period. That is one of the most serious issues involved in the scheme, and I think I am right in saying that the Prime Minister is the last man to view such a situation with feelings of satisfaction. Having made this not unfair criticism on the Government scheme, I desire to bring to the notice of the House the alternative scheme contained in our Amendment. I have said that the Government scheme is cautious and moderate. I am afraid I cannot claim that for the scheme I am about to try to justify. But there is this about it—it is understandable, it is definite, and it is radical. It seeks by the plainest, the most complete and logical method to make the will of the House of Commons supreme. There is an almost unanimous opinion that the hereditary principle that obtains to-day ought to be ended, but we want to go further. We want to put an end, not only to the hereditary principle, but to the life of any Chamber which is irresponsible, which is not responsible to the nation. It may be asked why do we, representing labour, take the responsibility of moving this Amendment. We do so because organised labour has its own definite and ever-increasing indictment against the House of Lords. The record of the other House so far as organised labour is concerned is altogether bad. Organised labour remembers that the Upper House resisted a Bill for the protection of the lives of our women and children in the mines from 1842 to 1872. We recognise the attitude taken up by the other House towards the principle of compensation. We remember their making the principle of picketing an offence in 1872. Organised labour remembers the record of the Upper House on the Load Line and Merchant Shipping Act which was destined to do something for the seamen. We remember their mutilation of the Employers' Liability Bill in 1893–4, and their practical rejection of the Railway Servants Bill in 1893. But let me come a little nearer the present Parliament. Can we forget their treatment of what we know was a measure for the prevention of the importation of alien labourers during the progress of a trade dispute? Their policy on that occasion is the more difficult to understand when we remember that in the last session or the last but one of the old Parliament the Government of the Party for whom the House of Lords is so pleased to act passed an Aliens Bill which they claimed they passed in the interests of the working man. But how inconsistent is the claim when we remember that at the very time organised labour asked for assistance for British labour the House of Lords refused it, and threw out the Aliens Prevention Bill! The reason given by Lord Londonderry was as follows—

> "There might perhaps, in the future, be a strike in some great industry with which was associated the welfare of the whole people, and in such a case would it be wise to forbid the introduction of men into the country who were to keep the industry going?"

At the time when the workmen needed protection the noble Lord thought of the rights of capital and forgot the wrongs of labour. Then we do not forget their treatment of the Provision of Meals Bill, a Bill for which we were responsible, and which was so successful that it went through this House with almost unanimous consent. The Amendment which caused its mutilation in the other House was the exclusion of Scotland. We had the satisfaction that when the same Amendment was moved by an hon. Member above the gangway, the force in favour of the Amendment was so small that Mr. Speaker asked those in favour of the deletion of Scotland to stand up, and the number that responded to his invitation was ten. The principle was laid down that Scotland should be included in the Bill, and rightly so. How could it be otherwise in face of the testimony of the Medical Officer for the City of Edinburgh that half the children of the slums were being compelled to attend school in an underfed condition? The Bill went to the other House, and the Amendment so unanimously rejected by the Commons was accepted by the Lords. No; it is scarcely correct to say it was accepted by the Lords, because the vote was twenty-nine to nineteen. Twenty-nine against nineteen had the power to take over this Bill, supported by the unanimous voice of the House of Commons, which on this point we claim to be directly representing the people before whom we have so recently been, and to leave out Scotland from the scope of its provisions. That is part, at any rate, of the great indictment preferred by the Labour Party against the House of Lords; and with such a history as it possesses we have no hesitation in accepting the following definition of its position—

> "During the past 100 years the House of Lords has never contributed one iota to popular liberty or popular freedom, or done anything to advance the commonweal. During that time it has protected every abuse and sheltered every privilege; it has denied justice and delayed reform; it is irresponsible without independence, obstinate without courage, arbitrary without judgment, and arrogant without knowledge."

It is some time ago, I admit, since those words were uttered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, but they very correctly describe our opinion to-day. With such a House as is in those words accurately described, what is the method proposed by the Labour Party for dealing with it drastically? We are proposing a method that has long been settled and adopted by the organised labour of this country; whether it has spoken through the Trades Congress or through labour demonstrations, the voice of organised labour has been emphatically in the direction of this Amendment. After the rejection or the mutilation of the Employers Liability Bill there was held a great demonstration, admitted by *The Times* newspaper, I believe, to have been one of the greatest labour demonstrations ever held in Hyde Park, at which the following resolution was carried—

> "That this meeting, representing the organised industries of the United Kingdom, condemns the action of the House of Lords in stultifying the decision of a majority of the directly-elected representatives of the people in the House of Commons upon the Employers Liability Bill. This meeting also calls upon the Government to reintroduce the measure at once to test the ultimate decision of the House of Lords, and to take steps for the entire abolition of the House of Lords, and thereby to deprive the Peers of the power of opposing the national will."

The Trades Union Congress in the following year, 1895, carried the following—

> "That this Congress is of opinion that the representative character of the House of Commons is impaired, and its decisions rendered nugatory by the power of the House of Lords, and with a view of maintaining inviolate the supremacy of Parliament, this Congress calls for the speedy abolition of the Second Chamber."

This was seconded by my hon. friend the Member for South-East Derbyshire. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Congress took this matter up very seriously at that time, and, if the House will bear with me, I will read a brief extract from the manifesto of that Committee, which was sown broadcast on that occasion. In that manifesto, which was issued in February, 1904, they say—

> "What use to you is the right to vote? What does it avail you that a majority of the elected representatives of the people decide in your favour, whilst a privileged class are permitted to make a mockery of the most extended franchise and all representative authority? It is now necessary for you to decide whether you will tamely submit to this contemptuous treatment or will determine to teach the House of Lords that they cannot oppose your will with impunity."

I need hardly say that this manifesto was signed by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, by the hon. Member for Wansbeck, and the hon. Member for Finsbury. Not only is this the policy of organised labour, but there are others who have made themselves responsible for suggesting a similar course of action. I will just trouble the House with this quotation before I conclude. One right hon. Gentleman who happens to adorn the front Opposition bench at the present time is responsible for having said the following—

> "He saw on some banners the words they must 'Mend or end the House of Lords.' There were some institutions not worth mending. They were radically bad; they were founded on wrong principle. It was easy, however, to say, 'end them,' but how were they to do it? He believed one way was to stop their wages. A week ago, when there was

a Vote of £41,000 towards the maintenance of the House of Lords, twenty-three of them went into the Lobby against the proposal."

The same Gentleman said on another date—

> "For his part he was no reformer of the House of Lords. He demanded its total abolition as a legislative assembly."

These opinions are the opinions of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham. I feel I ought to apologise for having detained the House so long, but I would say, in conclusion, that we feel very strongly that everything which the Government has advanced against the Lords is true. We have endeavoured to supplement the opposition to the Upper House because of the treatment which the organised workers have received at its hands. What we have to ask ourselves is this: Against a House such as the House of Lords, with such a history, meting out as it has done such treatment to the working classes, can we justify the scheme of the Government, which, as I am afraid it will do, may place the House of Lords in a stronger position than they are in to-day? The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade in a speech recently deplored the fact that the Cabinet had always to keep in their minds the possibility of how their Bills would be treated by the House of Lords. But surely, if you put this scheme by Bill upon the Statute Book, you invite the House of Lords to interfere with every Bill. We feel that, if this scheme is sanctioned by the House, it is an invitation to the House of Lords, if they care to do so, to put the machinery which you propose into operation against every Bill. What is going to be the result? First of all, the character of a Bill must be altered, or legislation must be made more moderate in order to meet with their approbation. In the second place, during the whole of the proposed process, we are delaying legislation, whereas the country has endeavoured, by sending a great Government with a great majority to this House, to secure legislation of a social and industrial character in greater quantities than we have hitherto received. Instead of that being done, I am afraid that this very machinery will prevent the passing of the legislation we desire. Therefore, we are compelled to the conclusion that there is a much better way, a much more effective way, a way which will operate with greater speed for making the will of the House of Commons supreme, and through the House of Commons the will of the people, and that is not by tinkering and mending, but, as we state by our Amendment, ending the House of Lords. I beg to move the Amendment.

Mr. MACPHERSON (Preston): I feel that the House will extend to me that indulgence which it always gives to a Member who addresses it for the first time. I rise to second the Amendment moved by my hon. friend, and to all intents and purposes it would be wearying the House to labour the point much further. I have listened carefully to what my hon. friend has said, and I realise that he has stated from our point of view practically everything that can be said in relation to the matter. He has built up our indictment, and therefore I propose for a few moments to turn to some other aspects of the case. The Amendment is clear, it is definite. It puts on record, in the concluding words of the Prime Minister's speech yesterday, that "this House shall rule." We listened to the Prime Minister's speech, as we have listened to the speeches made from that side of the House to-day and yesterday, and almost every speech could be used to build up our case for the total abolition of the House of Lords. The Prime Minister yesterday demonstrated beyond all doubt that if the House of Lords ever did possess any power as a revising Chamber that power has now passed away, and we ourselves had witnessed it, for we have seen Toryism carried so far as to kill any legislation proposed from the Ministerial side of the House. As a representative of the working classes I say there are plenty of things before us which demand legislation. I know that any Bills presented to this House, unless there has been a direct agitation for those Bills in the country, have little chance of passing the House of Lords. I know there is the case of the Trade Disputes Bill, and probably the Labour Members ought to criticise the Lords more kindly because we are the only Party of which they have shown any fear. Nevertheless we Labour Members realise that the House of Lords have always been our enemies, and are our enemies to-day. We know that in whatever path we desire to strike out for freedom there they stand blocking the way, and it is time the people of this country took the matter into their own hands and politely put them out of the way of the path of progress. The taunt was made yesterday that the present Government are not sincere in this effort to deal with the Lords. May I remind the Ministerial Party that we are only a small Party in this House—there are only some thirty of us, but we represent with candidates defeated under our auspices nearly 500,000 voters, all of them independent voters? I desire to draw attention to the fact that this 500,000 workers are contributing their money to our upkeep, and they are keeping an eye upon the legislation of the country. As has been forcibly demonstrated by my hon. friend, wherever trade unionists have gathered together any Resolution dealing with the House of Lords has always been passed with absolute unanimity. Therefore, I think I can reasonably claim that the 500,000 voters which we represent are watching the Government, and they will judge whether they are sincere or not. If they go back to the country without something accomplished in this direction they will be slaughtered in the same way as the Tory Party was slaughtered in 1906. I will not detain the House further. I wish formally to second the Amendment which has been moved by my hon. friend, and I thank the House for the courtesy it has shown in listening to my remarks.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 1, to leave out all the words after the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'the Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the Legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished.'"—(*Mr. Arthur Henderson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): Yesterday I listened to the Prime Minister with the greatest interest, and there was no portion of his speech which interested me more than that in which he said that in moving his Resolution he spoke under a sense of the greatest responsibility. I am sure there are no hon. Members sitting on this side of the House who would in any way underrate the responsibility which is laid upon the right hon. Gentleman and upon his Party for the course they have chosen to take in regard to this question. It is a curious commentary on the sequence of events that in the year 1884 and 1888 Motions should have been made of a similar character suggested by Lord Rosebery with the universal approval of the Liberal Party of that day, and that to-day the Liberal Party should be found actually opposing the institution of an inquiry into the necessity for a reform of the other place, and that in spite of their opposition this inquiry should be actually at this moment going on under the guidance of the ex-Prime Minister of the Liberal Party himself. That is a somewhat curious instance of the irony of events. Now what is the ostensible reason for which this Resolution is being moved? What is the charge against the Second Chamber? We are told that the House of Lords oppressed the people, and that is the sum and substance of the charge. Hon. Members below the gangway declare that it is no wonder the House of Lords oppresses the country, because it is an irresponsible body founded upon an absurd hereditary principle. I am inclined to agree with the Prime Minister that it is hardly relevant upon this Resolution to discuss at length the composition of the House of Lords, because what we are really inquiring into is the conduct of the House of Lords in discharging its functions. The House of Lords, however, is not built up upon hereditary principles, but upon history. There is a large portion of the Second Chamber—and I do not mean the Lords Spiritual—who are Peers in the first creation and who owe their position in no sense of the word to the application of the hereditary principle. If you take the House of Lords at almost any period of its history during the past fifty years, you will find that there was always a large proportion who did not hold their positions owing to the accident of birth. We have been told that the House of Lords is not a representative body. I am afraid the word "representative" is a somewhat difficult word to define. I think, however, that I could point out that our Second Chamber to-day fulfils one condition of a representative assembly which is not fulfilled by this House. So great an authority as Sir Erskine May laid down that it was an essential thing in the case of a representative assembly that the record of its debates should be accessible to all and that every word spoken should be spoken to the city and the world. I think his actual words were that—

> "Owing to the publicity of its debates there is present, as it were, the entire people to assist in the deliberations of Parliament."

I put it to the House, not in any controversial spirit, with regard to the representative character of the House of Lords whether, judged by this test, as it is at present constituted, it is not more representative than those Committees which have been constituted in this House under the new *régime*. The Prime Minister quoted in his speech the words of Burke, and I would like to give the opinion of the same authority in a passage following that quoted by the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the representative character of the House of Lords. Burke said—

> "For it is not the derivation of the power of that House from the people which makes it in a distinct sense their representative. The King is the representative of the people, so are the Lords, and so are the Judges. They are all trustees of the people as well as the Commons, because no power is given for the sole sake of the holder, and although Government certainly is an institution of divine authority, yet its forms and the persons who administer it all originate from the people. A popular origin cannot, therefore, be the characteristical distinction of a popular representative. This belongs equally to all parts of Government and to all its forms."

After all the real charge laid against the Second Chamber is that in exercising its functions it is oppressing the people. That is a matter which it is obviously appropriate that should receive serious and careful consideration. I want first of all to say frankly that there is nothing impossible in that charge, because it has repeatedly happened in the history, not merely of this country, but of other countries, that the Second Chamber has oppressed the people, and that one estate in the Constitution has sought to aggrandize itself at the expense of the others. The optimates of Venice and the Whig Peers in the first half of the eighteenth century combined against the people to set up the tyranny of an oligarchy. The nobles of France and the Holy Roman Empire combined against the Crown with resulting disintegration of these Empires. That, however, to-day is not the question we have to consider, and it would be no argument to say that because King John oppressed the people the monarchy should be abolished, or that, because this House in the time of the Great Rebellion and the Interregnum oppressed the people, its abolition is desirable. The question to be decided is whether the Second Chamber now is oppressive. Let us see what that accusation means. It is not pretended that they are in any way copying the nobles of France and the Holy Roman Empire. It is not contended that they are lacking in national or Imperial spirit. It is not contended that they desire to do anything to disintegrate the Empire. Such a contention would not hold water for a moment. Even hon. Members opposite will admit that whatever the House of Lords lacks it does not lack broad and Imperial views in matters of Imperial policy. Even Liberal Imperialism, that plant of tender growth, flourishes and blossoms in that serene atmosphere. Nor is it pretended that the Second Chamber, like the Venetian nobles and the Whig Peers of 1719, are trying to make themselves a close corporation. On the contrary, it has already been pointed out as a charge against the Second Chamber, not that it is too much of a close corporation, but that it is too easy of access, and by a curious process of argument those hon. Members who make that charge would prefer, if oppressed, that it should be by some one with the blood of Vere de Vere than by one who, rising by his own merits, has succeeded in reaching high office in the State. I do not profess to follow that argument. What is the real charge that is laid at the door of the Second Chamber? It is that it oppresses the people because it resists their will as expressed by their elected representatives when those representatives happen to be Liberals.

In other words, it is resisting what the Liberal Party believe to be the will of the people. That was the charge made at Plymouth at the outset of the campaign by the Prime Minister. He said it is Liberalism that is at stake—not the people that is at stake. In short, this reform of the Constitution is being proposed not for the safety of the people, but confessedly nakedly, unashamedly, in order to strengthen the position of the Liberal Party. As I listened to the right hon. Gentleman yesterday raising his voice in lamentation over his innocents that have been slaughtered by the Lords—though indeed he seemed to weep more sorely for the step-child that survived—I expected him to conclude with a paraphrase of that finest of all funeral orations that was delivered at Gettysburg. Let us here highly resolve that these dead "shall not have died in vain," and that government of the Liberals by the Liberals for the Liberals "shall not perish from the earth." What we have to inquire into, after all, is whether it is absolutely certain that the will of the elected representatives is the will of the people. I do not know whether hon. Gentlemen opposite generally accept that doctrine. If they do, it is a somewhat curious commentary on their own conduct in connection with their proposed land legislation, because it is part of their machinery to send down Commissioners to dragoon the popularly elected representatives of the people on the county councils into compliance with the views of the Government of the day. If they do hold that doctrine, it would be well to consider whether it should not be applied in more ways than one. If it is to be held that after an election the majority of the Members of this House give a true representation of the will of the people, then something will have to be done to devise a remedy for the curious anomaly by which everyone who sits on these benches represents something over 16,000, and everyone who sits in other parts of the House represents about 7,000 electors. There are, no doubt, occasions when a special mandate on a special subject is given by the country to Parliament. The people say to Commons and Lords, "This is our will, execute it." On no occasion has a special mandate of that character been permanently resisted by the Second Chamber. The Lord Advocate admitted as much at Plymouth when he said that the House of Lords had never resisted a popular measure nor insisted on an unpopular one. In truth the Second Chamber is being attacked, as all Second Chambers, whether nominated, elected or hereditary, in other countries are always attacked, on the ground that it retards legislation. Of course it retards legislation, for that is its proper function. If a Second Chamber is not to act as a check upon the first it has no *raison d'être*, and it is of no use. I do not say that in a Party spirit. It is a constitutional commonplace. As far as I can make out, the real complaint about the action of the Second Chamber is that it has arrogated to itself, to use the Prime Minister's words, the right to force an appeal to the people. The right hon. Gentleman said that was an entirely unconstitutional doctrine—I think he said it was a doctrine not known to the Constitution. He did not cite any constitutional authority for his proposition; but I make so bold as to say that the doctrine is neither novel nor unconstitutional. It was insisted upon forty years ago in the debates on the Irish Church Bill. I cite the authority of Mr. Bonamy Price, a constitutional writer, who during the Irish land law debates was commended to the attention of the House and the country because of the peculiarly detached character of his opinions. This is what he says in regard to the functions of the House of Lords—

> "To balance and regulate the political movement of the nation—to test by temporary resistance the sincerity and strength of the will which demands a change; to make legislation take its stand as the good sense and ultimate judgment instead of the momentary desire of the country, and to give continuity and stability to the general policy of the nation."

I have done more in respect to this doctrine than the Prime Minister, for I have brought up one constitutional authority, impeccable and impartial, to testify that this conception of the functions of the House of Lords is neither novel nor unconstitutional. After all, what does it all come down to? We are actually told by the Party opposite that their proposition is that the Party which, by hook or by crook, manages to secure a majority in this Chamber on a measure

Mr. Mitchell-Thomson.

on which *ex hypothesi* the people have the very strongest convictions should hesitate to take the risk of confronting the electors at the polls. I do not necessarily mean that there should be a general election. I mean testing the opinion of the people by election or referendum. I understand that both of these methods are rejected by the Party opposite. What is the consequence? Suppose you eliminate the right of the House of Lords to challenge the decisions of the House of Commons, the House of Commons becomes absolute. Moreover, if this Resolution were translated into a Bill the power of the Second Chamber would be confined to the limits of a Parliament, and these limits are of course at the discretion of the Government of the day. Hon. Gentlemen opposite contend that Parliament towards the end becomes more or less unrepresentative. If that is the case, the curious anomaly would arise of the House of Commons having complete control of legislation, not at the beginning of its career, not in its youthful manhood, because then by the circumambulatory process which has been proposed, its powers are curtailed, but when it has begun to be unrepresentative. The new Commons are fettered. The dying Commons are supreme and their will is to prevail instantly. That is a perfectly logical and reasonabele deduction from the proposition which has been made. The second deduction is this. If this Resolution is passed why have a Second Chamber at all? If I understand hon. Gentlemen opposite, their view is that if the Second Chamber agrees with this House it is unnecessary, and if it differs it is mischievous. Sir Henry Maine, discussing that point of view, said it reminded him of what happened on an historical occasion when the question of burning or not burning the Alexandrian library was under consideration. The Caliph Omar settled the matter by stating that if the books contained in the library agreed with the Koran they were unnecessary, and if they disagreed they were impious and ought to be burned. So the Second Chamber is regarded by some hon. Members as either superfluous or impertinent. I ask why is it that in all constitutional countries a Second Chamber has been found necessary—in the federal Kingdom of Germany, in the federal republic of the United States, in the unitarian Kingdom of Italy and the unitarian republic of France. And yet in none of these countries is their constitution so elastic as in this country. I have tried, at all events, to argue this question, although I do not suppose that I have convinced many Members opposite. I suppose that many hon. Members opposite will still say that the Lords ought to be mended or ended; but the question is, which is to prevail—the writing on the wall of the hon. Gentleman below the gangway or the writing on the slate of the Government. That will solve itself when we go into the division lobby. The action of the Government lays them open to a certain amount of suspicion. They say that it is impossible for them to go on legislating so long as the Second Chamber reject or mutilate their measures; but they still go on with their legislation, and therefore *ex hypothesi* go on wasting time, before they proceed with their open attack against the House of Lords. I am bound to say that in the light of recent events in Lincolnshire and elsewhere, there may be something in the proverb that a burnt child dreads the fire. I do not wonder that right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite rather shrink from the fiery furnace of a general election, but if they hesitate they can hardly hope to escape the suspicion that they are bringing forward this Resolution at the present time for the purpose of masking the heat test. I think the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister is doing a disservice to his Party, because he is taking a course which has not the support of all the Members who sit behind him, as the Amendments to his Resolution on the Paper show; and it is a course which did not commend itself to the leaders of Liberalism in the past. In the crisis of 1860 Lord Palmerston said—and this is the last quotation I will make—

> "I do not think we should have raised ourselves in public estimation, I do not think we should have done anything towards maintaining effectively those rights and functions which belong to us, if we had thrown into these Resolutions anything likely to prove the commencement of hostilities with the other branch of the Legislature."

*CAPTAIN KINCAID-SMITH (Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon): No one can complain that the Amendment proposed by the Labour Party is in any way indefinite; they regret anything in the way of the reform of the House of Lords and want to go in for the abolition of the House of Lords, lock, stock, and barrel. But anyone would imagine from the first part of the speech of the hon. and learned Attorney-General that he was in favour of the Amendment, but in the second part of his speech he was at great pains to point out what were the responsible functions which would still remain to the House of Lords. When the Prime Minister put down his Resolution a great many Members did not know what it meant; but I do not see that there is any real difference between the plan proposed by the Government and that outlined in the Amendment. If you vote for the Resolution you in fact practically vote for the Amendment which is proposed from the Labour Benches, because you say that the House of Lords as a revising body shall cease to exist. But the House of Lords must essentially be a body of opportunists whose duty it is to give any legislative proposal sent up to them consideration in accordance with what they consider to be the wishes of the country and not in accordance with their own private opinion. The Resolution does not deal with the constitution of the House of Lords; it only deals with the relations between the two Houses of Parliament. I know that some hon. Members would not reform the House of Lords. Some would wish the referendum. Some would wish for an elected Second Chamber. Personally I believe that the House of Lords are quite sagacious enough to reform themselves so as to give themselves the maximum of moral weight and authority in the country. The Prime Minister and other Members on this side of the House spoke often of the will of the people, and that the will of the people must prevail. I cannot conceive anyone getting up to deny that the will of the people must prevail. But the point is, does the will of the people always coincide with the legislative proposals of the Cabinet? Has the Cabinet always interpreted the wishes of the people in any particular legislation they propose? The Prime Minister's Resolution means that when a conflict arises between the two Houses under no circumstances shall there be given to the electorate an opportunity of saying whether the Cabinet have in their legislative proposals correctly interpreted their wishes. I am only a new Member of the House, but it seems to me that it is useless for anyone to say that the Government of the day, even when supported by a large majority, must always be right in their interpretation of the will of the people and that the House of Lords must always be wrong, and that the electorate should never have an opportunity of saying which is right and which is wrong. It is the duty of the House of Lords to revise or reject measures which they think are not in accordance with the prevailing opinion of the people. If they make a mistake they will have to bear the penalty. [AN HON. MEMBER: What penalty?] Abolition, of course. Prove that they are wrong, and then bring in a Bill to abolish them. But unless you prove that they are wrong I do not believe that the country will allow this scheme to be carried through. Take the Education Bill. No one will contest that the vast majority desire that all clerical control of the schools shall cease; but I do not think that there is much hostility among the people to Church denominational teaching, and I am convinced that the wishes of the people were not correctly interpreted in the Government's Education Bill as originally introduced. The Leader of the Opposition reminded the House of the great powers which this House has, uncontrolled and unchecked by the House of Lords, in regard to naval and military and other expenditure and in regard to administration. Take another power which this House possesses of carrying into effect its will in such matters as the granting of Constitutions to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. There are many Members on this side of the House who would have liked to have seen it possible for the House of Lords to intervene, and who would have welcomed the interference of the House of Lords in regard to those Constitutions with a view of making them more favourable to the

British subject and bringing them into accordance with the wishes of the British people of that country. My chief reason for opposing this Resolution is that I can quite conceive that Labour Members opposite may in the future adopt a different attitude on Imperial questions from that which they had taken up in the past. I cannot help thinking that they may get tired of being looked upon as the natural allies of small sections on the Liberal side who have peculiar and advanced opinions on various subjects, who when trouble arises in our native dependencies invariably seem to think that British administrators are always at fault and always in the wrong; these I am convinced are not the views of those who send Labour Members to this House. I am not the least afraid of their socialistic programme, but combined with a more rational attitude on Imperial questions, with a strong and steady support of Imperial interests. I dread the support their predatory and socialistic programme may receive in the country. We cannot calmly look forward to a Cabinet reflecting the views of those who hold such opinions. There are hon. Members who wished to see the Education Bill, the Plural Voters Bill, and the Scottish Land Bill amended by the House of Lords. Surely they are not going to support this Resolution, by which they will practically acquiesce in the abolition of the House of Lords. I regard the Government Resolution as practically the same as the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Barnard Castle Division, and I am opposed to both of them. I think hon. Members who vote for this Resolution will give a vote which they will profoundly regret in a comparatively short period of time and no matter how many quotations you may make from the speeches of the Prime Minister, no matter how much dialectical skill you may bring to bear on the matter, you cannot rid yourselves of the accusation that you have voted for one Chamber. If the Prime Minister knew how many of his followers at one time or another have said "Thank God, we have a House of Lords," he would not have brought forward this Resolution with the confidence he professed yesterday. I am told that many of those who vote against this Resolution and legislation of this sort will lose their seats. That time will show, but personally if seats are to be retained by voting for a Resolution which one thinks is against the best interests of the country I for one shall decline to pay the price.

*MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): I am not surprised, after listening to the speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down, that we hear accusations on the platform that the Liberal Party are no more progressive in their tendencies and aspirations than the Party opposite. A more reactionary speech coming from a Member who professes to support His Majesty's Government I never listened to. The hon. Member for North-West Lanark argued in his speech that because the House of Lords had never set itself permanently against the will of the people, therefore we had no ground of complaint against them. You might just as well say that if a ruffian meets me on my way home to-night and assaults me and breaks my arm, but does not permanently incapacitate me, I have no ground for complaint against him, as say that we have no ground of complaint against the Lords for delaying the legislation which is justly demanded by the nation. The hon. Member says that if the House of Lords does wrong you can punish them. You can penalise them. In what way? Have they not again and again been convicted of wrongdoing? On their own admission they have stood against legislation which the country demanded until we have been brought almost to the verge of social revolution. What opportunity have we had for bringing them to trial up to now? This is the first time in which we have had a responsible Government bringing forward legislation to help us to deal with the block which confronts us in another place. I think that nobody can deny the importance of the Resolution, and I would certainly be the last to deny the importance of the issue. But I sincerely hope that now we have put our hand to the plough we shall go forward. Nothing gave me greater satisfaction and pleasure in listening to the admirable speech of the Prime Minister yesterday than when he said that whatever might be the attitude of the House of Lords to this Resolution, whether they took it lying down or otherwise, the Motion, so far as the Government is concerned, is to be translated into a project of law. It is no use to take off your coat in a matter of this sort if after a short scrimmage you make matters up again. I hope in this case it is to be a fight to a finish. No self-respecting Government and no Government claiming to be a democratic Government, it seems to me, can do anything but accept the challenge they have had thrown down to come to close grips with the House of Lords when it resists the will of the people. If we are to admit their claim in the slightest degree then there is an end to representative Government. The House of Lords strikes directly at the House of Commons as a representative institution, therefore their claim is not to be tolerated for a moment. The Leader of the Opposition, in his speech yesterday, spoke of a school of Radicals who put social legislation in their speeches, but never anywhere else. I thought that was a rather dangerous observation to come from anyone in the position of the late Prime Minister, and I could not help wondering whether he had in his mind what occurred in 1895. The whole programme of his Party and of himself in particular was based on the policy of social legislation. One of the prominent pieces of legislation shown in that programme was old age pensions. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite in 1895 were not unwilling to trade on the misfortunes of the poor by offering if they received their votes to provide them with old age pensions. What happened? Those who sat in this House at that time will remember that when we pressed the right hon. Gentleman on that subject his reply was—

> "If a promise is given to a person who does not seek for its fulfilment I do not see why it need be fulfilled."

That was not a social reform in the programme of the Radicals. There was no such declaration made on their part at that election; and here I should like to say that if a Radical Government gives pledges which they are not able to fulfil it is because of the standing block and menace over the way. You talk of the House of Lords as a Court of Revision; it is nothing of the kind. The House of Lords as a Court of Revision does not exist during the time a Tory Government is in office. It is only when you have a reforming Ministry in office that the House of Lords becomes an active interferer in the country. One hon. Member reminded us of the fact that every legislative assembly in Europe—I am not sure that he did not say in the world—had a Second Chamber. I dare say that is true, but it has often been said that this is the mother of Parliaments, and if that is true I can only say of other countries which have followed our pernicious example that they have followed our bad example, but that there the members of the Second Chamber have had the good sense not to throw themselves across the will of the Representative Chamber. The hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division twitted the Party on this side of the House with the fact that since the year 1830 we had created 286 Peers, while the Party opposite had created only 181. But is not the parent to be allowed to correct its own child? If we have created such a number of Peers, surely we are not to be denied the power of parental restraint and correction. That is all we propose to do by the terms of this Resolution. It is suggested that the Prime Minister's Resolution is practically a declaration for a single legislative Chamber. In my opinion that is not so; I wish it were. I have never concealed my views upon this subject. I am now, and always have been, ever since I entered public life, an advocate for a Single Chamber; and my hon. friend the Member for Barnard Castle is quite right when he quoted my name as being one of the signatures to the trade union manifesto for the abolition of the House of Lords. But I do not, and, cannot, exclude from my mind all that is involved in a Single Chamber. With a Single Chamber, legislation would certainly not be so rapid in its passage through the House as my hon. friend seemed to think it would be. If you have no Second Chamber to revise and examine the legislation sent up from this House you are bound to give greater time and facilities for debate in this House. Those who took part in the deliberations of this House when the late Sir William Harcourt was carrying through his great project of national finance will remember the time that had to be given to the discussion of that project, which was carried through without a single application of the closure. Why was that? It was because we all realised that the project was great in its incidence; that it could not be amended by the other House, and that therefore, it was bound to have the fullest consideration that this House could give it. If you have a Single Chamber—and I shall vote for the Amendment—although the Amendment does not involve a Single Chamber arrangement, it will abolish the hereditary arrangement—if we are to have a Single Chamber arrangement, I ask hon. Members to consider whether we shall not be bound to give more time to the discussion of legislative projects in this House. The hon. Member for Aston Manor last night said that this House was becoming less and less efficient to pass and discuss first-class legislation. I have had the honour of sitting in six Parliaments, and I do not know any one that was more efficient than this. Instead of being less competent it is more competent. What we are deficient in is time for the proper consideration of legislative projects. That involves consideration of a question which I think the hon. Member would not be able to agree upon. It involves the consideration of a scheme of devolution, which he and the Party opposite are not prepared to concede. I most cordially support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle, and will vote with him, but I shall do so in no hostile spirit towards the Resolution of the Government. I think the time has come when the claim of the House of Lords should be seriously considered by the House and the country. We have limited their interference in every direction with finance, foreign policy and treaties of peace, and the question of war. The only sphere of operations in which we have not been able to limit their action is in domestic affairs, and affairs which affect the well-being and happiness of the people of this country. That is the sphere in which they were still permitted to interfere and in which they are the least qualified to interfere. What measures do they ever take to make themselves acquainted with the wishes and desires of the people? How often do they come into contact with the people? Yet we are compelled time after time to go to the country and spend considerable sums on elections in order to find out what are the wishes and desires of the people. But what matters it after all the spending of all this money, or whether the present Prime Minister sits on the right or left of Mr. Speaker, so long as the Leader of the other Party can call in that section of the Carlton Club that sits over the way, and command it to do his bidding? I appeal to the Government strongly to go forward with this project which they have now put before the House and country. I do not urge them to do it at once. There is time enough yet. There are a good many things which I think this House can do before we go again to the country.

And, it being a quarter past Eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further Proceeding was postponed without Question put.

HUMBER CONSERVANCY BILL [LORDS]

(BY ORDER).

Second Reading deferred till Tuesday next, at a quarter past Eight of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Postponed Proceeding on Amendment on Question [24th June], "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."—(*Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Which Amendment was—

"To leave out from the word 'that,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, 'the Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the Legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished'—(*Mr. Arthur Henderson*)—instead thereof"—resumed.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*Mr. FENWICK, resuming, said: I am sorry that I had not an opportunity of uttering another sentence, and I should have concluded. Let me say that I do not personally put any pressure on His Majesty's Government to proceed immediately with this project. I conceive that there is much useful legislation that they can do, and which in all probability the House of Lords may not be disposed to interfere with, but by all means, having put our hands to the plough, do not let us draw back at all until we have made a complete settlement of the true and proper relation which ought to exist between this House and the other House of Parliament.

*Sir FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan): I wish to say a few words on this subject which of course interests me as much as it does other Members of the House. I greatly rejoice that we have had the interposition of the two hon. Gentlemen below the gangway, who put before us a clear, fair, and what the late Mr. John Bright called a "square," issue. The question before the House is whether we are to have a Constitution of one Chamber or one of two Chambers. I was greatly surprised to hear so high a constitutional authority as the Attorney-General refer to the action of the House of Lords on the paper duty. He must have forgotten that in addressing the House of Commons he was not addressing a jury, because he endeavoured to raise a prejudice against the other Chamber on the ground that they had opposed the paper duty for social reasons. The fact of the case is that in the House of Lords the duty was retained for a year because at that time, in the estimation of great financial authorities, the income of the State would not bear the loss of £1,000,000. This estimate was confirmed by experience; but in the following year the resources of the country were more abundant, the £1,000,000 could be afforded, and the House of Lords without any hestation whatever repealed the duty. Coming to more recent times, I might refer to what occurred last session, reference to which has been made. No one can complain with any reason or justice of the action of the House of Lords with reference to compensation to workmen or with reference to the Trade Disputes Bill. I greatly regretted the action of the House of Lords in regard to the Bill for the provision of meals for children in schools. I supported that Bill, and I hope that I did something towards carrying it through this House. But I cannot forget that the House of Lords were supported in their action by the almost unanimous vote of nearly all the school boards in Scotland, those school boards being representative bodies. I think it is rather hard on the House of Lords that they should be blamed for following the lead of the great representative education authorities of Scotland. I will not endeavour to go back on the long story of the supposed misdoings of the House of Lords. I hope that I may be allowed to say, with every respect to what is the opinion of the Labour Party, that they are hardly entitled to expect the House of Commons and the House of Lords to bow before them, and accept all their wishes without debate or controversy, or without delay. I hope that I may be allowed to make that observation, because hon. Members below the gangway know that I have assisted them on former occasions, and I may be able to render them the like service in the years to come. We have to deal now with the question of a single Chamber. This old country has a long history and an infinite variety of interests, and when it is proposed to have a single Chamber, I challenge anyone to show a single instance in civilisation where a single Chamber has continued during any length of time worth reckoning, or where it has given satisfaction or commanded confidence. I believe that no such instance exists. But this I do say, that before a Bill of this kind is brought before the House, such cases, if there are any, ought to be cited in its support. This old country is not like a new colony, where you take a desert island and fertilise it. This is not a country where you may try any experiment you please, changing and modifying, and waiting the results. Here our institutions are so deeply seated, they are so fixed in the affections of the people, that it is both rash, and, I think, foolish, to endeavour to create in this country an institution so novel to civilisation as a single Chamber. I confess I was somewhat surprised to hear the citation by the Prime Minister yesterday of the Resolution passed in the republican times of this country. I think that the right hon. Gentleman fixed his eyes too much on one Resolution of the Commonwealth period, and he did not consider what was the result of that Resolution. There was one instrument which we see in this Chamber every day, namely, the mace. The result of that Resolution was that the mace for a time had an ill fate, for it was sent off in the most unceremonious manner by Oliver Cromwell, not to reappear until the House of Lords reappeared. We know well enough, without going into details, the history and the troubles of those times after the passing of that Resolution. The country then had to deal not with one Parliament after another chosen in the same fashion according to our modern usage, but with Parliament after Parliament, each more strange than the last; and the Long Parliament of Oliver Cromwell was sent to the country in the manner which I have described, and which caused the mace to be sent out of the House too. I do not wish to dwell on the Constitution of the United States, but having given some time to the study of the subject I would beseech hon. Members, if I may say so, to devote their time and industry to a study of that most interesting Constitution. Each State in America has its own legislature, but the Constitution limits the powers of the State legislature to a very remarkable degree and extent. The effect of it is that any drastic change made by the State legislature cannot be carried out without an amendment of the Constitution, which amendment can only be accomplished with some difficulty and with full discussion. I do not wish to-night to make any remarks of a theoretical kind upon democracies. We know that a monarchy requires checks. An aristocracy requires a check. That which a wise country will do is to devise some check which will save the democracy form its own excesses, give them time for consideration, and prevent those rash proceedings which certainly do occur in every Assembly, whatever its constitution may be. There is another consideration which has occurred to me. I do not know how far I carry the sympathies of the House with me, but I confess that I do view with very great dread indeed the limitation of debate. I believe that limitation is a great danger to this country and is going to bring forth issues of serious moment. What system we shall have if the Lords are abolished it is not for me to say. There is, however, one method, that of proportionate representation, which I am perfectly sure will, in the next few years, undergo a discussion of a most practical character. I am very much inclined to think that we can only be secured from this violent oscillation of public opinion by some system of proportionate representation. I will not pursue that subject to-night, but in the future those who are working in favour of this new system must give the most careful consideration to this part of the case. There is another method to which reference was made by the Prime Minister yesterday, and that is the referendum. We already have that system in Switzerland. I will not dwell upon this system now, but I should like to read one extract from a text-book which I think is worthy of the attention of the House. It is from Adam and Cunningham's "Switzerland"—

> "Extreme measures, whether radical or reactionary, have no chance whatever of being accepted by the people, who, while in a manner fulfilling the functions of a Second Chamber, have infinitely more weight than such a body usually possesses, even if it be thoroughly representative and chosen by universal suffrage."

That is a most remarkable comment upon the system of referendum. There are two remarks more which I desire to make. These are the British Isles, but the British Isles are not alone concerned. We have Colonies, and we must cast our eye, when we change our system of government, upon the Colonies, and we must be quite sure that any instability or want of firmness in our institutions here may not do much to weaken the confidence of the Colonies in the Mother Country. We have also to remember that we are not solitary as regards the Colonies, and we are still less solitary as regards the continent of Europe, the shores of which are within sight of our own. If we have an uncertain Government here which changes from one extreme to the other the confidence in the

Government of the country will be greatly impaired, and we shall fall, as no patriot desires we should fall, in the confidence and respect of other nations. I am glad to have had this opportunity of making these few simple observations, because I believe that the problem which has been introduced into this House is one of a most gigantic character. I sometimes think that those of us who have been engaged in legislative work for a long time, and have had our thoughts deeply engaged on the subjects which have come before us, do not always sufficiently consider the result of our own action. The question which is now before us is one respecting which we must look forward to the most distant future. It is an occasion when we must look around to foreign countries and across distant seas, and it is not until we have considered all these relations as well as our own concerns at home that we shall be able to arrive at a conclusion worthy of this country, and worthy of the great difficulties with which this and every constitutional problem must necessarily be intermixed.

*Mr. AGNEW (Salford, W.): As this is my maiden speech, I must ask the kind indulgence of the House in the few words I am about to say. I feel that we have had no defence from the Opposition side of the House of the extraordinary position in which we find ourselves in regard to our relationship with the House of Lords when a Liberal Government happens to be in power. The Leader of the Opposition yesterday claimed that the House of Lords always did its duty. He justified their position by the rejection of the Home Rule Bill which was brought in by the Government of 1892, and claimed that upon that occasion the Lords represented the will of the people. It ought to have occurred to the right hon. Gentleman that, in the first place, the Parliament of 1892 was returned by a very narrow majority, and the divisions which took place in this House also had very narrow majorities. Therefore, much as the Liberal Party regretted the rejection of the Home Rule Bill they accepted it as part of their destiny. Compare that state of things with the position in 1906, when the Liberal Party was returned to power with an unprecedented majority, when two Bills, about which there had been so much discussion, were rejected by the Lords, notwithstanding the large majorities by which they were passed through this House. I do not think that there is any analogy at all between the two cases. Surely it cannot be contended by the Opposition that the Education Bill of last year was not thoroughly discussed and digested in the country, because the country had the four years which intervened prior to the passing of that Bill to form their opinions as to the wisdom of that measure. [Opposition Cries of "No."] The Education Act now in force was passed in 1902, and the general election took place in 1906, and therefore, the country had ample time to consider the working of that measure. In my county, at any rate, I know that this was the great question before the electors, until the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham entered upon his fiscal expeditions. Up to that period it was the Education Bill, and that only, which excited the people. My hon. friend the Member for Clitheroe said yesterday that even with a single Chamber there would be no tendency to hasty legislation. If my hon. friend was referring to projects started by the Liberal Party and the Labour Party I can thoroughly agree with him. I do not think, however, that it can be contended that that should be accepted as a universal proposition by the House. I remember that the 1900 Parliament passed a measure which was hasty and ill-considered, and I cannot understand why the House of Lords in its wisdom did not, at any rate, send that Bill back again to be reconsidered by the House of Commons. The Bill I am alluding to is the Licensing Bill. I was under the impression that the Bill was really brought forward in consequence of certain elections which had taken place just about that time, and which brought a certain amount of fear to the mind of the right hon. Gentleman who was then Prime Minister. Certainly no explanation has yet come from the Opposition as to why the House of Lords, acting as a revising Chamber, did not then exercise its powers, whilst on the two occasions last year they did. The noble Lord the Member for Marylebone was quite candid in his speech, for he admitted that the House of Lords was a Conservative body, and he said that if the Conservative Party in this House adopted a constructive policy we Liberals should have reason to complain of the Lords' unfair treatment. Now the late Conservative Government certainly promoted legislation of a kind, but the Education and Licensing Acts are regarded by the people as being of a destructive, rather than a constructive character, and yet were accepted at once by the House of Lords. I think it must be generally admitted that the House of Lords has long ago ceased to be impartial. Probably it was impartial in the old days of Whigs and Tories, but those days have gone by, and at the present moment the House of Lords is out of touch with the great masses of the people. How the Upper Chamber can claim, in any sense whatever, to understand what the will of the people is I am utterly at a loss to understand. I know that there are honourable exceptions, but there are a large number of Peers who not only do not know what the desires and aspirations of the people are, but who take no interest whatever in public affairs. And yet when a wicked Liberal Government brings forward some measure distasteful to the Tory Party, all those gentlemen come up from the country, absolutely regardless of the public interest, to vote with their leader against Liberal measures, just as the clergy rush up in flocks to outvote the tutors at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. The hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford University said yesterday that the Prime Minister desired the supersession of the House of Lords as a legislative Chamber. I do not think that we on this side of the House need to be very much frightened about that. Personally, I am not frightened. We have already restricted the House of Lords very much in its power of legislation, and I desire to go a great deal further. I cannot say that I agree entirely with the view taken by the Labour Party on this question. I am still a Second Chamber man, but I do not want a legislative Second Chamber. The hon. Member said it was equivalent to voting for abolition of the House of Lords. I think the same argument might have been employed 250 years ago when the question of finance was entirely removed from the purview of the other Chamber. I have no fear whatever on that score, and if it is a matter of going on as we are doing now, or resolving to have one Chamber, I would prefer the latter course. I think it is quite possible that legislation will enable us to have a Second Chamber with only a limited veto. I should like to see noble Lords elegible for seats in this House. That has been the wish of some of them, and I am sure that those whose opinions are worth having would be welcomed here. At any rate, after a contested election, I should say that they would know something of the desires of the people, and that is a claim which they cannot make at the present moment. If any noble Lord would go to my constituency, he would get a very clear and definite idea of what the people want on this great question. I am not talking now of unreasoning and unthinking people, but of working men who have reasoned out the question for themselves, not in consequence of the events of last year, but during the last twenty years. One of the first questions which I was asked when I presented myself as a candidate for the district I have the honour to represent was: "What is your opinion on the question of the veto of the House of Lords?" I am perfectly sure if I had not stated that I was opposed to the present veto, and in favour of only a very limited veto, I would not have been accepted as a candidate, notwithstanding my views in regard to free trade, education, and Chinese labour. The question of the reform of the House of Lords was handed on to us by that great constitutionalist, Mr. Gladstone, eighteen years ago, and I look upon the bringing forward of this Resolution as the commencement of the duty laid upon us by him. I am not afraid of the outcome. The hon. Baronet the Member for Wigan, for whose opinion on many points I have the greatest respect, seemed to think that we were going to have no Second Chamber if we adopted this Resolution. I think that opinion can be attributed to the usual fear entertained by the Conservative Party when any change is proposed in the Constitution of the country. The hon. Member for Cambridge University said the Lords always gave way when it could be shown that the House of Commons represented the deliberate judgment of the people. It has been asked—Who is to decide what the deliberate judgment of the people is? I can conceive of no other means of discovering that fact except a general election. You probably do not discover it at a by-election, but surely at a general election you get at the desires and the will of the people. At the last election the people sent a majority of Liberal and Labour Members here in order to achieve certain things, one being a change in the constitution of the House of Lords. We are just as much within our rights in saying that the veto of the House of Lords should be restricted now as our ancestors were in taking away financial questions from the consideration of that House. It must be admitted that as times change our Constitution must change with them, otherwise it would be all the worse for the Constitution. I think we must admit that the House of Lords must become a diminishing power in the Constitution. It is bound to be so in the natural order of events. I say that we the Liberal Party who support the Resolution of the Prime Minister are the true Conservatives in the highest sense of the word. I am entirely opposed to a man having the power to legislate merely because he is the son of his father. I recognise, however, that that is not a question which falls under this Resolution. I can only trust that noble Lords will themselves come to the decision that the hereditary principle must for once and all be stopped in regard to the other House. I shall vote for the Resolution with the greatest possible pleasure without any fear of any untoward event happening in our old country. I thank the Prime Minister for bringing forward the Resolution, and I trust that it will be followed by legislation at no distant date.

*SIR HENRY KIMBER (Wandsworth): We have before us two remedies for a supposed malady of a constitutional character. The diagnosis of the two doctors is agreed upon, but the remedies are very different. The remedy prescribed by the Prime Minister is to treat the patient as one who has no reason, or who has been bereft of reason, and to put him in confinement so that he may thereby be prevented from taking any deliberative action in the affairs of the State. The remedy proposed by the other is of a more Draconian character, and that is his immediate extinction without a hearing, without trial, and without mercy. There is this in common between the two proposals. They base their propositions on the will of the people. In these days the people are supposed to have control of their own affairs. It is recognised that they have the right to control their own affairs, but they do not actually possess the power. I would ask the Prime Minister if he were here whether, in the terms of his Resolution, he does not require to assume as a postulate that the will of the people is expressed by their elected representatives in this House. In effect, it says, Let it be assumed that the will of the people is expressed by the representatives of the people sent to this House. The Amendment of which I gave notice, but which on account of the order of the proceedings it will not be possible for me to move, propounds two propositions. One is that the present Parliament, expressed by a simple majority in this House, does not necessarily represent the will of the people. [Laughter.] Well, we shall see, and I am going to quote very high Liberal authority in the argument I am going to put before you. The Leaders of the Liberal Party in this House legitimately boast of having 512 supporters. The opposite Party have the remainder. But by what votes in the country were they elected? About 6,000,000 out of the 7,500,000 electors of the country voted at the last general election. The 512 representatives who are supposed to form the Liberal Party were elected by 3,400,000 —I am stating round numbers for convenience, but I have the exact figures here—which gives an average to each Member of 6,629. The 158 members of the Unionist Party were elected by rather over 2,500,000, which gives an average of over 16,000 voters to each. It will be seen if that number of votes had been equally distributed among the Unionists and the Government Party, instead of the Government Party having the majority of 354 of which they boast, they would just have a majority of ninety-four. I am endeavouring to be fair. What is the effect of that upon the majorities of the Government? The Government claim that they do represent the majority of the voters in the country, but they represent different majorities from that which they are entitled to represent in divisions. It will be seen that the difference between 354 and ninety-four is 260. Therefore, it is an unreasonable argument to put forward that in every division in which the Government can boast of a majority they represent the will of the people as distinguished from the will of the House. If you deduct 260 from 354, you may have a chance of having an approximate idea of the will of the people outside. I have taken the trouble to analyse all the divisions in which the Government have obtained a majority since 24th May. There have been sixty-seven divisions, in none of which the Government attained a majority of 260, and in thirteen they only obtained a majority of 200 or more. I think I am entitled to say that that is not an expression of the will of the people, for they were really in a minority. I do not say this as a mere Party argument. An anolagous thing happened at the general election in 1886, when the advantage was on our side; and so it has happened at every general election for the last forty years. Therefore the least I can say is, that the will of the people is not certainly expressed either by the method of representation in the House, or by the divisions taken in the House. It is easy to make your conclusions right by framing your premises as you please, but is this the way in which the will of the people can be represented in this House, and on which a vast change should be made in our Constitution which has existed for many centuries to the great advantage to the State? I am convinced that if there was a proposition submitted to the country that the House of Lords should be abolished an immense majority would be found against it. But secondly, it is not only in this Parliament, but in any Parliament elected with our present conditions of representation that the will of the people cannot be really represented. Let me give a few facts which are incontrovertible, and which have been placed by me before the country in a variety of ways. There is great disparity in the constituencies in the country. For instance, there are three constituencies which send only three Members to this House, while there are thirty-five constituencies which have rather a less number of electors than the three constituencies I have mentioned but which send thirty-five representatives to this House. Is that representation of the people? Is it fair that one constituency with 47,000 electors should send the same number of representatives to this House as another constituency which had only 1,500 electors? Can the result of that be said in any fashion to represent the will of the people? Take the broad facts. Under our present representation one-half of the electors in the country are only allowed to send 225 representatives, while the other half send no less than 445 Members to the House of Commons. It is quite true that the political questions which divide Parties do not divide constituencies in precisely the same way. How can it be said that there is any proportion between the divisions in this House under any circumstances which corresponds with the proportion of the people outside? One other fact. There are 670 Members in this House. One-half, 335, represent 5,100,000 electors, the other half represent 2,300,000 electors. How can it be said that these represent the will of the people? I submit that it can be said with certainty that this House does not represent the will of the people, and that the Prime Minister's proposition based on that postulate vanishes into thin air. I contend that our present representative system in this House ought to be reformed; and that that reform ought to precede any attempt to tinker with the ancient Constitution of this old country. It is admitted on the other side that the House of Lords is useful for the assistance it gives in legislation; it has been attacked because it has not done what it was constituted to do. It cannot be asserted for a moment that the House of Lords has violated any part of its duties in amending or rejecting any Bills we send up to them. The *raison d'etre* of a second House is that it may differ from the lower House. If always bound to agree, why is it wanted to examine questions at all? This outcry against the House of Lords is merely vindictive. There are many unworthy Members in the House of Lords, just as there may be unworthy Members in this House, and in all other classes of society; but if the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Lords are looked at, we cannot detect any signs of interference by unworthy Members in our legislation as a whole. I believe that the country has never had any reason to complain on that score. At all events, the question contained in the Prime Minister's proposition should not be decided until the House of Lords itself takes into consideration whether it can reform itself, or until the representation in this House is reformed.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside): Many Members on the Liberal Benches would agree with the hon. Member for Wandsworth as to the necessity for a measure for redistribution; but that is no argument against the pressing and more important needs of a measure for muzzling the House of Lords. All measures of reform cannot be carried together; one thing must be done at a time. When one hears arguments like that one recalls the phrase uttered by the noble Lord the Member for Marylebone that if in a few years hence we discuss this question of the abolition of the House of Lords we shall be trifling with our character for sincerity. The question is whether the other side have any character for sincerity left to trifle with. I think there is a great deal to be said for the referendum, but I think the Prime Minister has in view a different kind of referendum from that cherished by the noble Lord. Possibly he would have a referendum with the House of Lords left in its present position, so that the referendum would never be employed against a Conservative Government.

Lord R. CECIL: If the hon. Member had done me the honour to listen to me he would remember that I said that the subject he is now dealing with should be provided for.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON: If the noble Lord means that the referendum should be applicable to every measure I retract what I said, but so long as the House of Lords subsists in its present form the referendum would be very unsatisfactory. The Amendment proposed by my hon. friend the Member for Barnard Castle has our greatest sympathy. But suppose we declare that the House of Lords should be abolished, how much nearer are we to abolishing it? The hon. Member seems to think that by sounding his trumpet outside the walls of Jericho he will cause them to fall down. But they will not do so, and the practical advantage, therefore, seems to be on the side of the Resolution proposed by the Prime Minister. We must take into account the warning which the Prime Minister uttered, and I hope the hon. Member will take it to heart. If, then, I support the Resolution it is from no lack of hostility to the institution which the hon. Member wishes to get rid of. The noble Lord the Member for East Marylebone has expressed a preference for the Amendment, doubtless because he thinks that the tentative, gradual, and conciliatory method proposed by the Prime Minister will lead to effective action, whereas a declaration that the House of Lords should be abolished would leave us where we are. In a discussion which has ranged over all the aspects of the case one is bound to come to the question of the purpose for which a Second Chamber should exist and the justification for a Second Chamber. The Leader of the Opposition, with a good deal of cynicism or a good deal of candour, declared that the will of the people of this country could never be known. The question raised by "the swing of the pendulum" only doubles the difficulty. Supposing there is the swing of the pendulum, it is impossible for us to get the benefit of the return of the pendulum, because the other side of the House by means of the Lords prevent us from doing so. The Leader of the Opposition claims that the House of Lords opposes destructive measures; but the impeachment is that it is always ready to pass any measure, constructive or destructive, sent up by one Party, and that the Conservative. But in spite of this claim that it opposes destructive legislation, by its aid one of the most flourishing of the country's democratic institutions—the school board—has been destroyed without notice. Therefore, we say that the Upper Chamber does not represent either of the two mediums between the extremes of the swing of the pendulum. It is perfectly true that a great deal of nonsense has been talked about the will of the people. There is, in one sense, no such thing as the will of the people, but there is such a thing as a balance of the will of the people, and the only way in which you can get that balance is by providing the best machinery, but quite a different machinery from that provided by the House of Lords. It has been said by the hon. Baronet that the House of Lords did represent the will of the people in rejecting the Home Rule Bill; but if he had carried his investigations further he would know that it is not possible to find out the will of the people so long as you have the system of plural voting which the House of Lords seeks to conserve. The plural votes at the 1895 election more than wiped out the majority by virtue of which it is claimed that the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords was in accordance with the will of the country. If you really reckon by votes there is no reason to doubt that the majority of the people of this country have always been in favour of Home Rule, and if the rejection of the Home Rule Bill is the only justification which hon. Members can offer for the House of Lords that justification disappears altogether. I grant that the hon. Member for Lanarkshire had a case when he sought to set up proportional representation. Other hon. Members have Amendments on the Paper to the same effect, and I think the Party opposite would be well advised if, instead of defending the indefensible, they were to argue seriously for a system of proportional representation. The idea of a Second Chamber depends upon feudalism, and I should like to say a word upon the question of whether we should have a Second Chamber at all. New Brunswick has abolished its Second Chamber without injury, and I think Ontario and British Columbia never had one. The institution of a Second Chamber in most cases is a pure superstition, based upon the practice of our Legislature, where its survival is purely fortuitous. It is practically a device to thwart democracy. The British Constitution in time of European turmoil presented a stable quality, and as other States were unstable they assumed that it was because they had not a Second Chamber. The Second Chamber is, however, in most double-chambered States a superfluity. There is one absurdity inherent in the idea of a Second Chamber that it is not democratic. This was pointed out by John Stuart Mill, who, came to the conclusion that the true check upon a Chamber representing the power of the people must lie in the Chamber itself. If there is proportional representation so much the more easy is it to get a proper representation. I know that I am arguing in advance of opinion. But surely if the democratic Chamber is made the sole chamber, the sense of responsibility, not only in the Member himself, but in his constituency, will be raised, and the consequence will be to secure, on the one hand, a more careful choice of representatives, and, on the other hand, a more careful deliberation among Members sent to this House. The hon. Member for the Wansbeck Division said that if you have a single Chamber you must leave more time for deliberation, but if you have a single Chamber you will have more time to deliberate, because the Opposition of the other House will be destroyed and the time saved.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): In the able speech to which we have just listened the centre of this subject was struck when the hon. Member denounces the necessity of the Second Chamber at all. I must admit that the particular instances the hon, Member gave us, which are against the entire experience of the civilised world, namely, the instances of the Legislative Assemblies of New Brunswick and British Columbia, were not very convincing when considered in relation to the very wide experience which we have received from the past in this matter. They do not at any rate convince me when I put them alongside the remarkable admission made by the Attorney-General that this country is at present the freest democracy in the world. Are you prepared to interfere with the security of the present constitution in this drastic way in order to give still greater freedom to this democracy? The moment for proposing this very serious change is singularly inopportune. The House of Lords have shown themselves not opposed to wise changes, and a Committee of the Lords, with Lord Rosebery in the chair, is now sitting to consider the improvements which might be made. The Government proposal is a most extraordinary one, having regard to the state of affairs. The Government proposes to leave the House of Lords with all the anomalies, which undoubtedly exist, and to tear away from them the responsibility which is the guarantee of their character. As to the sacred character of these conferences, that is a strange way of dealing with these questions. When once issue is joined the struggle ought to take place, if at all, in the light of day and not in the dark. But, further than that, surely once the issue is joined between the two Houses, effective criticism is quite useless if all power to enforce that criticism or to bring it to a test is taken away. Under the guise of moderation the Prime Minister's proposal is intended to hoodwink the public into the belief that no serious and drastic change is before them. These methods were attempted in the Irish Bill, but they deceived nobody, certainly not the Irish. I trust the present methods of bringing this great constitutional change before the country will not deceive anyone here. Everybody agrees that our Constitution is all-powerful so far as it has power to reflect the truest, soundest, and most permanent aspirations of the democracy when they are found in the verdict given in the various elections. But the fluctuations of public opinion as shown in general elections are of the most extraordinary kind. On every occasion the electorate is rent by contending motives and conflicting interests, and the only thing certain is that the electorate will not, as a whole, go very long the same way. These fluctuations are inevitable. They are within the experience of every man in the House. They will always continue, and I do not think it will be possible for anybody to say that an opinion that may be held for one period of five years will be held by the electorate during a subsequent period of five years. But these fluctuations should if possible be excluded from the State. If these violent fluctuations and oscillations of opinion took place in the State no one would deny that they would destroy its credit, impair its influence abroad and in the Colonies, and weaken its authority at home. In fact, if the liberty which the people have of expressing their opinions at general elections was really to influence the whole policy of the State it would justly be called in the words of a great philosopher—

> "Not true liberty, but the desolate freedom of the wild ass."

The House of Lords, as everyone must recognise, has its faults, but there is a note of stability and continuity in it. I think everybody will say that we ought to have some institution in this country, some portion of the Constitution, which should be effective to carry into the future some, at any rate, of the traditions of the past, traditions that we do not wish to part with. We ought to have some institution which should be the custodian of our traditions and customs, that ought to be kept clear from the strife and aims of the hour; and if the House will reflect for a moment they will see that at present we have no other resource than the House of Lords. Surely it is vital that hon. Members should have something alternative to suggest in view of the circumstances. I think that we ought to remember that the nation is composite in its constitution, and its great interest is to enlist, not one, but all classes, in its service. The best strength is to be obtained by drawing the best qualities of all classes of the country into its service. I say that it is an excellent thing, which ought to be borne in mind in considering this large constitutional question, that much of our progress is derived from the varied services which are rendered by the different classes. The United States, though they have succeeded in many things, have lamentably failed in enlisting the assistance of the leisured and cultured classes, the most educated classes, not to say the richer classes, in their service. British institutions have been singularly successful in that particular matter. There are dangers which were pointed out by the hon. Member for Salford, and I freely admit that there are dangers in the very great ascendancy of wealth even in this country. Those dangers have exhibited themselves in the most lamentable manner in the United States.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. MORLEY, Montrose Burghs) was understood to dissent from the observation that the cultured and educated classes did not take part in public life in the United States.

MR. LYTTELTON: I do not say that there is a want of culture among those who take part in public life in America; it would be very impertinent of me to do so; but I say that as a general rule—I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for India is in agreement with me, but I am entitled to make the statement without, at any rate, interruption—as a broad rule the United States have not been successful in enlisting in the Senate and in Congress the best educated and most efficient men belonging to the nation. I am surprised that the right hon. Gentleman does not share that view, but I think, speaking with due deference to him, that what I have stated is very generally admitted. ["No."] Of course, I do not for a moment deny that there are many excellent and great exceptions to the general rule. It is easy, perfectly easy, to deride primogeniture, heredity, and title. Any of these things are easily made to look absurd by those who argue that we could do as well without them. But I submit that though logic may be on your side in that matter, we have on our side all the history. Whatever may be said on the subject of primogeniture and heredity, historically it has been a very practical device to get the best use you can out of the upper classes. In the United Kingdom money and titles and position have always been regarded as carrying with them, and it is so to-day, the obligation of public service. In the United States I venture to say that that is not the rule; whereas it is the tradition of old English families to serve the State, the traditions of the best of American families is commercial ascendancy pushed to a very far extent. Public service in America takes the form of the gift of large sums of money—cheques, no doubt, very handsomely and very freely given. But I think that the nation which depends on gifts of money for service has no security that such service will continue to be rendered, whereas the State which relies on the recognition of the obligation to render loyal public service is in a sounder and better position. The Attorney-General derided the existence of a permanent opinion in the country separate and distinct from that which is promulgated at general elections, and he said, moreover, that the Lords were not in the least qualified to judge of that opinion even if it existed. First, I would say, though I admit that it is a difficult thing to get at, that this separate opinion does exist. I say that there are certain great principles which are settled in this country, which have passed into general acceptance, and are quite different from those fluctuating and oscillating opinions which are evident at the time of general elections. There are certain questions which, no doubt, the public think deeply upon, and which they think permanently upon, and the real function of a Second Chamber is to judge rightly when the public are really possessed of one of those strong and permanent opinions, and to give effect to it if it is in consonance with the decisions given by this House. Nobody can question that this is an extremely difficult thing at which to arrive, but I am perfectly certain that any such Second Chamber must be judged according as it arrives at the solution of that question generally. It has been observed on several occasions in this debate that the Lords are absolutely incompetent, by reason of their position, to give any true opinion on the permanent and settled convictions of the country. I do not think that such an argument can stand the test of facts. In the first place those who have had long experience of public life and of the work connected with the Government of the country know that there is hereditary skill in dealing with political questions. It is therefore a delusion to suppose that the House of Lords in great matters is not at any rate well qualified by reason of the occupations of its various members to judge of the position in these matters. Take for instance the number of Peers who have served in this House. In the House of Lords there are 166 men who have served in the House of Commons, 172 who have served in various offices of the State, nearly 200 who have served in the Navy or Army, twenty-six Judges and eminent lawyers, twenty-nine Colonial Governors and Ministers, and 140 mayors and county councillors. Of course, a proper allowance must be made for duplication; what the figures show are the numbers of different qualifications of the Members of the House of Lords, and after you make the necessary deductions, there still remain a large number who have not only large experience in public affairs but have been selected because of their services in this House, and because of their knowledge, as mayors and county councillors, of local government, to take their place in the House of Lords. I venture to think that that body, constituted as it is, must be regarded as well qualified to judge of the permanent opinion of the country—indeed as well qualified as any body which could well be conceived. I admit the difficulty of the task, but how often have the House of Lords gone wrong in discharging it? Extremely seldom. If the last twenty or thirty years be taken, I think it will be found that there are only three important cases that can be referred to. It is rather soon to judge whether last year they were right or not in amending the Education Bill. I have my own firm opinion on that matter; but if you test public opinion by the declarations of public meetings held in regard to the matter, I think you will say that the Lords were in the right. If I may use Oliver Cromwell's expression—

> "There was a great hubbub in this House, but not a dog barked outside."

But I will turn away from the Education Bill and the action of the Lords with regard to it as one that I have no right to dogmatise upon, because it is not yet finally concluded. If we turn from that question to the subject referred to by the hon. Member who preceded me, namely, the question of Home Rule, I think he was wrong in saying that the decision of the country was not conclusively in favour of the judgment exercised by the Lords. The hon. Gentleman certainly cannot be a consistent supporter of the right hon. Gentleman if he says so, because not merely was their decision affirmed in the election of 1895, but the question of Home Rule was wrecked by the action of the Liberal Party, who went to the country in January, 1906, and did not dare to place Home Rule before the electors as a part of their programme. We, therefore, do not merely think the decision of the House of Lords has been acquiesced in for nearly seventeen years, but we have the great representatives of Liberalism who sit opposite to me not venturing to go to the country and explain what some of them say was their own true opinion. The country had not accepted Home Rule, and they did not dare to put forward as a substantive part of their policy that which the House of Lords had rejected and which rejection the country endorsed. There is only one other matter which I need to mention. It is said that there is no penalty upon the House of Lords if they make a mistake. My own strong opinion is that if the House of Lords were to go wrong on several occasions their position could not be satisfactorily maintained or justified in this House. If the House of Lords was constantly making mistakes in pronouncing upon those highly conjectural problems nobody could say that they would be a satisfactory Assembly. My submission is that the past has shown that the Lords have generally been right in deciding upon those problems.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): A fatality seems to associate me with the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. Whether I have had occasion to address the House on the subject of South Africa or Newfoundland, it has almost always been in reply to a speech of his. Even when we discuss the distant New Hebrides, outside the authority of the British Empire altogether, there is the right hon. Gentleman. And now, when the Under-Secretary for the Colonies is permitted to return to the congenial atmosphere of domestic affairs, the right hon. Gentleman again presents himself. I do not think, however, that I have any reason to complain, because the House will admit that when the right hon. Gentleman intervenes in our debates he always speaks with moderation, and addresses himself to the real arguments which underlie the ordinary commonplaces of Party controversy. The right hon. Gentleman has made a speech devoted to the great constitutional issues which are raised by the Resolution and the Amendment before the House. I will not venture at any length to follow him or my hon. friend the Member for Tyneside who preceded him into an abstract constitutional discussion, because, after all, we have an extremely practical issue before us, and I would like to say a few words from the rule-of-thumb point of view. It seems to me that this great constitutional question must be looked at from three points of view. First of all, there is the issue between the two Houses; there is the issue between the two political Parties; and then there is the national issue. The quarrel which is now open between the House of Lords and the House of Commons arises from two events—the general election of 1906, and the rejection of the measures of the new Liberal Government, culminating in the destruction of the Education Bill by the House of Lords at the end of that year. Either of these events is memorable in itself, but placed in juxtaposition and considered together they have a multiplied significance. The general election of 1906 was the most vehement expression of public opinion which this generation has known; and that expression of public will was countered in the December of the same year by the most arbitrary and uncompromising assertion of aristocratic privilege upon record. Let the House think of it. The process of the election of Members of Parliament is extremely elaborate. The candidates go about the country for two or three weeks saying all they have to say for themselves in the different constituencies which they are contesting; at the end of that most exhaustive discussion there is an elaborate process of voting; the returns are counted with the most scrupulous care; and as the result 670 Members, representing 6,000,000 of voters and many more who take a deep interest in public affairs but have no votes, are returned to the House of Commons in the name of the people of Great Britain and Ireland. The new Parliament assembles. Scarcely any question at the election was more a test question, so far as the supporters of the Government are concerned, than the question of the amendment of the education system of the country. A Bill dealing with education is brought forward as the principal measure of the first session of the new Parliament. Weeks are occupied in its discussion. It represents the fulfilment of the election pledges of every hon. Gentleman who supported it. The Bill is supported by perhaps the largest majority that ever sent a Bill from this House to another place; it was not a revolutionary Bill, to turn the world upside down and inside out; on the contrary, it was a Bill which, if vitiated in any respect, was vitiated by the element of compromise. Immense concessions were made in it, and rightly, I think, to conscientious and agitated minorities. It was a Bill which so moderate and consistent a statesman as the Duke of Devonshire, of whose ill-health the House learns with grave concern, urged the House of Lords to pass into law. Sir, the Leader of the Opposition told us the other day that it was the habit of His Majesty's Government to introduce Bills which they did not mean to pass. No one—not even the right hon. Gentleman himself—can say that the Government have not earnestly desired to pass the Education Bill. Every concession that could be conceived was made, but to what purpose? After the House of Commons had humbled itself before the House of Lords, after we had gone to the extreme limit of concession which self-respect, which a proper sense of the dignity of this House, and a due observance of the pledges of the Liberal Party permitted, the House of Lords curtly, bluntly, uncharitably, and harshly flung the Bill out in our faces, mutilated and destroyed. I do not wish to import an element of heat into this discussion, but I respectfully submit to the Conservative Party that that act on the part of the House of Lords places them in a new position—a new position in the sense that never before had their old position been taken up so nakedly, so brazenly, and so uncompromisingly. It is true that we have this excuse put before us with much suavity of language in these debates—we are told that the House of Lords seeks to interpret the will of the people, and it is explained that by the will of the people what is meant is the persistent, sub-conscious, and permanent will of the people, as opposed to any articulate expression of that will. The right hon. Gentleman who leads the Opposition told us that what he meant by the persistent will was the will of the people expressed continuously over a period of thirty years. That is what he called "democracy properly understood." From the House of Commons point of view, having regard to that part of the question which concerns the issue between the two Houses, we repudiate emphatically the claim of the other House to what the French call *faire l'ange*—to "play the angel," to know better than the people themselves what the people want, to have a greater authority to speak in the name of the people than their representatives sent to Parliament by the elaborate process I have described. I say that to dispute the authority of a newly-elected Parliament is something very like an incitement to violence on the part of the other House. [A laugh.] The noble Lord laughs, but we are anxious to convince him and his friends that we are in earnest. We go through all the processes which the Constitution prescribes, we produce an enormous majority, and we express the opinion of that majority, but still the noble Lord and other noble Lords less intelligent, but more remote, tell us that they are not convinced. What steps do they suggest that we should take in order to bring home to them the earnestness of our plea? What steps do they suggest that the people should take in order to assert their wishes? I hold entirely by what I said that to dispute the authority of an elected body fresh from its constituents is a deliberate incitement to the adoption of lawless and unconstitutional methods. I say that the assertion which the House of Lords made at the end of last year is an intolerable assertion, and on the whole I believe the country is altogether unprepared for it. I confess, if I may hazard a personal opinion, that I wonder it was thought worth while to risk an institution which has lasted so many centuries in the very skirmish line of Party warfare. I am aware there is a special reason for the temerity of the House of Lords. It is not a very complimentary reason to the Members or the leaders of the late Government, but their position is that the Conservative Party cannot be worse than they are. No matter what they do, nor how they are hated or reprobated by the country, they cannot possibly occupy a more humiliating and unpleasant position than they did after the last two years of the last Administration. Consequently having reached the low water mark of political fortune they think they can afford to be a little reckless, and that at the very worst they will be returned in their present numerical proportions. That is a very natural explanation of their action; but if we for our part were to accept the assertion lately made by the House of Lords—an assertion which is the furthest point to which aristocratic privilege has attained in modern times—that assertion itself would become only the starting point for a whole new series of precedents and of constitutional retrogressions; and worse than that, if by any chance, having raised this issue, we were to be defeated upon it, if having placed this Resolution on the records of the House we were to fail to give effect to it, and we were to suffer an electoral reverse as the conclusion of it, then I say goodbye to the power of the House of Commons. All that long process of advance in democratic institutions which has accompanied the growth of the power of the House of Commons, and which has also been attended by an expansion of the circles of comfort and culture among the people of this country—all that long process which has gone steadily onward for 200 years, and which has almost exclusively occupied the politics of the nineteenth century—will have reached its culmination. It will have come in contact with that barrier of which we have heard so much in this debate. The tide will have turned, and in the recoil of the waters they will gradually leave exposed again, altered no doubt by the conditions of the age, all the old assertions of aristocratic and plutocratic domination which we had fondly hoped had been engulfed for ever in the flowing waters.

The hon. Member for Fareham to-day made an interesting speech in which he included a valuable disquisition on the American Constitution. I noticed that the hon. Member rebuked some of those with whom he acts for having received this debate with something like a flavour of levity, and he was quite right. I think hon. Gentlemen opposite would be well advised to treat this Resolution seriously. This Parliament is still young, but there are some things at which they have laughed which have already become accomplished facts. I could not have during the past eighteen months listened to their taunts about the permanence of Chinese labour without reflecting now with satisfaction that Chinese labour is going. Yes, and other people may follow. Let me say this in reference to the Amendment which was moved by the hon. Member for Barnard Castle, and which was seconded in a brief and powerful speech by the hon. Member for Preston. We are only at the beginning of this struggle. We are not necessarily committed to every detail of the proposal; we are opening the first lines for a great siege, we have to sap up to the advanced parallels, to establish our batteries, and at no distant date open our bombardment. It may be many months before we shall be able to discern where there is a practicable breach, but the assault will come in due time. The right hon. Gentleman opposite said he welcomed this contest with great confidence. I wonder if hon. Members opposite realise, to use an expressive vulgarism, what they are "letting themselves in for" when this question comes to be fought out on every platform in every constituency in the country? They will not have to defend an ideal Second Chamber; they will not be able to confine themselves to airy generalities about a bicameral system and its advantages; they will have to defend this Second Chamber as it is—one-sided, hereditary, unpurged, unrepresentative, irresponsible, absentee. They will have to defend it with all its anomalies, all its absurdities, and all its personal bias; they will have to defend it with all its achievements that have darkened the pages of the history of England. And let me say that considerable constitutional authorities have not considered that the policy on which we have embarked in moving this Resolution is unreasonable. Mr. Bagehot says of the House of Lords:—

> "It may lose its veto as the Crown has lost its veto. If most of its members neglect their duties, if all its members continue to be of one class, and that not quite the best; if its doors are shut against genius that cannot found a family, and ability which has not £5,000 a year, its power will be less year by year, and at last be gone, as so much kingly power is gone—no one knows how."

One of the speakers on the other side—I think it was the Leader of the Opposition—suggested that we are guilty of insincerity in bringing forward this Resolution. But what is the position of the Conservative Party when they attempt to defend the House of Lords? They are always telling us to imitate the Colonies; they are always telling us that we ought to adopt the fiscal systems and other methods employed in the self-governing Colonies; but what is their view of the relations which are held between the two Chambers under the bicameral system in the Colonies, and as established by their own Australian Commonwealth Act in the last Parliament. By that Act they have given power to the Lower Chamber to over-ride the Upper Chamber under certain circumstances. Imitating them and following in their footsteps we have adopted the plan in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Constitutions. The Commonwealth Act says that when the Chambers differ they shall meet together, and that the majority shall decide, measures being taken, however, that the numbers of the Upper Chamber shall not be such as to swamp the opinion of the Lower Chamber. The Leader of the Opposition asked a Question yesterday as to whether the people are not often wrong, and he proceeded very characteristically to suggest that he always considered them wrong when they voted against him. I am not prepared to take such a rough and ready test of the opinion and of the mental processes of the British democracy as all that. I should hesitate to say that when people pronounce against a particular measure or Party they have not pretty good reasons for doing so. I am not at all convinced that in 1900 the people were wholly wrong in saying that the war should be finished— by those who made it. Even in the last election I could, I daresay, find some few reasons to justify the decision which the people then took; and I say that if we should be so unfortunate in the future as to lose that measure of public confidence so abundantly given to us, then I shall not be too sure that it will not be our own fault. Certain am I that we could not take any step more likely to forfeit the confidence of the people of England than to continue in office after we have lost the power to pass effective legislation. I will retort the Question of the Leader of the Opposition by another Question. Has the House of Lords ever been right?

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): What about Home Rule?

*MR. CHURCHILL: Has it ever been right in any of the great settled controversies which are now beyond the reach of Party argument? Was it right in delaying Catholic emancipation, and the removal of Jewish disabilities? Was it right in driving this country to the verge of revolution in the effort to secure the passage of reform? Was it right in resisting the Ballot Bill? Was it right in the almost innumerable efforts it made to prevent this House dealing with the purity of its own electoral machinery? Was in right in endeavouring to prevent the abolition of purchase in the Army? Was it right in 1880, when it rejected the Compensation for Disturbance Bill? I defy the Party opposite to produce a single instance of a settled controversy in which the House of Lords was right.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: What about Home Rule?

*MR. CHURCHILL: I expected that interruption. That is not a settled controversy. It is a matter which lies in the future. The cases I have mentioned are cases where we have carried the law into effect and have seen the results, and found that they have been good. Let me remind the House that, but for a lucky accident, but for the fact that Letters Patent can be issued by the Crown and do not require the assent of Parliament, it would very likely have been impossible for this Government to have made the constitutional settlement in the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony, because probably, upon the instigation of some noble Lord, like Lord Milner [Cries of "Oh"]—it surely is not insulting to Lord Milner to mention his name ["Hear, hear,"]—upon the instigation of some noble Lord, the Constitutions would have been mutilated or cast out by the House of Lords, and the Executive Government would have found itself responsible for carrying out the government of Colonies on lines of which it wholly disapproved, and after their own policy had been rejected. But there is one other feature in the House of Lords which the Conservative Party will have to exercise their ingenuity in defending in the next few years—I allude to the presence in that body of those interesting Lords Spiritual. By what violation of all ideas of religious equality the leaders of one denomination only should be represented I do not pause to inquire; but no doubt when such very delicate and ticklish questions as Chinese labour and the prevalence of intemperance, and great questions of war and the treatment of native races beyond the seas come up, it is a very convenient thing to have the Bishops in the House of Lords in order to make quite sure that official Christianity shall be on the side of the upper classes.

I proceed to inquire on what principle the House of Lords deals with Liberal measures. The right hon. Member for Dover says they occupy the position of the umpire. Are they even a sieve, a strainer, to stop legislation if it should reveal an undue or undesirable degree of Radicalism or Socialism? Are they the complementary critic—the critic who sees all the things which the ordinary man does not see? I say that the attitude which the House of Lords adopts towards Liberal measures is purely tactical. When they returned to their "gilded Chamber" after the general election they found on the Woolsack and on the Treasury Bench a Lord Chancellor and a Government with which they were not familiar. When their eyes fell upon those objects there was a light in them which meant one thing—murder; murder tempered, no doubt, by those prudential considerations which always restrain persons from acts which are contrary to the general feeling of the society in which they live.

But their attitude towards the present Government has from the beginning been to select the best and most convenient opportunity of humiliating and discrediting them, and finally of banishing them from power. Their treatment of the Trade Disputes Bill constitutes the gravamen of the Government's charge against the House of Lords. Lord Halsbury described that Bill as outrageous and tyrannous, and said it contained a section more disgraceful than any that appeared in any English Statute. On what principle did they pass that Bill if it was not the principle of political opportunism and partisanship? What safeguard will such a Second Chamber be to the commercial interests of this country? Is it not clear that they are prepared to sacrifice, if necessary, what they consider to be the true interests of the country in order to secure an advantage for the political Party whose obedient henchmen they are? The Trade Disputes Bill was a very inconvenient measure for the Conservative Party to leave open, because so long as it was left open a great mass of democratic opinion was directed against them. And so it was passed. On the other hand, the Education Bill was very inconvenient for the Liberal Party to leave open, because they are supported by Catholics and Nonconformists, and to bring in an Education Bill to satisfy those two extremes is not to solve a problem, but to solve a double acrostic. That Bill was not passed. Upon a measure which it would be inconvenient to the Liberal Party to leave open the House of Lords rejected all compromise. That I suppose is what the Leader of the Opposition called an averaging machinery. I press these points in order to justify me in making this statement, that the House of Lords as it at present exists and acts is not a national institution, but a Party dodge, an apparatus and instrument at the disposal of one political faction; and it is used in the most unscrupulous manner to injure and humiliate the opposite faction. When hon. Gentlemen opposite go about the country defending a Second Chamber, let them remember that this is the kind of Second Chamber they have to defend, and when they defend the veto let them remember that it is a veto used, not for national purposes, but for the grossest and basest purposes of unscrupulous political partisanship.

I have dealt with the issues between Houses, and I come to that between Parties. Great changes in a community are very often unperceived; the focus of reality moves from one institution in the State to another, and almost imperceptibly. Sometimes the forms of institutions remain almost the same in all ceremonial aspects, and yet there will be one institution which under pretentious forms is only the husk of reality, and another which under a humble name is is in fact the operative pivot of the social system. Constitutional writers have much to say about the estates of the realm, and a great deal to say about their relation to each other, and to the Sovereign. All that is found to be treated upon at length. But they say very little about the Party system. And after all the Party system is the dominant fact in our experience. Nothing is more striking in the last twenty-five years than the growth and expansion of Party organisation, and the way in which millions of people and their votes have been woven into its scope. There are two great characteristics about the Party institutions of this country: the equipoise between them, and their almost incredible durability. We have only to look at the general elections of 1900 and 1906. I do not suppose any circumstances could be more depressing for a political Party than the circumstances in which the Liberal Party fought the election in 1900, except the circumstances in which the Conservative Party fought the election of 1906. At those two elections, what was the salient fact? The great mass of the voters of each political Party stood firm by the standard of their Party, and although there was an immense movement of public opinion, that movement was actually effected by a comparatively small number of votes. I do not wish to push the fair-play argument too far, because I fully admit the justice of what the Prime Minister has said that politics must not be approached with an air of levity, but in dealing with this case in the country I should be sorry to cut myself off altogether from the rough and ready sense of fair play which is so pronounced among all classes of our fellow countrymen. When Parties are thus evenly balanced, to place such a weapon as the House of Lords in the hands of one of the Parties is to doom the other to destruction. I do not speak only from the Party point of view, although it explains the earnestness with which we approach this question. It is a matter of life and death to Liberalism and Radicalism. It is a question of our life or the abolition of the veto of the House of Lords. But look at it from a national point of view. Think of its injury to the smooth working of a Liberal Government. At the present time a Liberal Government, however powerful, cannot look far ahead, cannot impart design into its operations, because it knows that if at any moment its vigour falls below a certain point another body, over which it has no control, is ready to strike it a blow to its most serious injury. It comes to this, that no matter how great the majority by which a Liberal Government is supported, it is unable to pass any legislation unless it can procure the agreement of its political opponents. Observe the position in which the present Executive Government is consequently placed. Take only the question of the passive resistance. The action of the House of Lords at the present time forces the Executive Government to lock up in prison men with whose action they entirely sympathise and whose grievance they have faithfully promised to redress. Such a position is intolerable. Indeed, I am sure that if the right hon. Gentlemen opposite would only utilise that valuable gift of putting themselves in imagination in the position of others, they would see that no honourable men could continue to occupy such a position except with the one single object of putting an end to it for ever. Much might be said for and against the two-Party system. But no one can doubt that it adds to the stability and cohesion of the State. The alternation of Parties in power, like the rotation of crops, has beneficial results. Each of the two Parties have something to give and services to render in the development of the national life, and the succession of new and different points of view is a great and real benefit to the country. The advantage of such a system cannot be denied. Would not the ending of such a system involve a much greater disturbance than to amend the functions of the House of Lords? Is there not a much greater cataclysm involved in the breakdown of the constitutional organisation of democracy, for that is the issue which is placed before us, than would be involved in the mere curtailment of the legislative veto which has been given to another place? I ask the House what does such a safeguard as the House of Lords mean? Is it a safeguard at all? I allude here to the argument of the Leader of the Opposition. He professed to deplore this agitation because he thought the House of Lords ought to remain, weak as it is; and he was afraid that our agitation might do something to awake the slumbering giant, and awake him in a stronger and more effective form than at present. It is quite true that great powers are already possessed by the House of Commons. It has finance under its control, it has the Executive Government; the control of foreign affairs, and the great patronage of the State are all in the power of the House of Commons at the present time. And let me say that if you are to proceed on the basis that the people of this country will elect a mad House of Commons, and that the mad House of Commons will be represented by a mad executive, the House of Lords is no guarantee against any excesses which such a House of Commons or such an Executive might have in contemplation. Whatever you may wish or desire, you will be forced to trust the people in all those vital and fundamental elements of government which in every State have always been held to involve the social stability of the community. Is the House of Lords even a security for property? Why the greatest weapon which a democracy possesses against property is the power of taxation, and the power of taxation is wholly under the control of this House. If this House chooses, for instance, to suspend payment to the Sinking Fund and to utilise the money for any public purpose or for any social purpose, the House of Lords could not interfere. If the House of Commons chose to double taxation on the wealthy classes, the House of Lords could not interfere in any respect. Understand I am not necessarily advocating these measures; what I am endeavouring to show to the House is that there is no real safeguard in the House of Lords even in regard to a movement against property. But surely there are other securities upon which the stability of society depends. In the ever-increasing complexities of social problems, in the restrictions which are imposed from day to day with increasing force on the action of individuals, above all in the dissemination of property among many classes of the population, are the real elements of stability on which our modern society depends. There are to-day, unlike in former ages, actually millions of people who possess not merely inert property, but who possess rent-earning, profit-bearing property; and the danger with which we are confronted now is not at all whether we shall go too fast; no, the danger is that about three-fourths of the people of this country should move on in a comfortable manner into an easy life, which, with all its ups and downs, is not uncheered by fortune, while the remainder of the people shall be left to rot and fester in the slums of our cities, or in the deserted and abandoned hamlets of our rural districts. That is the danger with which we are confronted at the present moment, and it invests with a deep and real significance the issue which is drawn between the two Parties to-night. It is quite true that there are rich Members of the Liberal Party, and there are poor men who are Members of the Conservative Party, but in the main the lines of difference between the two Parties are social and economic—in the main the lines of difference are increasingly becoming the lines of cleavage between the rich and the poor. Let that animate and inspire us in the great struggle which we are now undertaking, and in which we shall without rest press forward, confident of this, that, if we persevere we shall wrest from the hands of privilege and wealth the evil and ugly and sinister weapon of the Peers' veto, which they have used so ill so long.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Campbell*)—put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:—

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London) said that on the previous evening the Under-Secretary for the Colonies had taken upon himself to say that the conduct of a Gentleman on that side of the House was disgraceful. The hon. Gentleman was evidently under the impression that he and his Party could dragoon hon. Members in Committee by closure and in the House by denouncing their conduct in such terms. If the Government hoped to frighten Members into taking their measures after eleven o'clock by talking about the disgraceful conduct of those Members who did not give them all their own way, they were mistaken.

Mr. CHURCHILL rose to reply, but it being Eleven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress.

MR. FORSTER (Kent, Sevenoaks) asked whether it would not be in order to resume Committee after Eleven o'clock. He hoped his hon. friend would allow the Bill to pass unopposed.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER said he knew of no reason why they should not go into Committee again.

Resolved, That the House will immediately resolve itself into Committee on the Bill.—(*Mr. Churchill.*)

Bill again considered in Committee—

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 :—

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. CHURCHILL said he had to express his regret that he was led last night by the vexation of the moment into using an unnecessarily severe expression with regard to what was, no doubt, the right of every private Member to oppose this Bill. If this Bill did not pass by 1st July, there was not a single provincial Budget in Canada which would not have to be revised. In the circumstances

he thanked the hon. Baronet for not opposing the Bill.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said the incident would be a valuable illustration for the Colonies of the tone and temper exhibited by the Minister in charge of the Bill in that Assembly. Therefore, in order that they might have another opportunity of discussing the Bill in Government time, he moved "That the Chairman report progress and ask leave to sit again."

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD (Somersetshire, Wellington) appealed to his hon. friend to withdraw the Motion, as they ought not, in regard to a Bill like this, to show temper on either side.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I shall not withdraw.

And, it being after Eleven of the clock, and objection being taken to further proceeding, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY BILL.

Not amended (by the Standing Committee), considered; to be read the third time to-morrow.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY, Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) gave notice of the suspension of the Eleven o'clock rule for to-morrow night.

Adjourned at ten minutes after
Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, 26th June, 1907.

The Earl of ONSLOW—Sat Speaker.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

London and North-Western Railway Bill.—A petition of Mr. Edgar Francis Briggs, of 14, Great Marlborough Street, London, Solicitor, praying for leave to present a petition of the Hon. Cecil Saumarez Irby, praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill, although the time limited by Standing Order No. 93 for presenting such petition has expired; read, and ordered to lie on the Table, and Standing Order No. 93 to be considered To-morrow in order to its being dispensed with in respect of the said petition.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition to the Herts and Essex Water Order having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The orders made on the 6th of June and Monday last discharged, and Bill committed.

Collooney, Ballina, and Belmullet Railways and Piers Bill.—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The orders made on the 4th instant discharged, and Bill committed.

Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the West Ham Corporation Order was withdrawn: The orders made on the 6th instant and Monday last discharged, and Bill committed.

Broadstairs and St. Peter's Urban District Water Bill [H.L.].—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments.

Sunderland Corporation Bill.—Moved, That the order made on the 20th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to. Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2^a (according to order).

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Killery's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bills to be read 3^a To-morrow.

Colne Valley Water Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a. Amendments made. Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

Sutton Coldfield Rectory Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order). The Amendments proposed by the Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3840. France (Pondicherry).
No. 3841. China (Wenchow).

COMMERCIAL NO. 5 (1907).

Despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Brussels respecting the International Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902.

MINES AND QUARRIES.

Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by W. N. Atkinson and J. Dyer Lewis, two of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines, on the circumstances attending an explosion which occurred at Genwen Colliery on the 5th March, 1907.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, for the year 1906.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

List of certified schools for blind, deaf, defective, and epileptic children in England and Wales on 1st August, 1906.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Account of receipts and expenditure of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the year ended 31st December, 1906; together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.

Statutes made by the Governing Body of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, on the 7th March, 1907, amending certain of the College Statutes. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 83.)

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD (CHARGES, ETC.) BILL—METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD (VARIOUS POWERS) BILL.

Report from the Joint Committee that the Bills ought to be allowed to proceed; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The Proceedings of the Joint Committee laid upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 84).

A DERELICT.

LORD MUSKERRY: My Lords, I beg to ask the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty a question of which I have given him private notice—namely, whether His Majesty's Government have been acquainted of the report of the captain of the P. & O. steamer "India" that, near Cape Roca, he passed a derelict in the track of shipping and a great danger to navigation; and whether, to avoid the serious risks presented by this derelict, the Government will cause one of His Majesty's ships to be despatched for the purpose of discovering and destroying it. The American Government have fitted out a ship especially for this purpose, and as we have by far the largest number of ships on the sea I think we ought to do some thing of the same kind.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord TWEEDMOUTH): My Lords, my noble friend takes a laudable interest in everything that pertains to the safety and comfort of British seamen, and I thoroughly applaud him in that. The fact that this derelict has been sighted has been notified to the Admiralty; but I must say that a Committee which considered this question of derelicts came to the conclusion that, except in exceptional circumstances, it was not desirable to send His Majesty's ships in search of them. It is very difficult to find them; they are shifted about by wind and tide, and very often sink long before they are found. I would also point out that in this particular case the derelict is close to Cape Roca, and it does seem to me that, being so near to the mouth of the Tagus, it might be taken care of by Portuguese rather than by British ships.

TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day, for resuming the adjourned debate on the Motion for the Second Reading, read.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of ELGIN): My Lords, I think it was generally accepted in the debate yesterday that my noble friend behind me had, in a fair and temperate and lucid manner, set before your Lordships the substance of the Bill; but in the course of the discussion which ensued various questions were asked to which noble Lords desired to have answers. I think it is a somewhat inconvenient practice to ask many questions across the Table during the progress of a Second Reading debate, but, of course, His Majesty's Government have no other wish than that the

House should be put in possession of any information which they can provide. Therefore I have possessed myself of certain information bearing on some of the questions which were then put, which I shall be ready to submit to your Lordships. Some of them were dealt with in the very able maiden speech which was delivered by my noble friend on the second bench behind me last evening, but as the House had then considerably thinned I daresay your Lordships will not mind if I repeat some of the information which he then gave.

The noble Viscount Lord Midleton raised a question about the reductions which had been made in the Army, and stated that those reductions had wiped out the increases which had been made during the years from 1895 to 1898, during which I think the noble Marquess opposite was in charge of the War Office. I believe that putting it in one way, that is not an unfair statement; but I am informed that there is another way of putting it, and that the fact is that we are still 27,000 men in excess of the numbers of 1895. The noble Viscount also dealt with the question of the establishment of the home battalions, and he said that the home battalion establishment had been reduced from 750 to 720 men. But that is not a reduction in actual numbers. Owing to the effect of the system of three years enlistment, which is still making itself felt, the strength is very much below the establishment, and the reduction is not really a reduction in men, because the men are not there. The object of the reduction is to make the establishment and the strength coincide; and I am informed that there is every intention, when the men are forthcoming, to make the establishment revert to the former figure. It is also worth mentioning that the twenty-five battalions on Colonial stations have had their strength increased by seventy-four.

Then the noble Viscount questioned us about the Artillery. He was very anxious to know whether there had been, or was to be, any reduction in the Artillery. No, my Lords, there has been no reduction in the Artillery establishment. There has been a reduction of two depots at home, but that has been more than compensated by the increase in the Indian establishment. It is not proposed in any way to weaken the strength of the Artillery, which at the present moment is altogether inadequate to the needs of the Expeditionary Force. On the contrary, it is the intention to increase the strength. With the present establishment it is only possible to mobilise forty-two batteries, whereas sixty-six are required for the Expeditionary Force. This is owing to the great number of men required for the largely increased ammunition columns. The Secretary of State for War has several times explained his intention of providing ammunition columns from the special contingent in order to be able to mobilise the necessary number of batteries, and this proposal has the full assent of his council. There are also proposals under consideration for increasing the Reserves of Regular artillerymen.

Then a question was asked with regard to the field artillery of the Territorial Army. That artillery is to be armed with the field gun which was in use by the Regulars before the recent re-armament, and that gun is to be improved by being mounted on a quick-firing carriage. Then outside the divisional organisation of the Territorial Army, there will be raised a number of strictly local corps for coast defence, consisting chiefly of garrison artillery; and it is hoped to raise these corps in the immediate neighbourhood of the defences which they will have to man, so that they may always train and become familiar with the guns which they will have to use.

The noble Viscount also called attention to the composition of battalions. He said that in the Expeditionary Force the proportion would be 380 and 620 instead of 500 to 500, as at the time of the war; but in this comparison he did not use the same sets of figures. The noble Viscount gave the numbers of infantry in the future war establishment at 28,847 serving soldiers and 48,900 in the Reserve, and he compared them with the figures at the time of the war, which were, he said, 57,000 with the colours and 43,000 from the Reserve. In the first case the noble Viscount did use the infantry figures, but in the second he used those for all ranks. The actual numbers from all ranks embarked to South Africa were 56,553 with the colours and 42,957 from the Reserve. In the future war establishment there will be, it is calculated, 75,558 men with the colours and 85,023 with the Reserve. But it has also to be observed that at the time of the war the battalions did not go out at what we should consider full strength. The Reserve was unusually low at that particular moment, owing to the men who had rejoined the colours under the Army Order of 1898. The effect was to show more men with the colours than would otherwise have been the case.

The noble Viscount asked a question as to military opinion with regard to the value of the special contingent, and I am informed that in the opinion of the military advisers of the Secretary of State the Special Contingent will be perfectly efficient to use as drafts. They consider that these men will, on the whole, be more efficient than the men of the Militia Reserve who reinforced the Regular battalions in South Africa, for they will have had a longer average service than those men. In the Natal Army, after the relief of Ladysmith, it was the opinion of all the officers who had to do with these men that they did their full work at once and in a short time were not distinguishable from the older soldiers.

A question was raised as to the average age of the Militia. I think the noble Viscount said that the fighting age of the Militia was between twenty and thirty-five, and that it would be found that the Militia would not present a good appearance if that age was prescribed. The figures do not bear out that contention. I find that of the Militia under twenty and over thirty-five there are 31,000, while the number between those ages is 52,800. The noble Earl Lord Donoughmore asked a question with regard to the amalgamation of regiments, and whether extra legislation would be necessary for that purpose. I understand that it is believed that this will be covered by the Bill; but that, of course, is a question which would naturally come up in Committee. The Duke of Bedford referred to the Norfolk Commission and stated, as I understood him, that if the proposals of that Commission were accepted he would be prepared to find recruits both for the Militia and for the Army. That, however, depends on the argument that there are two classes of men who will enlist for the Militia—one going on to the Army and one remaining in the Militia itself. But I understand that view is not accepted universally, and in those circumstances it would, of course, be necessary to make further investigation before one could go on with that proposal. But, anyhow, the offer of the noble Duke would involve, I imagine, the adoption of the Norfolk Commission's proposals altogether, and this would mean compulsion and a very large expense. We cannot be expected to accept that proposition.

Then questions were asked, and were very largely answered by the noble Lord behind me, as to officers in the Militia, and especially as to their succession to the command. Perhaps I had better repeat the answer. It is that junior officers up to the age of thirty-four who are of the rank of captain or under are to be invited to go into the Reserve of officers under the terms of Sir Edward Ward's Committee. They will receive a retaining fee of £20 a year, and will rise automatically to the rank of captain and pass into the Reserve of officers, who do not get a retaining fee, with the rank of honorary major at the age of thirty-five. Then with regard to officers above thirty-five, they are to be invited to go into the Reserve of officers and join for duty with the battalions of the Special Contingent, but they will not receive the £20 payment. The Army Council fully recognise that the command of a Special Contingent battalion should be within the reach of this class of officer, provided that they are competent in other respects. This applies to both the third and fourth battalions. As vacancies occur in the third battalions the establishment of Regular officers will gradually be decreased until they number about nine or ten. This is rendered necessary by the amount of training and instruction which the third battalion will have to do. The officering of the fourth battalion is at present under consideration, but the tendency will probably be not to give them so large an establishment as the officers of the third battalion. It has been asked by one noble Lord whether those officers who are below the age of thirty-five at the date of transfer would become eligible for succession to the command. It is intended that they should not become eligible.

Several points were raised by Lord Scarbrough with regard to the Yeomanry and by Lord Fortescue with regard to the County Associations, most of which will naturally be better dealt with in Committee. But I may say, with regard to the County Associations, that it is intended to start these Associations as soon as possible, and, as far as possible, simultaneously. Everything is ready to make a start as soon as the Bill is passed. It is intended that the Lord-Lieutenant should be the president of the Association in every case, except when there is any reason why he would desire not to hold that position; and it is hoped that the president of the Association will be its constitutional head, and he should not be excluded from the chair if that is a position for which he is suited and which he desires to hold. At any rate, he would take a leading part in the work of the Association.

A question was asked with regard to the officers of the Territorial Army who would be put upon the County Association. I am informed that it is intended in most cases that they should be senior officers, but it was thought better not absolutely to tie our hands, in case other officers should appear to be qualified for that post. As to the allotment of troops in grouped regimental districts, the General Staff has been at work upon the allotment for some months, and it is intended shortly to refer the results of their work to a larger Committee. Wherever possible they have worked on the force that already exists, and it has been found, on the whole, that the General Staff requirements fit them very well. I hope that the information I have given may be of use to the House, and it is in that belief that I have troubled your Lordships with it.

In dealing with this Bill I am unavoidably compelled to say that I find that my connection with the Commission which sat with regard to the war in South Africa has been so much mentioned in the debates here and in another place that I am bound to refer to it. It is a point which has not been raised by me. Since the Report was issued I have never said a word about it in any public manner. I have felt that the position of a Commission of that character is one which ought to compel silence upon the members of the Commission. A Royal Commission is appointed for a specific purpose; its members meet for that purpose and perform that purpose; but when that purpose is finished they separate, and there is no possibility of their assembling together again to give any deliberate conclusion. In those circumstances it has always appeared to me that for a single member of a Commission to take upon himself in any way authoritatively to declare the meaning or intention of a Report is beside the mark. It has been, of course, very gratifying to me that not only was the Report of the Commission a unanimous one, which is one of the matters to which I shall always look back with the greatest satisfaction, but it has not been on the whole seriously challenged; and that, considering how full of controversial matter our investigation was, is a position which I should not wish to disturb.

But, my Lords, there have been in discussions preceding the introduction of this Bill and also in these debates references to our Report, and particularly to one passage. I think the noble Earl on the cross benches (Lord Roberts) was the first to draw attention to this passage, and the other day a right hon. Gentleman in another place, speaking from the Front Opposition Bench, paid us the compliment of describing it as a classic passage. That right hon. Gentleman criticised the use of it by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State, and he went on to say that my right hon. friend knew quite well that the Commissioners did not mean what he meant when they wrote those words. He said—

"They contemplated too definite matters. They laid down that there must be an oversea obligation lying upon the second line, and that, in the second place, there must be compulsory training in time of peace in order that men should be fit to discharge their duties in time of war."

He added—

"Both of these recommendations are ignored in the Bill."

I have searched my memory and I have searched the pages of the Report, but I cannot find any reference to either of the qualifications mentioned. It is a gratification, of course, to be quoted as an authority, provided always that there is sufficient of one's opinion quoted to bring out its true meaning and that nothing is read in which the writer did not intend to include.

I am afraid I have, I will not say an accusation, but an objection to take in the case of the noble and gallant Earl on the cross benches. The noble and gallant Earl used this passage in the first place, I think, in connection with a public letter which he addressed to authorities throughout the Kingdom, and I can only say that I think in that case also he was inclined to use it in a meaning more favourable to his proposals than the words bear out. Again he made a reference to it in July last, and he said then that the shortcomings of the Auxiliary Forces were proved by the evidence in our Report. My Lords, many shortcomings were proved by the evidence in our Report, but this quotation which has been so frequently used is in reality only three lines out of a paragraph which contains forty-five, and the heading of that paragraph is "General Observations on the Imperial Forces." It was the general system with which we were dealing in that paragraph, expansion outside the limits of the Regular Forces; and though, of course, alterations in the organisation of the Regular Forces might affect our position, the actual expansion of the Regular Forces themselves had nothing to do with the matter.

In the earlier part of the paragraph we dealt with the limit which existed at the time with which we were dealing. As noble Lords know, the limit in 1899 was that laid down by Mr. Stanhope's Resolution of two army corps and one at home. It was the expansion beyond that that we had in view. I do not wish to go into details with regard to those particular matters, because I have no wish whatever to be supposed to be entering or making any attack upon the Administration of noble Lords opposite; but I want to enforce my position that it was the military system and nothing else with which we were dealing. The Commission drew attention in this part of their Report to defects in the military system. They found that the expansion which they thought necessary was difficult in 1899. That difficulty had not been removed when their Report was written, and therefore references were necessary to it in their Report. I go further: no advance had been made even last year. I make that assertion not on my own authority, but on that of the noble and gallant Earl on the cross benches. The noble and gallant Earl, speaking on 10th July last year, said—

"My remark about the Regular Forces was misconstrued. I never said a word against the Regular Forces. I said that the armed forces of the Crown, taken as a body, were not more fit for war now than in 1899. I was talking about the recommendation made by the Commission presided over by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that outside the Regular Army there should be a power of expansion. Nothing has been done to bring that about. That was what I was alluding to last year, and what I allude to now."

Therefore, my Lords, I think I may say that we are now for the first time discussing a method for bringing about the expansion to which we referred. I should like to read a few lines which follow those generally quoted, in order to show the defects to which we pointed. The words which are generally used are—

"The true lesson of the war, in our opinion, is that no military system will be satisfactory which does not contain a power of expansion outside the limits of the Regular Forces of the Crown, whatever that limit may be."

But we went on to say—

"If the war teaches anything it is this, that throughout the Empire, in the United Kingdom, its Colonies, and dependencies, there is a reserve of military strength which for many reasons we cannot and do not wish to convert into a vast standing army, but which we may be glad to turn to account in our hour of need, as we did in 1899. In that year there was no preparation whatever for utilising these great resources. Nothing had been thought out either as to pay or organisation, as to conditions of service, or even as to arms. Even here in England it was to be an experiment."

We mentioned further on the case of handbooks, and I desire to press that because it does not seem a very large thing to undertake. We had evidence from two officers who raised corps—Colonel Thornycroft and General Baden-Powell—of the use which had been made by them of handbooks, and we also had before us Sir William Nicholson, who was then Director of Military Intelligence, and, on being pressed on this point, he expressed his agreement as to the value of these handbooks. He even said that he had himself brought under consideration the necessity of inquiring into the organisation and equipment of Colonial forces, but that had been refused on the ground of expense, although, as a matter of fact, only a single officer for six months would have been necessary to carry out that operation. I do not wish to weary the House, but I do desire to make it quite clear that this passage from our Report which has received so much currency does not mean at all any adherence to compulsory service or any change of that description. As I have shown, we declared distinctly against a vast standing army. But, at the same time, we turned to the reserve of military strength found in the United Kingdom and its Colonies and dependencies. The noble and gallant Earl on the cross benches could not find last year that anything had been done in that direction, and therefore I contend that this Bill is the first effort really to grapple with the difficulty.

The title of this Bill is the Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill. Therefore it deals with those forces, but, in the course of the discussion, both here and in another place, the rules of order have not been sufficient to prevent a pretty large divergence into the other parts of the military system. For my part, however, I do not intend on this occasion to say anything at length with regard to the Regular Forces. It is one of those alterations in organisation which affect expansiveness that the Expeditionary Force, which, under Mr. Stanhope's Memorandum, was 80,000 men, is now to be 160,000. Having said that, I do not intend to go further.

I do not think that we ought to forget the lessons of 1899. But we must also remember the circumstances. And if we keep in remembrance the circumstances of that time I cannot see how anybody can argue that a call, tremendous and unprecedented such as the one that came at that time, could come without any warning. There were warnings enough in 1899 if they had been taken account of. I do not wish to raise any controversial argument, but the sudden emergency argument is sometimes put very extravagantly. What is the assumption? The assumption seems to be that the country will be found in the guardianship of the troops who have just assembled for the first time for six months training, and that they will be pounced upon by the best soldiers of the best European Army. I cannot, I am afraid, imagine a raid out of the blue. I do not see how it is to happen. I cannot imagine how all the Government agents and all the newspaper reporters of all the world are to fall asleep. But, even if that were the case, *ex hypothesi* the whole Expeditionary Force will be at home, and the Fleet cannot possibly have been blown out of the seas. There would have been a sufficient warning certainly if either of the other alternatives had taken place. ¶

Then there was a suggestion made in this House a few weeks ago, that the assemblage of the Fleet at Lagos might have afforded an opportunity for a raid of this description; but I rather think my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty would have regarded that as an opportunity of catching the raiders like rats in a trap. Those who put forward the raid argument cannot have it both ways. Either the Fleet must be beaten, and then the Expeditionary Force would be at home, there being no one to convoy them across the seas; or the Fleet would convoy the force across the seas, in which case it would be in command of the seas and well able to make short work of the raiders. There might be a third supposition, that both the Fleet and the force had left our shores, and that while the Expeditionary Force was absent the Fleet had met with disaster. What, however, was the history of 1899? The orders to mobilise were given on 9th October, and the first field force, which consisted of 41,000 men, had all sailed by 17th November. Others followed in separate divisions, but it was not until the middle of March that 75,000 men had landed in South Africa. Therefore it took five months to complete what was an extremely successful mobilisation, on which I have always felt inclined to congratulate the noble Marquess who was Secretary of State for War at the time.

Is the future to beat that record? If it does not, how long will it take an Expeditionary Force of 160,000 men to leave our shores? Certainly they cannot all leave on the same day, or during the same week or the same month. Their departure must be gradual, and during the process the scheme of the Bill now before your Lordships would come into operation, and the second line of troops would take their place, occupy the barracks, and undergo training; and therefore before the last troopship could have sailed the battalions thus trained would be on guard to undertake the most sacred duty that can befall any men—the protection of their homes. This Bill, therefore, will for the first time seriously attempt to provide the framework on which the organisation the Commission desired will be built.

A good deal of criticism has been directed against the clauses relating to the County Associations. I am quite prepared to admit that there may be many blanks in those clauses. On the other hand, I am not sure that it is not more prudent to put matters tentatively. I believe that no mistake would be worse than to send down a scheme of a cast-iron description for the adoption of local bodies. If the scheme is flexible there will be room for adaptation to local feeling and local prejudices, perhaps even sufficient to deal with the cases of the two Irish regiments which the noble Earl mentioned yesterday afternoon. We must remember, too, that in this case the County Associations will be helped by the sympathetic guidance of the military authorities. I think this will also tend to the desired end, which is to have a force efficient for the protection of our shores against a foreign foe.

I should like to be allowed to refer, though it is outside the limits of this Bill, to another chapter in this eventful history. This Bill, of course, is for the United Kingdom, but the Commission, in the passage in their Report which I have quoted, referred also to the reserve military strength in our Colonies and dependencies. The proceedings of the Colonial Conference are now in your Lordships' hands, and I venture to think you will find the discussion on military defence not the least interesting in that volume. The Secretary of State's statement was received with acclamation. What was the principle underlying that statement? It was, as in this Bill, local autonomy —local autonomy under the guidance of a general staff recruited from the forces of the Empire as a whole. The discussion at the Conference made it perfectly clear that each Colony desired to manage its own local affairs. That was the view of Canada, of Australia, of New Zealand, and of South Africa, but all welcomed the idea and promise of trained advisers. The noble and gallant Earl on the cross benches said last night that the Secretary of State had not faced the elementary facts, and he went on to say that we had shut our eyes to such things as the Canadian frontier, and that our silence might be misinterpreted. A perusal of the proceedings of the Conference will show that that is not so. We did hear the views of Canada and the other Colonies. They are confident in their own resources, but entirely sympathetic to the defence of the Empire.

This Bill is for the establishment of a Territorial Army for home defence. We can all remember the patriotic feeling in the dark days of 1899. Though the danger which threatened us was far distant and the difficulties of enlistment and service were not few, still that patriotic feeling manifested itself distinctly. Surely we are not wrong in saying that we may rely confidently in time of trouble on a similar manifestation under the scheme prepared by the Government. A man joins the Territorial Army knowing the call awaiting him, and that that call is that he should promptly take service on the occasion of an emergency to supplement the military training he has already had. Knowing, too, that he will take a share in no ill-directed effort but in a scheme which is suggested and approved by the combination of local knowledge and scientific attainments, which is best calculated to win his confidence and enthusiasm.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: My Lords, we have listened to a very interesting speech from the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, though, as he himself admitted, he sometimes wandered very far from the provisions of the Bill. Yet I am quite sure your Lordships were very glad to hear all he had to say upon the wide questions of Empire with which he dealt. The noble Earl made a complaint, at the beginning of his speech, that the speakers on behalf of the Government during last evening were interrupted by a series of questions put to them to elucidate the provisions of the Bill. I do not see what use a Second Reading discussion is unless it elucidates the principles and details of a Bill, and there never was a Bill the principles and details of which required more elucidation. It was discussed at certain length in another place, but, though several speeches were heard from the Government Bench, a considerable mistiness remained over the whole subject, and Members of the House of Commons were very little wiser after those speeches than they were before.

And, my Lords, if there was required any other justification for the attitude and conduct of speakers on this side of the House last night I think it would be found in the result, because the questions we put have led to answers being given in the very interesting speech of the noble Lord who spoke to us for the first time last night (Lord Lucas) and in the speech of the noble Earl who has just sat down, which have thrown considerable light on the matters under discussion. The noble Earl went on to discuss the question of compulsory service, and I was very glad to hear him say once more, on his own behalf and on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that they were not in favour of compulsory service. There is no one in this House who does not profoundly respect the opinions of the noble and gallant Earl on the cross benches (Lord Roberts), but when he presses upon us the advantages of compulsory service we always feel that we are faced with this dilemma, that a large conscript Army is not required for home defence and cannot be used for foreign service. There is no country in the world which has used its conscript troops for service abroad unless they volunteered, and therefore the principle of compulsion may be said not to be required for home service and to be of no use for foreign service.

The advocates of this system feel that dilemma, and the noble Viscount, Lord Milner, speaking last night, tried to get out of the difficulty by contending that these compulsory troops were required for home service; that is to say, that the raids which we have to fear may be so powerful that we may require this enormous conscript Army in order to protect us. I am not one of those who belong to the extreme blue-water school, but I must say I think it is an exaggeration—I think it is a gross exaggeration—to say that we require the enormous force which would be raised by a conscript Army in order to be prepared, I will not say for any probable, but for any possible invasion of these shores. I do not believe that, under these circumstances, the people of this country will ever consent to undertake the burden on their time and on their purse which compulsory service would involve. They pay already for their Fleet. They stint nothing for their Fleet. I am quite certain that I am speaking what everybody knows when I say that in the opinion of this country there is no money that is required for the Fleet which ought not to be spent. Having arrived at that conclusion, I think the country would resist the extra burden which would be thrown upon them by a conscript Army.

That brings me to the practical consideration of this Bill. We have to deal with a limited amount of money. Whatever money is required for the Fleet will be found, but, in the case of the Army, we have to deal with a limited amount, and we have to keep expenditure on that Service within the four corners of that sum. The first question which occurs to anyone approaching the discussion of a new Army system is: Is the money which Parliament is to be asked to provide going to be economically spent? That was the burden of the greater part of the speech of my noble friend Lord

Midleton last night. He contended that under the military policy of the Government there would be a reduction of efficiency and practically no saving of money. To that we want a very definite answer. Is it or is it not the fact that under the policy of His Majesty's Government the Regular Forces of the Crown will be diminished by something over 20,000 men? If that be true, then at any rate we should expect to find a very considerable saving of money.

The second question is: Is there to be a saving of money? My noble friend put the question to the Government. He asked whether the Government had made an accurate estimate of what their policy is likely to cost. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, although he dealt most fully with some of the questions which my noble friend put, carefully abstained from dealing with that particular question. He said nothing about money. The noble Earl dealt with the Artillery, and told us in very definite language that there was to be no reduction in the Artillery—no reduction in numbers and no reduction in efficiency. The noble Earl nods assent. Therefore we may look upon it as an absolute pledge given by His Majesty's Government to Parliament that under their policy there will be no reduction whatever either in the numbers or in the efficiency of the Artillery. If my noble friend's speech had led to nothing except that distinct pledge from the Government his efforts certainly were not thrown away. My noble friend Lord Midleton suggested that upon the figures, so far as he could calculate them, there would be at the very best a saving of about £800,000. Now, do the Government agree with those figures? That is a very simple question, and one upon which I have no doubt the War Office have arrived at a very definite conclusion.

*THE EARL OF ELGIN: We received the suggestion of the £800,000 at eight o'clock last night, and there has scarcely been time to inquire into it.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am inclined to think that this £800,000 is likely to be rather a phantom figure. Have the Government reflected on the cost which the County Associations are likely to involve? I do not want to repeat what my noble friend said last night, but, as the Government have not answered, it is necessary to remind them of the point. My noble friend suggested to your Lordships that each of these miniature War Offices all over the country would require a staff of clerks of its own. We who live in the country are very familiar with this sort of thing. Nearly all the reforms in local government which we have witnessed in our time have led to increased expenditure. It is quite true that they very often lead to greater efficiency, and I earnestly hope that this will be the result of the proposals of the Government; but without exception such proposals have led to greater expenditure. That is the universal experience. I do not care what county in England you take.

And what check is there upon the expenditure of these County Associations? Has that been thought out among the many matters which the Army Council have considered? The noble Earl who has just sat down took credit to himself and his colleagues that the clauses with regard to the County Associations were so vague. They are absolutely vague. There is no inference which Parliament can draw from the words in the clauses respecting the County Associations. I would venture to ask what is in the mind of the Government. What among all the plans and memoranda lying at the War Office at this moment is written as to the County Associations? Are they to have a lump sum, or are their bills to be presented and paid with a more or less check according as the War Office at the moment may think well? I do not say that the plan is a bad one, but I say it is a great and rather hazardous experiment.

I studied at one time of my life the question of rating reform and how far money should be paid by way of grants-in-aid by the Exchequer to the county authorities, and the one axiom which is always laid down is that where a locality has the responsibility of administering a particular service it should be a contributory party to the cost, because, if the whole of the funds are provided by the Imperial Exchequer, extravagance is almost certain to result. That is an axiom in rating reform, but your Lordships will observe that in this instance no attention appears to have been paid to it. The money is to be raised from the taxpayers and paid over either in a lump sum, or according as it is required, to the local authority, who is to manage it apparently in its absolute discretion. I would ask the Government to tell us whether the sympathetic guidance of which the noble Earl spoke will deal with points of that kind—whether the County Associations will have an absolutely free hand, or whether the general principles on which the Government desire they should work will be indicated.

I will not dwell at any great length upon the clauses dealing with the Territorial Force. I notice that the noble Earl, in that part of his speech which had reference to the Bill, almost entirely confined himself to the Territorial Force. I will only say this upon that head, that some of the provisions which deal with the Territorial Force have been found, and are still found, by Volunteer officers, who will mainly constitute the officers of the Territorial Force, to be of too drastic a character. I may instance, for example, the famous proviso in Clause 16, which enacts that after the Reserves have all been called out the whole of the Territorial Force shall be embodied for an indefinite period. I will not labour the point. Your Lordships are well aware how difficult it would be for all the Volunteers in the different parts of England to be mobilised for an indefinite period upon such an emergency as is described, and I think that in his later speeches in another place the Secretary of State explained that as a matter of fact that particular proviso will never be rigidly enforced, and that it will be adapted to the circumstances of each corps. But, if that be so, the proviso ought to disappear, because it has frightened, is frightening, and will continue to frighten a very large number of possible candidates for the Volunteer Force. Under the earlier words of the clause there is ample power to call out as many of the Territorial Force as may be required, and this drastic proviso is really unnecessary.

Since the clause was drafted there has been a great change in the proposals of the Government which centre round the Militia. Those changes I need not say, so far as they go, I welcome very heartily. When the Bill was first introduced the Secretary of State and his advisers were wedded to a rigid interpretation of the scheme of two lines as against three lines. I think the Secretary of State was perhaps misled to some extent by the symmetry of the proposal, and he conceived that it would be a proper and a symmetrical arrangement that the land forces of Crown should be split into halves: on one side should be all the professional soldiers, and on the other side all the amateur soldiers—on one side all the soldiers who were ready to go into action and on the other side all those who were unready. That was his conception, and consequently he organised the Army in two lines. People began to see that there was a great blemish in this proposal. It was quite true that the Regular Forces of the Crown were ready, and that there was a second line which was organised to appear upon the scene of action in six months time. But there was a gap. What was there to stand behind the first line in the earlier months of the war? Were there any organised units which would be ready to take the place of the Regular Army in the garrisons at home and in the Colonies, and were there any troops sufficiently organised to take their position on the lines of communication in the earlier stages of the war?

The noble Earl who has just sat down has indicated that in his opinion all these fears of great emergency may be swept aside. He said we should always have warning. My Lords, I look upon a speech of that kind with profound dismay. I believe that the noble Earl cannot do a worse service to his country than by repeating statements of that kind. Of course, we expect and believe and hope that there will not be a war, and the chances are that there will not be a war for very many years. The chances are, no doubt, even stronger that we shall be able to meet that war properly and with sufficient readiness; but we keep up the armed Forces of the Crown as an insurance against possible danger, and the whole *raison d'etre* of the Volunteer Force and of the other Forces of the Crown is lest that emergency should overtake us.

The noble Earl says we should have warning, that we would know beforehand in sufficient time that there was going to be a great war and that we could then mobilise. I can assure him that the difficulties of the course he proposes are very great, and I remember circumstances connected with the South African war which justify my observation. When negotiations are very critical, when peace and war are hanging in the balance, you cannot order a general mobilisation without precipitating the very crisis you wish to avoid. The fact is that to the last moment a Government will always desire to avoid mobilisation. Therefore the noble Earl's phrase is a most unfortunate one. We must be ready, not a few months after mobilisation, but the next morning after mobilisation. If war becomes inevitable on a Tuesday we must be ready in the course of that week, if necessary, to move the whole of our Regular Force abroad, so far, of course, as our shipping would permit, and to mobilise the troops which stand immediately behind in order to support them in that great operation.

It is not sufficient to have troops like the Territorial Force, which will only be ready after six months training. We require organised Auxiliary units to support them as soon as the Regular troops themselves are ready. Therefore I welcome the rehabilitation in the scheme of the Militia. That Force affords an opportunity for obtaining these organised units. I do not care whether you say that the armed Forces of the Crown are to be organised in three lines or in two lines. It is largely a question of phrase. But behind the first line there must be a supplementary line, something which is not necessarily quite so good, but which is ready as soon as the first line to support them in the field. The Secretary of State, evidently impressed with that view, saw it was necessary to change his scheme, and the Militia reappeared. The Militia constitute the only organised units available for the purpose I have indicated. That makes a great change, and I think a good deal of the interesting speech which was delivered by Lord Lucas last night was really conceived upon the basis that the scheme had not been altered as it has been by the rehabilitation of the Militia. He seemed to think that the important thing was to merge the greater part of the Militia absolutely in the Regular Force, and to change all their characteristics so that they should be assimilated to the Regular Army and lose as far as possible their distinctive character. I do not think that is good policy.

The Marquess of Salisbury.

There are limitations upon the existing Militia which ought to be swept away, as, for example, that they can only be used, compulsorily, at any rate, for service at home. There is also the fact that the standard of efficiency of the Militia is not so high as is required for the purposes I have indicated. But if those two defects could be remedied, then beyond that the character of the force should be changed as little as possible. Now, why do I say that? I say it because you have to consider the sentiments of the men who form the Militia now and who are going to form the Militia under your new scheme. They are voluntary agents. They cannot be compelled to join your new force. You will have to ask them; you will have to go on your knees to ask them. You must consider their feelings, and it is no good attempting to ride rough shod over them. Unless the men of the Militia consent to back you up you are defeated on the very threshold of your scheme. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that you should consider, and consider carefully, the susceptibilities of Militiamen.

In order to achieve what I have already indicated as the necessities of the case you will have to make certain rather drastic changes. You will be compelled—I frankly admit it—to admit more Regular officers than you have already to assist in the training of the Militia, and you will have to insist that they shall enlist for foreign service. But the Government want to go further. They not only say the Militia must enlist for foreign service, but that they shall go on foreign service, if required, with and under perfect strangers, men with whom they have not served before. That will be a very stiff fence to jump.

We on this side of the House can take no responsibility for it whatever. I do not say, speaking only for myself, that I shall oppose it; but do not let it be said afterwards that it was done by the general consent of your Lordships' House. That is not so.

So far as Militia officers are concerned they are quite willing to admit Regular officers, and they are quite willing to go on foreign service in time of emergency, but they are not willing—that is to say, they cannot advise—that they should go under strangers. I changed that phrase because, as your Lordships know, a great misunderstanding has taken place as to the attitude of Militia officers. We do not refuse anything. We are not in a position to refuse anything. We shall do, of course, as we are told, but, if we are asked for our advice, we cannot advise that these men should be asked to serve under perfect strangers. Supposing the Government do not agree with us—and I am afraid they do not—then I would ask them in every way in their power to mitigate the severity of that change. In the first place, as your Lordships know, there are two categories of Militia battalions under the scheme. There are the battalions which are mainly to be used as units, and there are the battalions which are mainly to be used as draft-producing machines. These battalions are seventy-four in number. They are to have a large number of Regular officers assigned to them, and it was a matter of great interest to us at the beginning of this debate to know what would become of the Militia officers. A good deal of light has been thrown on that point both by Lord Lucas and by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and we understand that even in those battalions the equities of the position of existing Militia officers are to be considered to some extent.

But I am not only thinking of the feeling of Militia officers. I am thinking of the efficiency of these battalions. I am not satisfied to know that after a certain number of years' service a Militia subaltern will become a captain. What I want to know is whether he will be a substantive captain, an acting captain—that is to say, whether he will have command of one of the companies into which these battalions must be divided. There should be Militia officers commanding companies, not in their own interests, but in the interests of these battalions. How can you do without them?

I would ask your Lordships to pay attention to this rather dry detail for a moment. What officers are going to command the battalion when it is out for its annual training? We know there are to be four regular captains at the depot training the recruits, but once a year, for a longer or a shorter period, the whole battalion is to go out for training, 500 strong. I suppose the companies will not be more than 100 strong. All the Regular captains will not be available, because, although the Militia battalion goes out for training, the Regular officers who have had charge of the recruits have also to do the work of the depot of the Line battalion, and the Line recruits will be still at the depot and will require training. Therefore, a number of these officers will have to be left behind when the Militia battalions go out for training. The four Regular captains and two subalterns and so forth will not be available. Consequently you must have some other substantive officers even in time of peace to command Militia battalions when out for training. And if the training is longer than the Government have indicated, as I earnestly hope will ultimately be the case, the necessity for these extra officers becomes all the more apparent.

I am speaking of time of peace. But take time of war. What is to be the function of these battalions in time of war? In the first place, they are to send out drafts. The drafts must go under officers, and if you send out a sufficient number of men in a draft you will require a captain to go with them, and of course it is a far better system that when you send out a draft an officer who knows the men should accompany them. So that in time of war you will require other officers besides these Regular officers, for, according to the Government's scheme, the Regular officers will be left in England to train more recruits and so supply successive drafts to the Army in the field. The Secretary of State went further. He said that occasionally these seventy-four battalions will what he calls "throw off" battalions—

whole battalions to fight in the field. I have never been quite able to understand what capacity there is for throwing off battalions from 500 men if you leave anything behind. The Secretary of State thinks he can do it, but, if he does it, these battalions which are thrown off will require trained officers whom the men know and who know the men. Regular officers, as I say, will not be available, and therefore you will require Militia officers serving under Militia engagements as officers of the battalion.

The first mitigation I would suggest in the Government's scheme is that they should recognise frankly that officers of the old stamp should continue to be officers of these battalions—that is to say, that the posts for officers should not be confined to Regular officers. This leads me to suggest to the Government that as a matter of fact it is a great pity that they should resolve so firmly that these seventy-four battalions should never, or hardly ever, act as units. Why do they come to that conclusion? Why do they think that twenty-seven battalions will be sufficient for the purpose I have indicated—that of acting as units in colonial garrisons and for lines of communication? Why, my Lords, in the South African War you used sixty-eight Militia battalions for this purpose. Why should you think that in a future war you will only require twenty-seven? It is not likely that the next great war in which we shall be engaged will be of less dimensions than the South African War. I think it will be of greater dimensions; and the idea that you are likely to have sufficient troops for the line of communications with less than half the number you used in South Africa seems to me an assumption founded on no reason whatever. If that is so, then twenty-seven is not sufficient, and you will require many more battalions to act as units on the outbreak of war. Is it not far better to say so at once? Why should you depress the spirits of all these seventy-four battalions by telling them they never must act as units when you think it highly probable that they will have so to act? If it were said that the Militia must furnish drafts, that they might have to act as units, not twenty-seven battalions but all of them, that would to a large extent mitigate the natural mortification which the decision of the Government must have inflicted on the Militia.

I come to one other point, and here I hope the Government will agree, because they have already gone a long way in that direction. Lord Lucas told us last night that, although the Militia must be content to be drafted into the Line in time of war, yet it was the intention of the Government to draft them as a general rule only into their Territorial battalion; and he went even further, because he said that, with respect to existing men serving in the Militia, the Government were prepared to give an absolute promise that existing Militiamen should never be asked to form drafts except to their own Territorial battalion. That is a concession, but I would ask the Government not to make two bites at a cherry. Let them go the full length and say what they ought to say, that under our Territorial system the other battalions of the Territorial regiment ought only to be drafted into the first or second battalion of their own regiment. That is a perfectly reasonable proposal, and it is the system which obtains with regard to the first and second battalions already. Why should not the third battalion be treated in a precisely similar way? That, again, would be some mitigation. There is a certain sympathetic feeling between the Militia battalion and the Line battalion of the same Territorial regiment, and the Militiaman would not think himself entirely among strangers when he was passed from one to the other.

Lastly, I suggest that with regard to disembodiment the present system which obtains in the Militia should be preferred to the system under the Reserve Forces Act, which the Government propose to substitute for it. Under the Militia Act when the period of active service comes to an end the whole unit is disembodied together, but under the Reserve Forces Act once a man has been called out for permanent service he has no claim to be dismissed to his home at all until the end of his engagement, he having once more re-entered into the active Line. Within that limit each man has to stand by himself. He is not disembodied with his friends. He is allowed to go to his home as an individual, or he is not. That, again, is a variation from the existing system in the Militia which I deplore. I think it far better that the men should understand, if they are to be subjected to this process of being sent abroad and being drafted into strange battalions, that at any rate when the war comes to an end and the Militia return they should all have a chance of going back to civil life together. The continuance of Militia officers as substantive officers, the concession that all the Militia ought to be capable of being used as units, the concession that they should only be drafted into their own Line battalions, and that they should all be disembodied together—these are concessions which I think the Government might grant.

There are one or two other points to which I should like to call the attention of His Majesty's Government. They are in the direction of improvements in the standard of efficiency of the Militia under these new circumstances. There is the question of the training, which I have already mentioned, but on which I will say one or two further words. We want to be clear about the training, and, though I listened with great care to the speech of the noble Earl the Under-Secretary for War, I am afraid I was not quite clear as to what training is proposed for the Militia under the new state of things. A few weeks ago the noble Earl told us, in great detail, what the training of the Special Contingent was to be. There was, first of all, to be a preliminary drill, which in many cases would be divided into two parts, and then there was to be an annual training which was to be fifteen days one year and twenty-one days the next. I want to know whether the same system is to prevail now that the Militia have taken the place of the Special Contingent. Is the six months preliminary drill to be divided into two parts, and is the annual training only to be fifteen days one year and twenty-one days the next? If that is so, I regret it. It is a great mistake to have the preliminary drill split into two parts, because the recruits will not know what to expect when they join the force, and employers will not know what they are in for if a long period of preliminary drill may be suddenly projected upon them two or three years after the men have joined. It is far better that the six months preliminary drill should be taken together.

Then I would ask for information about the annual drill. Last night the noble Earl the Under-Secretary said that there would be fifteen days annual drill and musketry as well. Does he mean that there will be fifteen days annual drill and musketry training every year—because the Secretary of State observed in another place that he could not promise that there would be training every year? It may well be that on reflection the Government have come to the conclusion that there must be training every year. If so we should like to know the facts. My uncertainty applies to annual drill as well as to preliminary training. It is much better to have a fixed period, and to have the same period every year. The idea that musketry training can be put in the background, that you can have six days of it, and have that only once in every two years, seems to me to be the most absurd proposal that could possibly be made. Musketry training is much the most important part of the training. It is not the whole training, of course, but of the two I venture to say—though perhaps I ought to speak with more diffidence in the presence of great soldiers—that the musketry training is the most important. It is of the greatest moment that there should be adequate musketry training, and that it should take place every year.

That means a local training, and I do not conceal from your Lordships that the suggestions which I have made, if they were adopted by the Government, would approximate the position of the seventy-four battalions to the position of the twenty-seven battalions. And this leads me to ask His Majesty's Government why they maintain these two categories at all. I am sure your Lordships will allow me to say that I have not approached this Bill in a Party spirit. In the criticisms which I have made I have tried to put myself more or less in the position of the Government, and to work at their Bill from their own point of view. I ask them, in all seriousness, why they maintain these two categories. The distinction that is made is the most invidious thing in the world. How are the Government going to pick the battalions which are to go into the one category and those which are to go into the other? I do not envy them the prospect. I do not envy them the friction and the justifiable indignation which they will arise when they begin to deal with this question. What they had much better do would be to introduce a sufficient number of Regular officers into all the Militia battalions to raise them to the standard of efficiency which they require.

I am afraid I have troubled your Lordships at great length. I will only say, in conclusion, that I am grateful to the Government for having at any rate maintained the Militia in being. I earnestly hope that they will not obstinately set their face against further Amendments in the Bill when we get into Committee; and if they do make the concessions which I have ventured to suggest to them they will mitigate the not unjustifiable mortification which the Militia undoubtedly feel at the treatment to which they must perforce be subjected.

LORD NEWTON: My Lords, as I listened to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies I could not help feeling a certain amount of commiseration for him, inasmuch as he appeared to me to be endeavouring to discharge a difficult, if not impossible, task—namely, that of reconciling the finding of his own Commission with the Bill which has obtained his enthusiastic support. It is no use the noble Earl trying to get out of the fact that the main finding of his Commission was that what the country needs beyond anything else is the power of expansion in our military forces. I submit, in spite of all that has fallen from noble Lords on both sides of the House, that there is no expansion provided for under this Bill. You do not add an officer, you do not add a man; as a matter of fact, you no not take a single step to render the country more fit to grapple with an emergency than we were a few years ago. I believe that to be a perfectly plain and accurate statement of the case, and I do not believe any independent military authority would contradict it.

I observe that, with the charity which always characterises Members of this House, nearly everyone who has spoken has endeavoured to find something favourable in the Bill. I confess, so far as I am concerned, that I should have thought that the only people who would rejoice over these proposals were the people who were contemplating making war on this country. To my mind there is only one favourable aspect with regard to it—namely, that it is absolutely bound to leave us in so deplorable a condition that we shall before long be obliged to take very radical steps in order to put ourselves in a safe position again. Indeed, I am not at all sure whether it is worth our while to discuss the Bill at all. I believe that historians will record with astonishment that one of the principal measures of the session was a Bill the main feature of which was that preparation for war was not going to begin until war had broken out. Rather more than a year ago we were led to suppose that a new era was going to dawn on this country, that a complete transformation was going to take place, that we were going to see created "a nation in arms." We were led to believe that hundreds of thousands of able-bodied men would flock voluntarily to be trained. A picture was drawn of instructors in summer cycling from one village green to another, and in winter from one school house to another in order to drill these expectant volunteers. Smart young solicitors were going to act as adjutants for several battalions at once—a sort of combination of Arcadia and Aldershot, with a dash of Lincoln's Inn thrown in. In addition there was to be beneficent landowners offering their land for nothing, sympathetic employers who were to let their men go and pay their wages at the same time, and sympathetic representatives of labour who were going to do all they could to assist this movement.

What is the result of all this torrential eloquence about "a nation in arms" and reservoirs of national spirit and all the rest of it? The result is a reduced Regular Army—a largely reduced

Regular Army. That is one result. The other result is that the Militia is now liable for foreign service. The Yeomanry remain precisely where they are, the Volunteers remain precisely where they are but have a new name. Literally the only new military asset which is acquired are the County Associations—a boon which does not appear to be thoroughly appreciated in all quarters. This is the result of the torrential rhetoric, and, I suppose I ought to add, "clear thinking." The "clear thinker," the person who is responsible for all this, has the audacity to tell us that we are 50 per cent. stronger now than we were before he assumed office. Personally I am not in the least surprised, I am not even disappointed, but I take it that there must be many who are disappointed, because when rather more than a year ago I ventured to express the opinion that the present War Secretary would not be more successful than his predecessors, I was at once met with the assurance that the new Secretary for War was an entirely different man from his predecessors. My friends informed me that he was quite different from them; he had a deep insight into military matters; he was a man of inflexible determination, and had a thorough grasp of his subject; and, above all, he was going to do what none of his predecessors had ever done—give the voluntary system a fair chance.

Many people appear to have been taken in. It is remarkable to me as showing the extraordinary power which oratory and rhetoric, or, as I should prefer to call it, claptrap, still possess over many people. So far as I can see, it is perfectly easy to be a highly successful Secretary of State for a short time. As long as you continue to talk about a nation in arms, national duties, reservoirs, and all the rest of it, people are ready to applaud you to the echo. But there is no particular merit in this. It is merely a question of practice. Anybody who has had practice in public speaking can turn out these unimpeachable sentiments. In fact, you do not require a human being to do it; it can be done just as well by a gramaphone. It is only when you begin to act that you are found out.

I should like to ask sober and commonsense people why this particular Secretary of State should be expected to succeed where his predecessors were supposed to have failed. There are two explanations. One is the extremely unflattering one, which I decline to accept myself, that all his predecessors were incompetent men. The second alternative is that his predecessors never gave the voluntary system a fair chance. Well, I am aware that there is a sort of lingering superstition that there is an immense amount of untapped patriotism, so to speak, in this country. It really seems to be thought by many persons here that every able-bodied man in this country has got somewhere about him a sort of bump of patriotism which only requires to be touched in order to develope him into a red-hot patriot, and apparently the agency by which this patriotism is to be invoked is the agency of the County Associations.

As to the County Associations, I confess that I see nothing to admire in the idea. Surely national defence is the duty, not of local bodies, but of the Government, and it appears to me that this is nothing but a mean-spirited attempt on the part of the Government or the War Office to transfer their obligations to local authorities, and eventually, I suppose, to saddle on the rates to some extent the Territorial Army. How, as a matter of fact, can these Associations have any effect at all upon the spirit of volunteering? It is gratifying, more especially in view of the attacks which are now being made upon land, to observe the excessive confidence which is placed in that somewhat archaic official the Lord-Lieutenant; but, after all, what power of peaceful persuasion does a Lord-Lieutenant possess? How can he or anybody else on the proposed Associations induce an unwilling man to enter the Territorial Army? It appears to me that to these Associations will be assigned the somewhat undignified task of endeavouring to persuade a small fraction of the population to discharge what ought to be a national duty. I feel inclined to suggest, as a motto for these Associations, something of this kind: "We expect that every man in this country will find some other man or boy to do his duty for him." That is really the principle upon which they will be expected to work, and even supposing that they do get into working order it is perfectly clear that everything in the nature of uniformity will be practically impossible.

To return for a few seconds to the question of the present Secretary of State and his predecessors. On the whole, it is not fair to charge any of these gentlemen with failure. It is not my noble friend Lord Midleton who has failed; it is not Mr. Arnold-Forster who has failed; it is not even Mr. Haldane who is about to fail; what has really failed is the voluntary system. Let us be honest if we can. I, at all events, desire to be honest, and I do not impute any fault to these distinguished men. I attribute their failure solely and simply to the voluntary system. As a country we are exactly in the position of a man who has got an excellent carriage which has seen better days while all his neighbours possess motor cars. He finds that he is unable to get as much work out of his carriage as he would like, and he sends for various experts to give him advice. One expert suggests a new wheel, another that the seating accommodation should be altered, the third proposes something else, and the fourth —and this is the most acceptable proposal of all—suggests that the whole thing should be covered with a new coat of paint. That is exactly the position we are in when we talk about military reform.

The voluntary system does not give us the number we require; it never has given us the number we require and it never will. The voluntary system clearly broke down a few years ago, and to my mind this Bill is absolute and convincing proof that the voluntary system is recognised on every side to have broken down. I can prove it in this way. Your Territorial Army is fixed at 300,000 men. Upon what do you base those figures? They are not based on your military necessities in the least, but solely on the fact that 300,000 is the largest number you can count on getting under the voluntary system. Nothing has excited greater criticism in this Bill than the proposal that the training of these troops should not begin until after war has broken out. Why is this? There is nobody here, I take it, who will assert that training after war has broken out is better than training before war has broken out. But the evident reason why the Government have been compelled to act in this way is that if you were to exact six months training from recruits before they joined the Territorial Army you would not get any men in continuous employment under conditions of that kind. As far as I am concerned, I do not believe you will even get the training after hostilities have broken out, because after what occurred in 1889 I doubt whether any Government would have the courage to call out these men. Therefore, we should be reduced to this, that when the Regular Army and the Militia had left this country we should be obliged to keep our Fleet chained round our shores in order to give the country some sense of confidence.

I do not feel that I have any particular right to speak on this question, but there is one point which I desire to touch upon before I sit down. I listened with considerable attention to the speeches from the Front Opposition Bench, and I must admit with regret that, although those speeches were no doubt admirable as regards their quality of destructive criticism, they offered no alternative at all. To use the jargon of the day, the Government Bill holds the field. The only real alternative is that proposed by the noble and gallant Field Marshal Earl Roberts and my noble friend Lord Milner. Unfortunately, those two distinguished Members of your Lordships' House apparently do not count. They represent—and I am proud to call myself one of their followers—a great and growing opinion of the country, but they evidently do not command much confidence upon either of the Front Benches. It is curious to observe the different estimates in which the opinion of the noble and gallant Field Marshal is held according as he happens to agree or disagree with the Government. When the noble and gallant Earl agrees with the Government he is triumphantly cited in favour of their plan as the greatest military authority of the age. But when he disagrees he is politely ignored by both

Front Benches, just as much by the Front Bench on this side as by the Front Bench on the other, as if he were some obscure retired Militia major with a grievance, or somebody of that kind. My noble friend Lord Milner does not count either. Personally I attach a great deal more importance to the opinion of the noble and gallant Earl and of my noble friend Lord Milner than I do to that of most other people. I attach more importance to their opinion than even to that of my noble friends Lord Salisbury and Lord Donoughmore, who have spoken from the Front Opposition Bench in the course of this debate. Lord Roberts and Lord Milner have at all events the courage of their opinions. They are not afraid to say, and in my humble way I say too, that the voluntary system has broken down, that you cannot put it right until you have recourse to universal service, and that universal service must be a statutory obligation. I maintain that this is the only logical attitude. We are always being told, and more even now than at any other time, that it is the duty of every man to defend his country. If it is the duty of every man to defend his country, why in Heaven's name and in the name of common sense is it left optional for him to do so when other things are made obligatory upon him? And if it is absolutely essential to our safety, as we have been told over and over again, that we should have a great trained reserve, why, again, do we leave it to chance and the County Associations? I have listened with the greatest pain to the deplorable utterances of my noble friends on the Front Opposition Bench with regard to this question of compulsion. It appears to me that their horror and their hatred of even the mildest form of compulsion, such as is suggested by the National Service League, is such that they are literally prepared not only to run any risks, but apparently to see the country actually conquered or annihilated rather than adopt a system of compulsion.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: No.

LORD NEWTON: They will not have it. But it is all very well to say "No."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I beg the noble Lord's pardon; I do not know whether he thinks he is representing my views, but I said that compulsory service was not necessary. I did not say I would not adopt it if it was necessary.

LORD NEWTON: I am glad to have drawn that amount of repentance from the noble Marquess, because being a young man I feel sure he will live long enough to regret having made the statement to which I alluded. But my noble friend below me (the Earl of Donoughmore) has not cleared himself. They both went out of their way to applaud the equally deplorable sentiments uttered by speakers last night. If you are going absolutely to refuse to discuss at all the question of compulsion merely because it may involve some personal inconvenience, it seems to me that the sooner we sweep away all this talk about national defence and Army reform the better, because it becomes little more than a farce.

I have only one other matter to refer to, and that is with regard to voting for this Bill. We are asked to vote for this Bill because it is the last and final chance for the voluntary system. If I really thought that was the case I would vote for it with the greatest pleasure. If anybody could assure me that that was a true statement, and that compulsion would follow if this Bill were not a success, I would gladly vote for it; but I am afraid I cannot regard the Bill as anything but an immense and solemn sham. It is a Bill which was not brought in in the least in order to meet the military requirements of the nation. It is a Bill brought in in order to redeem rash pledges made during the election and at other times in favour of economy and so forth; it is a Bill brought in for political reasons; it has been emasculated and altered also for political reasons, and that being so I personally prefer to have nothing to do with it.

LORD RAGLAN: My Lords, when we come to look at what this Bill contains we find nothing whatever except the dry bones on which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War proposes to hang the newest War Office scheme.

There is nothing whatever that we can discover from the Bill itself, and that being so the next thing we should refer to would be the speeches of the Secretary of State himself. The right hon. Gentleman has made a great many speeches; I do not believe any man in this world holding the office he holds has ever talked so much and said so little. If by any chance he has made a speech which appeared to contain some glimmerings of a system or of a principle, he has always hastened shortly afterwards to make another speech in exactly the opposite direction. When he first came into office he made a great many speeches, and the bulk of them might have been made by the noble and gallant Earl Lord Roberts. My noble friend below me has alluded to those speeches, and, therefore, I will not detain your Lordships by further quoting from them. But of late the right hon. Gentleman—I suppose in consequence of some political pressure—has altered his position, and the last few speeches he has made might be fitly put into the mouth of that Member of another place who is the proud father of an innocent-minded boy of fourteen years of age who as yet is untainted by militarism.

Then we come to the Bill as introduced in this House and the speech of the Under-Secretary of State for War, from whom we might have expected some information. But the noble Earl is like the needy knife-grinder: he had no tale to tell us at all; and it was not until we heard Lord Lucas, whose most interesting and informing speech we listened to with so much pleasure last night, that any details or any inkling of what was really behind this Bill was vouchsafed to your Lordships. I am afraid I must, with all respect, put the speech of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the same category, as I did not get much information from it. That being so, let us turn from the speeches of these high officials to what they have actually done.

I will take first the question of the Regular Army. The right hon Gentleman the Secretary of State for War has done two things which to my knowledge have never been done by any other Secretary of State for War since such a person has existed in this country. First of all, he has reduced the Regular Army to below what it was before the late war. As a rule, after a war the Regular Army has been largely reduced, but it has always remained stronger than the establishment before the war. In this case, however, the right hon. Gentleman has not only abolished all the additions that were made to the Regular Army for the purposes of the war, but also additions made before the war. In the second place, the right hon. Gentleman has largely reduced the pay of the Regular Army. Never has faith been broken with men to the extent and to the amount that it has been broken with those men who entered the Army on the understanding that they were to receive service pay. From 20,000 to 30,000 men have had their pay reduced from 2d. to 8d. a day, and that loss falls with excessive force upon those branches of the service who receive corps pay—engineers, army service men, and various other tradesmen whom you wish to attract to the Army by good pay and generous treatment.

Then I should like to say a word with regard to the riding-masters. The British cavalry has had every possible fault found with it on every possible occasion, but if there is one thing upon which everybody is agreed, it is that there is no force in the world which rides anything like as well as the British cavalry. That being so, what can one put it down to except to the fact that the instruction of the riding-masters is of the very best description? These officers have been swept away and an adjutant is to take on their duties. I do not know what is the case in the Regular Army, but in my own regiment the duties of the office have about trebled within the last five years, and I do not see how much time the adjutant is going to spare from the task of grappling with the mass of correspondence for the instruction of recruits in the riding-school. It is still more remarkable when you think that this great Liberal Government, which considers itself to represent the democracy of the country, has proceeded to reduce the number of officers who are promoted from the ranks. The position of riding-master peculiarly suited men promoted from the ranks. It gave them an assured position and a respectable pension; but now the whole of the cavalry will be deprived in future of that particular form of promotion.

I now come to the Militia. I am afraid I cannot take the same rose-coloured view that is taken by my noble friend on the Front Opposition Bench. This scheme is the end and the abolition of the Militia. It is no use saying otherwise. Do not let noble Lords deceive themselves. To show that I am making no mistake I will quote a few words from the letter of the military correspondent of *The Times*, who appears to know considerably more about the scheme than anybody else, including the Secretary of State for War himself. The words he used on Friday, 21st June, were these—

> "Until we know what the attitude of the Militia will be, nothing is finally settled. The Militia are the best judges of their own interests, and they must decide for themselves what they will do."

I do not think we are going to have much chance of doing that.

> "In order to leave no opening for misconception hereafter, it is necessary to remark that whether the old Militia keeps or loses its name of Militia in the 3rd and 4th battalions it will in effect wholly cease."

Let us not, then, deceive ourselves in any way: the Militia does entirely disappear.

If I might mention a personal matter, I am chairman of the Militia Rifle Association, which is the only central body which in any way represents the Militia, and therefore I venture to address your Lordships at some length on this matter, because I represent the feeling and opinion of the force. I must go back for a few moments to matters of history, and I will take first the Crimean War. Your Lordships will remember that the Militia was embodied for a considerable period during the Crimean War and the Mutiny. After the war, for some years—certainly for a year or two—the greater part of the regiments were not trained. The Militia regiments were not kept up to strength, and no attempt was made to recruit them in any way. The first attempt made to deal with the Militia was in 1866, I think, when a Committee was appointed. General Peel was Minister for War, and the Militia Reserve was formed. The original idea of the Militia Reserve was that they should be supernumerary to the establishment of the Militia. There is one remarkable thing about Army reform in this country, and that is, that while all the things which are detrimental to the Militia always remain, anything which is for the good of the Militia always drops out; and although the Militia Reserve remained, the question of making them supernumerary to the Militia absolutely dropped out.

Then I come to Lord Cardwell's scheme to which the Under-Secretary of State referred us. Lord Cardwell's scheme has given us the Regular Army which we now possess. But I think the noble Earl forgot—possibly he does not know—that the whole of Lord Cardwell's scheme was based on a largely increased Militia, dependent, in the first place, on voluntary enlistment, but to be made up by ballot if voluntary enlistment would not fill the ranks. There again the whole of Lord Cardwell's scheme went through, with the exception of the one portion which would benefit the Militia, the resuscitation of the ballot being dropped. What happened? The Militia was brought closer to the Regular Army, with the result that the recruiting of the Militia was moved out of the hands of the Militia into the hands of the Regular Army. That meant that the recruiting of the Militia ceased to be anybody's particular business, and it became merely a side issue of recruiting for the Regular Army. The old Militia permanent adjutants, who had their disadvantages, were abolished, and adjutants were sent for short periods from the Army, and they were judged not by what they had done for the Militia regiments to which they were attached, but by the number of recruits they induced to transfer to the Regular Army. Therefore the whole result of Lord Cardwell's reform was that the Militia was very much damnified in every possible way.

Another horrible thing that happened about that time was that some abominable person invented the expression "Auxiliary Forces." I do not know who he was, but if ever there was a man who injured his country it was that person. The expression "Auxiliary Forces" was used to wrap up three absolutely distinct forces, serving under different conditions with different ideas, different feelings, and different sentiments, and nothing has done more harm to those three bodies than that enforced triangular sort of management.

I now come to the War. The Duke of Bedford some time back expounded to your Lordships at some length the very great services which the Militia rendered during the War. Those services are forgotten as though the War had never taken place. The short memory of this country is amazing. The dust and smoke of war has hardly cleared away before the fact that you employed 100,000 Militia in South Africa is forgotten as though it had never taken place. But the officers and men of the Militia remember it, many of them to their cost. Those who have had no experience cannot be aware of the immense amount of hardship which was inflicted upon both officers and men and unflinchingly borne by them by the prolonged embodiment of the War. I could give your Lordships a dozen cases where the entire livelihood of an officer was lost by his volunteering for a duty which he had not originally agreed to do.

Then came the advent of my noble friend Lord Midleton to the War Office. He was the first Secretary of State for War for a great many years who attempted to do anything whatever for the Militia. First of all, he largely increased the pay during the training. He levelled up the pay of the non-commissioned ranks to that of the corresponding ranks in the Regular Army. He largely increased the bounties and established a system of bounties during the non-training period. It has been said constantly by those who apparently are determined to depreciate the Militia that in spite of the enormous cost the Militia has gone down in numbers. There are certain reasons for that. If your Lordships will take the trouble to turn to the returns of the Militia for the years following the Crimean War, you will see that prolonged embodiment which gives to the Militia work which a great many of the men never contemplated, or at any rate looked upon as exceedingly unlikely, when they originally enlisted, always exercises and must exercise a deterrent effect upon recruiting, for a certain period. You must also remember that the increased recruiting consequent upon the war somewhat anticipated the recruiting crop of ensuing years; that is to say, a certain number of men enlisted both in the Regular Army and in the Militia who would not then have enlisted had it not been for the war. I can assure your Lordships, and I think every Militiaman in this House will agree, that if it had not been for those non-training bounties introduced by my noble friend the Militia to-day would have been in a parlous condition.

Then there is another thing that my noble friend Lord Midleton did. He took up the question of the proper training of officers. He threw open a large number of courses to officers and set aside £10,000 in the first year for the pay and allowance of officers while going through those courses. Another thing done while my noble friend was at the War Office was the reduction of the number of deputy-lieutenants, and the establishment of an age below which a gentleman should not be appointed to that high office. As a result of that, it is now not so easy for a young man, who should be serving his country, by the payment of a three-guinea fee to obtain a quasi-military uniform in which to go to the Levee. To that extent it must have been a benefit in turning the minds of those gentlemen who wish to have pretty clothes in the direction of officering, as they should, the Auxiliary Forces. All these things were carried through in face of the bitterest opposition from the military. A distinguished general officer said to me, "I hope you will never be too good; I shall oppose your being made good as much as possible, because if you become too good they may reduce us." I think that is a view—I regret to think it, because it is a very short-sighted and unpatriotic view—which has been taken by a great many Regular officers towards the Militia.

My noble friend was succeeded at the War Office by Mr. Arnold-Forster. One of the first things Mr. Arnold-Forster did was to increase the standard of height for the Militia. At one fell swoop that change removed from the Militia that very large body of young men who are in the habit of entering the force because they are a little below the standard of the Regular Army, or for the purposes of "feeding up" for the Regular Army, or to see if they like a soldier's life. At one stroke of the pen all those men were kept from the force, and the Militia is blamed for being under its establishment. I will not dwell on the Report of the Norfolk Committee, except to say that the noble and gallant Earl, Lord Roberts, in his evidence before that Committee, made one statement about the Militia which has been made the most of and supplemented and used as the text in the campaign of depreciation which has been carried on for the last year or two against the Militia.

I now come to the present Secretary of State for War. The right hon. Gentleman appointed a Committee which, were I not following the example of my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State, I should hesitate to call the "Duma," to go into the whole question of the Auxiliary Forces. It was my fate, in concert with certain other noble friends and various commanding officers, to be summoned to that "Duma," where certain questions were put to us. The first question asked was, Is the Militia prepared to accept enlistment for service abroad in case of emergency? To that we unanimously answered, It is. Then they asked, Is the Militia prepared to accept drafting by individuals to the Regular Army? We all said that it was not. A remarkably unfair use has been made of that meeting. The Secretary of State for War said that the Militia officers had refused to find drafts. The military correspondent of *The Times* has used practically the same expression. I quite agree with my noble friend the Duke of Bedford on this matter. I was asked for my opinion —I imagine it was considered to be of some value or it would not have been asked for—and I gave it, because I knew that if you persisted in this course you would not get the men to enlist. That is what happened, and it was then said that we were of no use and ought to be abolished. That, however, by the way. It was very remarkable that that statement should have been made by the Secretary of State for War, because he has or should have in his possession the Report sent in and signed by the members of the "Duma" at that very meeting, and no words used in that Report would even hint that the officers of the Militia had refused to do anything whatever. I ask His Majesty's Government, Will they lay on the Table of the House that Report? I do not think it can be called a confidential document. If the War Office are not prepared to do that, I call on the Secretary of State for War to withdraw the statements that he has made about the Militia colonels.

Now I come to the present proposals. First, with regard to the third battalions. These ideas have been in the air for some considerable period, and a great many Militia battalions have been training. Have any Militia battalions been asked if they will transfer to these new third battalions? If they have, what has been the result? If they have not, why have the War Office been afraid to ask them? I will ask your Lordships to dwell for a moment on the position of the Militia commanding officer of one of these battalions which is to be turned into a third battalion. First of all, it is pointed out that no Militia officer under the age of thirty-five will ever be anything except an honorary major retired into the Reserve without any retaining fee at all. A very noble position, showing the gratitude of the country for services rendered! It is quite clear that no Militia officer above the rank of captain is wanted at all in these third battalions, or will ever have the chance of seeing them. Under no possibility whatever will he go to war. I do not command a battalion of this sort, as I belong to a different arm. But supposing I did command one of these battalions, I am to be asked to go to the men and say, "I hope you will take on this gigantic increase of liability in the very manner which you dislike most, for no extra pay whatever except a £2 bounty, which is hedged round with all sorts of conditions; I hope you will do it, but I am not going to take it on myself." Is that a fair position in which to put any commanding officer? I do not consider that you can in decency ask any officer and gentleman to do a thing of that sort, Then with regard to officers of the Militia. By a stroke of the pen they are to be turned into officers of the Reserve of Officers. It must be known even at the War Office that the number of officers in the Militia as now constituted is exceedingly small. Is there any proposal in this scheme that is likely to increase the number of officers prepared to devote a substantial part of the year to training themselves as soldiers? They will have no mess, because I do not believe the regiments are going to be trained as battalions. The only person who attempted to give us any information on this matter was Lord Lucas, who hummed and ha'ed and said it was a matter for future consideration. That they will not be trained as battalions is, I think, plain. They will have no mess, no home; they will not go to war with their own units—which will not matter so much because they will never see a unit. They will have no battalion training whatever, and will enjoy none of the camaraderie of living in mess, which is the whole essence of the British Army. What is to be the reward for which you are going to get this vast influx of young so-called Reserve officers? £20 a year, or about 7s. a week! For that magnificent sum of money you are going to get as officers an immense number of gentlemen who, as things are now, cannot give the time necessary to serve in the Militia. No regimental mess, no unit to belong to, liable to be sent as drafts here or there to any branch or arm of the service—I do not for a moment believe you will get one-tenth of the officers you have had.

Then as to the men, which is really the point put to us. I have had twenty years experience of the Militia, and if I do not know what the average Militiaman thinks the sooner I am kicked out with ignominy the better. I am the more entitled to say that I do know because I am one of those fortunate people—there are not many of them—who do their own recruiting and are not interfered with practically by anybody. They try to interfere with me, but I do my best to ward them off. What are you offering the men? I am not talking of the present Militia. I will not lay down any figures, but next year when we are discussing this matter I shall be very much surprised if 10 per cent. of the men now serving have transferred into this new force. Quite lately it has been the fashion—I think it is part of the campaign of calumny against the force—to say that the Militia competes and interferes with the Regular Army in that it recruits exactly the same class of men, and that if the Militia could be abolished recruiting for the Regular Army would *ipso facto* become magnificent. If there is anything absolutely untrue from start to finish it is that remarkable idea, which nevertheless has got into the War Office. Its falsity can be proved in this way. The War Office acknowledge that every year 12,000 men go from the Militia to the Regular Army. But there are 90,000 Militiamen. Therefore there must be something like 80,000 who do not want to go to the Regular Army.

But putting that aside, how can you induce young men to enlist in this new force? What do you offer them? You ask the recruit to go and do six months at the depot and he has to go to the depot for his annual training. If there is one thing on which all Militiamen are agreed it is that nothing has ruined recruiting for the Militia more than the fact that recruits have to be trained at the depots of the line. From the moment the recruit puts his nose inside the barrack gate, everybody from the colonel to the drummer boy is bullying him to transfer to the Regular Army. If he is a fairly strong-minded man he may get through his recruit's course without being transferred to the Regular Army. But in future this unfortunate person is not only to do his recruit's course at the depot, but he is to have this experience every year, and from the moment he enters the gate for his annual training—which will probably be coal carrying or whitewashing the barrack-room—everybody will be at him to transfer. It seems to me to be a most remarkable and extraordinary thing that people should think it possible to get a considerable force of men to enlist under these conditions. Then, my Lords, I think the six months universal recruit training will interfere very largely with the recruiting for the Regular Army, because that period may take them right through the winter. As to the fortnight's training that is perfectly ludicrous. We have Reports of an endless number of Commsssions declaring that the month's training was not sufficient to make the Militia into a force able to face the picked troops of foreign nations, but here you propose to cut down that exiguous training to a fortnight. I do not think the increased recruits' training will anything like make up for the diminution of the annual training.

Then there is another point. At present there are 12,000 recruits a year who go from the Militia to the Regular Army. If the Militia disappear, then the 12,000 troops will also disappear. How is that wastage to be made good? Will it be from the new third battalion? Are they to be permitted to enlist in the Regular Army? If not, where are you going to get your 12,000 men? If they are, what happens to the Reserve which these 500 men battalions are supposed to be going to give you? With regard to the establishment of these battalions, what number of men fit for foreign service does the War Office imagine that one of these third battalions, with an establishment of 500 men, is going to produce? The bulk of these men will be boys under twenty years of age; there will be more young recruits than in the present Militia battalion of the same kind.

There is one point upon which I should like to offer the Under-Secretary of State for War my hearty and sincere sympathy. That is when he comes to decide the battalions to be reduced. I remember when there was a question of reducing a Militia battalion which had very nearly reduced itself. It had got down to three officers and 120 men, and it was considered advisable to reduce it. If we had proposed to abolish the Crown and Constitution there could hardly have been more row created; and when the Secretary of State for War and his military advisers begin to tackle this delicate question, I think they will wish they had never touched it at all.

There are three favourite fallacies which appear to be indigenous in the War Office. I had hoped that on moving into the new buildings some of the obsolete microbes might have been left behind, but I do not think they have. All these old fallacies are being trotted out again. The first is the love for changing names. We have an instance of that in this new so-called Territorial Force. The second fallacy is that it is possible to lengthen a blanket by cutting a piece off one end and sewing it on the other. That is an idea which has been prevalent at the War Office for many years, but the present *régime* is responsible for the first time for suggesting that you can cut off a foot from one end and by sewing six inches on the other make a longer article. The first fallacy is very innocuous, if somewhat silly; the second is so evidently wrong that sooner or later it is bound to be found out; but the third is a very serious and grave danger, namely, that it is possible under a voluntary system to dictate to men the terms on which they shall join the Auxiliary Forces. That belief dies very hard in the War Office, and is apparently very prevalent there now. No warning from those who have a right to consider themselves experts and no amount of experience appears to make any difference. One of the greatest dangers of this scheme is to my mind that it appears to consider it possible to induce men to enlist on your own terms. I do not believe that you can, and I regret to see it in the forefront of the Ministerial proposals. Schemes are all very well, but, after all, the whole thing boils down to this: will Tom Smith or Bill Jones join these particular forces? They care nothing about schemes, or Army corps, or divisions, or third battalions; what they want to know is what they are going to do, whether they will have a pleasant time, and what they are going to get. You must consult the feelings and the sentiments of the people. I will not touch upon the Yeomanry, as many of your Lordships are better acquainted with that force than I am.

With regard to the Territorial Army, as my noble friend Lord Donoughmore says, it is the Volunteers under another name, with the same organisation, the same system, the same training, the same numbers, and the same feelings. But it will be deprived of its regular adjutants, which I can hardly think is a good move. It will be instructed by those peripatetic gentlemen of whom we have heard so much, who are to go riding about the country on bicycles. I think they will have a pretty busy time, as they have to train the third battalions, the recruits in the depot, and buzz about on bicycles to train the Territorial Army. I do not think there will be much competition for posts on the staff. There is to be no increase of liability whatever on the Volunteers. All the beautiful arrangement as to enlisting, purchasing discharge, and so forth, has disappeared, and the only thing that remains is that the scheme is to cost more than the old Volunteers did.

Then I come to the County Associations. If there is a class which is anathema to His Majesty's Government it is the country gentlemen. They have been threatened by Ministers of the Crown with all sorts of dreadful fates, and now this great democratic Government comes hat in hand and says, Will you be so good as to come and help us? In old France it used to be said that the nobles fought for everybody, the priests prayed for everybody, and the people paid for everybody. In the new England the classes will fight for everybody, because all question of training the children of the masses as cadets has been dropped out of the Bill; they will pay pretty heavily for everybody in taxation, and they will pay for everybody over again in subscriptions; the masses are apparently not to be trained to fight; they are not to pay any particular taxes, and they are not to be taught to pray for their country. I do not think that that is exactly the way in which the working classes should look at a question of this sort.

Just one word with regard to the "Duma." The noble Viscount who presided over the "Duma" was also a Member of the Defence Committee. I wish it were possible for him to tell us what the "Duma" recommended with regard to the Auxiliary Forces, why it was recommended, and what the Defence Committee think of those recommendations. You take 30,000 out of your Regular Army, you abolish 90,000 Militia, you think you may possibly get 50,000 or 60,000 for the new force—which I do not believe; all the rest that we have heard is mere vague generalities; everything will have to be modified when the details are gone into. I believe the details have never been thought over; I am sure that the financial arrangements have never been considered. I think this House ought to be very careful in a matter of this sort. It ought to require a full and clear explanation of all the details and a frank exposition of the reasons for the adoption of this scheme, so that we may have a thorough understanding of it.

*LORD HAVERSHAM: My Lords, I share with my noble friend Lord Elgin the desire to point out to the House some of the inconsistencies which appear in the speech of the noble Viscount who led the debate last night. The noble Viscount spoke in very laudatory tones of the large increase of our Regular Forces which took place during the administration of the noble Marquess opposite in the period 1895 to 1900. Then he said, "You have done away with all that increase; what can possibly justify that reduction?" That was all very well, but later on in his speech when referring to the financial aspects of the question he turned round altogether, and said that no one had any doubt as to the mandate which the Government had received to reduce expenditure on the Army and Navy. I do not think that anybody who recollects the events of the last general election will disagree with that statement. Every Liberal candidate declared that he would vote for a large reduction of expenditure on the Army at any rate, and when we remember that Army expenditure has increased by £9,750,000 in eight years we cannot be surprised that the country is determined upon that point. The noble Viscount also stated that he had again and again told the House of Commons that if they wanted to reduce the Army Estimates it could only be done by reducing the strength of the Army. I quite agree with him. Like the noble Viscount, I have been engaged in the duty of preparing Estimates for the House of Commons, and I am positive that you can never make any substantial diminution in the Army Estimates unless you considerably reduce the number of men. It is not only that there is a large reduction in the Vote for pay, but other Votes, such as for transport, clothing, and medical services, all depend upon the number of men. Consequently I cannot conceive how Mr. Haldane could carry out the mandate of the country and the wishes of the Liberal Party unless he took the only possible means in his power of reducing the Estimates by decreasing the number of men. Mr. Haldane took that view. He has reduced the Army Estimates by £2,000,000 and the Army itself by not 20,000 or 30,000 men, but by 14,000 men—from 204,000 to 190,000.

The only question that occurs to my mind is, that reduction being inevitable in our position, was it carried out in the most advantageous manner? The reduction affected both the Foot Guards and the Line. Up to 1896 the whole of the duty of the Foot Guards was performed adequately and satisfactorily by seven battalions. The noble Marquess opposite increased the establishment of the Guards by two battalions, and he added afterwards a third battalion by creating the Irish Guards. He did that for a particular purpose—a very laudable purpose; he intended to send them to garrison the Mediterranean, but they never went. Consequently they were entirely redundant to the establishment in London, there were no barracks for them here, and they were sent down to Aldershot for a long period. That was most unpopular with the officers. They did not object to being there during the drill season or when they could learn the duties of their profession, but to be kept for a long time away from London seems to be very hard. There is no other country that does this. If you go to St. Petersburg, Vienna, or Berlin, you find the Guards employed about the person of the Sovereign and quartered in the capital. The Inspector-General of the Forces informed me that so short was service in the Guards and so long the time they were kept at Aldershot that many of the men never did any London duty at all. This told upon the officers, and there was no longer that number of competitors for commissions that there had been before. Various things were tried. Probationers were appointed, but the experience of the Scots Guards did not show that the experiment was very successful. The fact remained that by no manner of means could the number of commissions be filled up. The Scots Guards were never able to replace the numbers they ought to have until one battalion was reduced, and the Grenadier Guards are not full now. Only the other day at a great meeting of the old officers of the regiment Col. St. Aubyn informed us that there were absolutely not sufficient officers to go round. That being so it is perfectly clear that so far as officers are concerned no diminution, but rather an increase, of efficiency will be caused by reduction.

Then with regard to the rank and file. Here is the report about recruiting for the Foot Guards in 1896—

> "Recruiting for the Foot Guards, while showing a decided increase over the numbers taken for the corresponding period last year, has not been sufficient to bring the several regiments up to establishment."

The report for 1907 says—

> "Recruiting for Foot Guards shows a decrease over the numbers during the preceding year."

Therefore neither in officers nor in men can you fill up these ten battalions.

I maintain therefore that for these and other reasons Mr. Haldane was fully justified in carrying out his reductions. He found that they were redundant to the home duties, and they were not to be included in the striking force. It must be remembered that the Guards at all times have a very large reserve from their short-service system from which to fill up their battalions when going on service, but they are incapable of finding drafts for the Indian battalions, and they can never be used in that way until they have longer service.

Another point was the reduction in the line. Last year in this House it was said, and not at the moment denied because the debate ended, that we were denuding Malta of troops. I wish to show how far that is from the truth. The garrison in Malta for many years had not been more than 5,300 men. At the close of the last Administration it had been brought up to 9,352. The hygienic state of the garrison was so bad from the crowded state of the barracks that I brought the question before the House of Commons, and asked Mr. Arnold-Forster what he was going to do about it. He said he could not give an affirmative answer in regard to withdrawing the troops, because the whole question of the Mediterranean garrisons was before the Cabinet. Mr. Haldane as soon as he had the power reduced this garrison, and it now stands at 7,500, which is considerably more than it was in olden times, although considerably less than during the mischievous period which caused so much loss among the troops. But at the very moment when we were withdrawing these 1,700 men from Malta, we were finding 1,700 men to increase the garrison in Egypt. So that the one balances the other, and so far from denuding the Mediterranean garrisons we are leaving those two garrisons in precisely the same position as before. With regard to South Africa, although the third and fourth battalions which were raised for the war have been withdrawn, we have replaced them with an entire regiment of cavalry and raised by seventy or eighty men every battalion in the Colonies, so that the nine battalions in South Africa together with their increase make up another battalion. Ceylon loses a wing of a regiment of about 500 men, but receives an increase ot a whole native battalion of considerably greater strength. So that the reductions come to this—that one battalion only is withdrawn from Gibraltar.

With regard to this particular Bill, I think it is an honest attempt to make out of the heterogeneous forces of the Crown one homogeneous body. At present there is no connection whatever between the Militia, the Volunteers, and the Yeomanry. They are not under the same regulations, they are not paid the same rates, they are not exercised together, they are not under the same command. In future, at any rate, a great deal of this will be remedied. It must surely be a good thing that we should divide them in fourteen divisions with their own Brigadier-Generals and Brigade-Majors, going out at the same time so that they can be exercised together, and be trained to a certain extent alike. I cannot help thinking that this will be satisfactory so far as it goes. The noble Viscount the other day said that Colonel Pollock, who has had a great deal to do with drilling these new recruits, had expressed himself very unfavourably, saying he would not lead them into the field. I read what he said the other day; it may not have been the same occasion, but what he said then was this—

> "I taught 100 men a good deal that a soldier ought to know, but it is ridiculous to believe that because 100 men or 100,000 or 1,000,000 men have learnt their work, you can call them soldiers unless in time of peace they are organised in the unit in which they will have to proceed to the front when wanted."

That seems to me to be an entirely different statement. We are endeavouring to put them into units, and to give them the drill that Colonel Pollock gives them, to place them in units, and utilise them as a Regular Army.

Just one regard with regard to the County Associations. The noble Marquess who addressed us to-day on the Militia said that he did not understand how their budget was to be framed, and he thought they would be very extravagant. If he will consult Mr. Haldane's speeches he will find that every year the County Association is to form its own financial budget. That will be gone into very carefully on the spot, and afterwards sent up to the War Office, where they will have to prove before the staff that there is no excess on any particular point. When the budget is approved the War Office will issue the money, but the whole will be carefully audited by civilians in the same way as the Local Government Board audits now.

As many other noble Lords desire to speak, what I should like to say of the County Associations had better be said on Clause 2 of the Bill. All I will do now is to touch upon one point, viz. the reserve of officers. I sincerely hope the Government will undertake to carry out the scheme of Sir Edward Ward and offer to all the public schools and universities the opportunity of sending their young men into these Auxiliary Forces. I firmly believe that this scheme is an honest attempt to make a homogeneous Army of our Auxiliary Forces. I earnestly trust that the Lord-Lieutenants the Deputy-Lieutenants and all of us who are landowners, will do all we can to assist the Government to achieve the object which is so laudably attempted in this Bill.

LORD AMPTHILL: My Lords, I do not intend to make a speech; I have not come prepared to do so. But there are two things I must say. One is to remove a possible source of misunderstanding, and the other is to enter a protest. There is an impression abroad that something in the nature of a compromise has been arrived at in regard to the Militia. Whatever understanding there may be among other Members in this House, there are a number of us who do not admit that there has been any sort or kind of compromise. Under the Bill the Militia disappear, and that is a state of things which we cannot regard without the gravest apprehension. What I wish to say, therefore, is that if there is any notion of a compromise, there are some of us—I speak for a good many—who cannot admit it, and we shall consider ourselves free to act accordingly when the Bill goes into Committee.

The other thing I wish to say is by way of protest. I regret that the noble Marquess against whose words I wish to protest is not here; but I should feel indeed cowardly if I did not take the first opportunity of standing up to defend the noble Earl, Lord Roberts, against the most unfair attack which the noble Marquess made upon him. The whole burden of the remarks of the noble Marquess was that Lord Roberts was an advocate of conscription, and then, having conjured up a purely imaginary picture of a vast conscript Army which he declared Lord Roberts wished to establish, he proceeded to pour ridicule upon it. Nothing could be more unfair or more inconsistent with the facts. I challenge anybody to find any word uttered by the noble and gallant Earl which will bear the interpretation that he is an advocate of conscription or anything resembling a conscript Army. What the noble Earl is advocating—he has said it over and over again in the clearest and most unequivocal language—is universal military training. It would be just as illogical and just as absurd to say that it would be a mistake to teach every child in the country arithmetic because we do not want to have a nation of accountants, as to represent the scheme of the noble Earl as one for establishing a nation of conscript soldiers. I am proud to be a follower of the noble Earl in this matter. I am one of those who believe that we can do nothing with the voluntary system, and that we shall have sooner or later—I only hope it will come before it is too late—to resort to a system under that which is recognised and proclaimed by every statesman in the country to be a duty is enforced as a duty. If I had the time I could quote to your Lordships words on the part of the greatest statesmen of the country on both sides declaring it to be the absolute duty of every citizen to bear arms in defence of his country. A duty is necessarily that which is done under some form of compulsion, and if that is so, surely the only reasonable, consistent, and honest thing to do is to see that the duty is performed—the duty of learning to bear arms. I said I would not detain your Lordships, and I will resist the temptation to go on; but I could not allow the opportunity to pass without defending my noble and gallant friend who is absent from the misrepresentation of his remarks, which, although it was made by another noble friend of mine, I am bound to say I consider most unfair and extremely mischievous.

*THE EARL OF DUNDONALD: My Lords, one can look at this Bill from two points of view, firstly as a plan by which a definite amount of money is expended to the best possible advantage; secondly as to whether the nation obtains in this plan a full and final arrangement of the military problem. Looking at the Bill from the first point of view—Is the scheme a good one; does the nation get full value for its money?—I have no hesitation in saying that in my opinion the organisation proposed to be effected by the Bill is a great improvement on that which exists at present. But I do not suppose that any Bill connected with the Army presented to your Lordships' House has ever depended so much on administration for its success or its failure as does this Bill.

With regard to the sufficiency of the Expeditionary or Striking Force proposed by the Government, it seems to me impossible to get what we may call a "sealed pattern" size of force by logic, unless we have a very large force indeed to provide against all contingencies. There are so many considerations to be thought of, the most important being the part that the Navy would take against our possible adversary. The size of the force has therefore evidently been settled on the basis of providing as large a force as the nation can afford without too much taxation.

Does the scheme before us provide the Expeditionary Force on the cheapest possible basis? I think it does. By use of Militia trained soldiers to supplement the first line when called out we get such a force as it would be impossible to get in any other way.

I will not weary your Lordships with detail, but I see no reason against supplementing the First Line artillery with ammunition columns manned by men trained on a Militia basis. I think it quite possible in certain localities and by recruiting the right type of man trained by good officers to provide men on the non-Regular basis to serve in the ammunition columns of the Expeditionary Force. I do not believe that a large number of first-rate men can be obtained in this way, but some with special aptitude, perhaps encouraged by an extra bonus for efficiency, will no doubt be forthcoming to replace casualties.

As regards Yeomanry serving as divisional cavalry in the First Line, it appears to me that if the men who enlist for first-line service in regiments of Yeomanry are only enlisted for a year, no invidious special class can be formed in a regiment, and the extra training of the men who belong to the special contingents for a year will permeate and improve the whole regiment. Some of the officers and non-commissioned officers might easily get more training over a longer period. As regards the capability of the Yeomanry to do divisional cavalry duty, I should say that their high level of intelligence, their knowledge of scouting and horsemastership will make them invaluable for the purpose.

Turning again to the scheme, will the Militia which is to back up the Army by enlisting for foreign service under new conditions of enlistment be able to do what is asked of it? It will probably get its officers if the advice of men like the Duke of Bedford is taken, and the sentiments and traditions of the force are respected; for in that case the powerful class who have always supplied officers for the Army and Navy will send their sons into it and give it their support.

The next point is, Will the force get its men? I desire, however, to raise a note of warning on this point. For many years this country has taken full advantage of the necessities, spirit of adventure, and want of business habits in making a contract of that unique and best product of these isles—the British private soldier. For a trifle—a sovereign—which he spent at once, he has agreed when in the Militia to join the Army Reserve; and at the time of the South African War many thousands of these men who agreed to take upon themselves all the risks of war for 20s. were sent out to South Africa, in many cases never to return. But, because we have got the Militia in the past so readily to take upon themselves war service in a foreign country, is it certain that we shall get men to join the Militia as reconstituted and with a liability to foreign service to the extent and at the price contemplated by this scheme? Personally I doubt it, and why do I doubt? I will tell your Lordships why. The success of our recruiting, both for the line and the Militia, has depended largely on the state of the labour market. Is the labour market, especially the unskilled labour market, going to be as favourable to recruiting in the future as it has been in the past?

Within the last few years—few months I may almost say—the vast lands of Canada are becoming known to our labouring population. The man with a stout heart and strong arms who has been our cheap fighting-man is daily, by the advance in the science of shipbuilding and transport, being brought nearer and nearer to the land where he can found a comfortable home for himself and his family. My Lords, the day of brave, cheap, willing, patient Tommy Atkins is passing, slowly, if you will, but it is passing away; while the day of the unskilled labourer with a stout heart and strong arms is coming in the great dominion of the West. Let old-age pensions be commenced by giving them as a reward to our soldiers for standing in the First Line of our defences. Let this be the first charge on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's old-age pension scheme. I strongly advise the Government to be just and generous to men who undertake liability for Reserve service, whether they join the Militia or the Army, remembering that the contract entered into is between a powerful Government and those who are not of mature years, and that this contract hampers the man in civil life.

Turning to the new Territorial Army scheme, the point that occurs to one first is, Will the men be obtained? On this point I have grave doubts. Even if the ranks are filled at first, will they continue to be filled? Will this force furnish that great reservoir of men trained to arms that the country ought to have? Even supposing the scheme gives us 300,000 men, this is not the nation in arms. This number represents only a little more than ¾ of 1 per cent. of the population of these islands, and imposes on the people, with all the forces of the Crown taken into consideration, only about one-sixth part of the military liability which the colony of Natal imposes by law on its inhabitants after they have arrived at the age of manhood.

If your Lordships do not mind listening to the experience of one who has had to do on a large scale with the very class of Army proposed to be created by this territorial scheme, I will repeat what I have already stated on several occasions, that it is not in my opinion possible to form any large unpaid citizen army without the military training of the youth of the country in cadet corps. On 10th July last year the Government appeared to be of the same opinion, for the noble Earl who represents the War Office in this House stated that—

> "We at the War Office, although not in favour of compulsion, because we do not think it will be necessary, are in complete sympathy with any measure that would tend, not only for military, but for physical purposes, to promote the drilling of youths both in secondary and in elementary schools."

Anyone who read this statement will naturally search in the Bill for evidence of the complete sympathy promised by the noble Earl; and will find that this complete sympathy has been shown by the insertion of a clause which provides that no school in receipt of a Government grant can be assisted by public money in the formation of cadet corps of youths under sixteen years. I shall be interested to hear what the soldiers on the Army Council think of this clause.

In conjunction with the provision of leaders and their efficient training which forms such an important element of this scheme, it would be possible to have a very fair Territorial Army even with the small amount of compulsory annual training of the rank and file contemplated by the Bill, provided the men were taught military formations, habits of discipline, and a knowledge of the rifle in their schoolboy days before they take up seriously the business of their lives, *i.e.*, before the age of sixteen. Without this early training in their schoolboy days, neither sufficient men will be found to form a great reservoir of military strength for our requirements, nor will the number of days training contemplated by the Bill be sufficient for the purposes of efficiency. If more days training are exacted the men will not be forthcoming, so that, look at the matter how you will, one thing is certain, that if we are to avoid the risk of disaster on the one hand or compulsory training of the adult on the other, we must be driven to a very large training of the youth of the country before they arrive at the age when they enter upon their various civilian occupations.

If the country imagines that in passing this Bill into law, good as it is in many respects, a final settlement of the military problem has been arrived at, they will be much mistaken. This Bill will not satisfy our military requirements, for it will not give us that large number of trained men necessary for our security. Anyone who travels about the world knows that there are forces that make for peace; there are also other forces that make for war. Some of these are not ready yet. Now is the time to prepare—to make our country safe, and our Navy free to leave our shores; the time to make our great Colonial possessions certain of getting large reinforcements of trained men. This can only be done by dealing with this great question, but not in a half-hearted way that spells delay and may spell disaster.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH: My Lords, the Government have already heard from more than one Member of your Lordships' House that we do not look at this measure at all from a Party point of view. If I rise to-night as one of those who have taken a modest part in the defensive forces of the country, and as a Member of the Yeomanry, I do so with the feeling that the case of that particular force might well be left where my noble friend Lord Scarbrough took it. But since the meeting that was held some time ago a large number of concessions have been made by the Secretary of State. Those concessions have largely met the points that we placed before him, but I would venture to urge that the concession of what has been called the period of grace should be extended to the men of the force. I cannot believe that it would make any great difference to the scheme of the right hon. Gentlemen. but it would make all the difference to the satisfactory maintenance of the force, It might lead to a certain expense, but that cannot be avoided in making great changes like this. The additional expense, however, would not be much, as the period is only three years, but it would enable us to get a large number of men who by then will prove themselves useful to the defensive forces of the country.

The difficulty of dealing with this measure is that it is entirely a skeleton measure, and that the concessions that have been made both to the Yeomanry and to the Militia are practically outside the Bill. But there is one matter to which I wish to allude from another point of view. In looking at Clause 1 of the Bill I am filled with feelings of disquietude. We have been told by the Secretary of State that it was his intention to call upon the lords-lieutenant to take an active part in the organisation of this Territorial Force, but in reading the clause which establishes the Associations there seems to be an idea of appointing other persons to the position which I certainly gathered it was intended that these gentlemen should fill. I hope it is the intention of the Government to ask those who occupy the position of lord-lieutenant to take up this matter, and I hope when we get into Committee they will accept an Amendment making the point perfectly clear. I would further urge that when they are so appointed the position should not be a purely honorary one, but that the lord-lieutenant and president of the Association should have distinct powers. I should like to know what is the position of the chairman and vice-chairman when taken in conjunction with the presidency of the Association. You seem to have two officials each of whom is going to perform the same duties.

Speaking for myself, I am sure we shall be fully prepared as a body, whatever may be our opinions as to the probable future of this scheme, to do our best. To work the Associations we must have complete power and opportunity to do so. While, as I have said, I do not approach this measure with any Party feeling, I have a fear as to what its effect may be. You are destroying the old order of things without knowing what is to take its place or whether it will succeed, but I hope that, as has happened so often in the history of this country, that we shall muddle out of it somehow.

LORD CASTLETOWN: My Lords, I should like to say a few words in regard to this Bill, which I think will depend very largely for its success upon the manner in which it is administered. I would compliment my noble friend Lord Portsmouth upon the clear, concise, and patriotic manner in which he introduced the Bill. The scheme seems to me to be the only alternative to either compulsory training or conscription. It gives power to every young man to serve his country and do his duty by it. It gives him three alternatives. It enables a man if he chooses to go into the striking force, or he may go into what I call the relief force, or he may become a useful member of the Territorial Army. I was struck by the fact yesterday that my noble friend Lord Midleton apparently neither blessed nor condemned the Bill, and when I heard his speech I looked back to the years when the Party opposite were in power. I do not wish to introduce any Party tone into the debate which has been so thoroughly patriotic and common-sense, but if one looks back to those years and to all the schemes that were brought forward one remembers what was said by the Regulars, by the Yeomanry, and by the Militia. It was, What are they doing?—and the general reply was: "They are messing the Army about." That is exactly what I think this scheme is not doing. There is a strong, clear, distinct striking force, there is a relief force, and there is a Territorial Army for home defence. You have in the striking force what has been an historical factor in all English history. In the history of Great Britain throughout the Army that has gone forth from this country has been a striking force. It has gone perhaps to other lands, where it has been amalgamated with or utilised by the Army of the part to which it went, and it has effected its work by being a striking force. The South African War was more or less an exception, such as I hope will never occur again. Then you have the factor that the Army Council has apparently said that this striking force is the type of force we require, and that the numbers are sufficient. We have to look to the Army Council for expert advice in this matter.

Perhaps, as the only representative in this House of the Irish Militia battalions, I may say a few words upon the Militia side of the question. I speak with a certain amount of knowledge, having served in the Regulars, in the Yeomanry, and in the Militia, and I believe I retire from the Militia this year on account of my time being up. My noble friend the Duke of Bedford, whose knowledge on this subject is so very extensive, I think dotted the i's when he said that one serious point in the Bill is that it was requisite for some force or another to fill up any depletion there might be in the Regular ranks, and he asked how that was to be done. As I understand the Bill, the third and fourth battalions are to do a certain amount of this work. I would appeal to my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State to think over what I am about to say. I can endorse in many respects what Lord Raglan and the Duke of Bedford said with regard to the Militia. If the Militia are to keep on drafting men as individuals, you will find the value of the drafts deteriorating and becoming deficient. My noble friend brought forward a magnificent example of what I am afraid is not in this scheme. He quoted a few words from General Sherman on the Wisconsin Regiment, explaining how it was filled up by Wisconsin men and with Wisconsin officers, and how that regiment by the fact of being filled up with men who were locally known to those with whom they were side by side in the fighting line, governed and commanded by officers whom they knew, came by degrees to be considered as being as valuable as a brigade. That is a most valuable example and factor of the whole question. May I put shortly before the House what happened in the South African War in exactly the opposite direction? It happened to the battalion which I have the honour to command, therefore I am speaking what I know. About 170 men were taken from that battalion and sent to South Africa—I think by mistake—without their officers and non-commissioned officers, and they were practically hurled about in different parts of South Africa among other regiments and men they knew nothing of. The result was that these men came back absolutely cowed by the life they had had to live, and it took us two or three years to get them to come back into the ranks and work with us. I think that shows the difference between working by units and working by individuals.

I have a profound belief in the great change that the Secretary of State made when he allowed the English Militia to come in on the same lines as the Irish, and I would ask him to go one step further, that he should work the Militia on the lines of the scheme as it is provided on the understanding that they shall be treated as units and not as mere individual feeders of the Regular Forces. I have had long experience and have seen what has been going on during recent years in regard to the Militia and the Regular Forces. I make this statement with some diffidence and a certain amount of regret. Speaking as an old Regular I cannot understand why the Regular Forces will not try to work with the Militia. Why will they not work with us and for us? We are as anxious to help feed the Regular forces as they are anxious for our assistance, but they look down upon us either with suspicion or, I was going to say, contempt. I attach no blame in this matter to the Secretary of State for War, because he must get his advice from the Army Council who are experts. I attach no blame to him at all, but I do attach blame to the men who must know that the only way that you can make a real fighting force is to make these forces absolutely homogeneous—they must work together for one end, and every force, whether it be the striking force, or the Militia or the relieving force as I call it, or the Territorial Force, must be effective and work one with the other.

I believe the scheme is a very valuable one, and that if worked sympathetically and well, and with a desire to make it work—I lay stress on that—it will prove the best scheme that is possible for this country as we are circumstanced. I will not go into the question of compulsory training. The only people who could make compulsory training a necessity are the people themselves. When they ask for it, the Government will have to give it whatever the Government then may be. I do not share the distrust of my noble friend as to the County Associations taking up this question and not being able to manage it. Surely the County Associations can work up and look after the men in their own districts; you can hardly expect laymen and volunteers to be patriotic if the lords-lieutenant, deputy-lieutenants, and others do not take a deep interest in their work. I would like to endorse everything my noble friend Lord Raglan said on the subject of the Militia; I believe he agrees with me that the scheme is a valuable, able, clear, and distinct scheme, but I think he hopes, as I hope, that some assistance may be given to make it more workable by bringing in the Militia as the real relief force, not of the Regulars, but of the Empire.

LORD HARRIS: My Lords, notwithstanding the confidence of my noble friend opposite in this scheme, I think even those who officially have to be confident of its merits must feel from the speeches which have been made that there is a very grave element of doubt in the minds of those who are most experienced in the recruiting, in the officering, in the commanding, and in the administration of what are still the Auxiliary Forces. There is a very grave element of doubt in their minds as to whether this Bill is going to do any of them any good. I am perfectly certain of this, that if it is going to do any good to the Regular Army or to the Militia and the Volunteers, it is not going to do any good to the Yeomanry, and it is to that point that I propose to direct my remarks. First of all, I should like to say a word, as an old War Office official, on the speeches of Lord Newton, Earl Roberts, and Lord Milner. I am sorry they have left the House, as I would rather say what I have to say before them than in their absence. I do not understand what is meant by this compulsory service idea. Do they mean compulsory enlistment for serving abroad? If so, I imagine that there is no precedent for it in any military system in the world.

A NOBLE LORD: Did not Napoleon's Army go abroad occasionally?

LORD HARRIS: I am not talking about 100 years ago; I am talking about the present day, and if the noble Lord can refer me to any case of compulsory recruiting on the Continent for foreign service, I shall be corrected.

A NOBLE LORD: The Germans crossed the Rhine in 1870.

LORD HARRIS: When they were at war. But I am speaking of recruiting for foreign service. And after all, how can that be compared with our case? Did the French compulsorily recruit for service in China?

A NOBLE LORD: Yes.

LORD HARRIS: I am told not. I believe they depended entirely upon voluntary enlistment for Chinese service.

A NOBLE LORD: I do not wish to interrupt the noble Lord, but I think he will find that the marine troops of France provide nearly all their colonial garrisons.

LORD HARRIS: Certainly, they are marines.

A NOBLE LORD: They are recruited by compulsory service.

LORD HARRIS: They are a part of the Navy, and of course they have to go abroad; they are not true land forces. How did the Germans recruit for the South West African campaign? I am told by the help of marines and volunteers. Where is there a system at work on the Continent where they recruit compulsorily for foreign service? I am doubtful whether there is one. But as far as our service is concerned, we have to find garrisons for India, and for the fortresses and coaling stations abroad, and it is no answer to suggest that the scheme now propounded—that the Militia should be recruited with an undertaking that on embodiment they will be willing to serve abroad—gets over the difficulty that confronts every Secretary of State when he, possibly absolutely new to the whole of our military system, arrives at the War Office, where he finds on the doorstep the stumbling-block that the British Army exists for the purpose of garrisoning India and the coaling stations. That is the stumbling-block which every Secretary of State finds on taking office, and which some enthusiasts and persons of great experience in military matters do not realise unless they have had the advantage of serving inside the War Office.

I sympathise entirely with my noble friend Lord Newton in this respect. The noble Lord appeals to your Lordships on the ground that he has had twenty years experience of the Militia. But I have had thirty-five years experience of the Yeomanry, and I confess it fills me with indignation when I see young gentlemen with ample time and means putting in not one solitary hour's work in the whole year for their country. I was for twenty years a troop and squadron leader, and I have metaphorically gone on my knees to these young gentlemen and implored them to come into the Yeomanry, feeling that those who were patriotic were taking far more than a double tide of duty in consequence of these young gentlemen refusing to put in the very moderate service asked for under the Auxiliary system. I am as indignant as my noble friend can be; but compulsion for home service is not going to help us out of our difficulty of finding garrisons for India and the coaling stations. I would gladly see compulsion for home service if it was only to get hold of these young gentlemen to whom I have referred. I would be only too glad to compel them to serve, and I only wish I could get some of them in my regiment; they would have a double tide of duty then.

I pass to what is really more germane to the service of the Yeomanry. I repeat that if any advantage is going to accrue from the Bill to any other branches of the Auxiliary Services, I am certain that none will accrue to the Yeomanry. In the first place we are degraded. We are at present the mounted branch of the Militia; we are under the Militia Act; we were put so by my noble friend after the war. Now we are to be removed from the branch to which we felt it an honour to be attached; we are to be taken out of the Militia and attached to the Volunteers, in whom we have the utmost confidence, but with whose service our service has never been akin. Our service has always been akin to that of the Militia, but now we are to be taken out of the Militia and we are not to be given the opportunity—of which we should have been proud—which has been given to the Militia, of attempting to recruit for foreign service in case of embodiment, notwithstanding the fact that last year we voluntarily offered to try and do so. In the second place, we are to be put under a body partly civilian, partly military, after having been for decades under the War Office. We are to be put for purposes of supply under a semi-civilian body upon which we shall be easily outvoted by the colonels of Volunteers who will be our colleagues. In the third place, our pay, which has been unaltered for nearly 120 years, is to be cut down. What is there in these three alterations likely to make the service more popular? Some of us have been disestablished; regiments have been reduced altogether because it was said they were not required in aid of the civil power. Within two years the

Government had to come and implore the old officers to raise those regiments again, and they did so. Then we suffered when the horse tax was taken off. Our men had the advantage of the £1, being released from the tax because they were in the Yeomanry. I do not think a single thing has been asked of the Yeomanry for more than a century that they have not undertaken and carried out. They may have grumbled a bit at times, but they have never refused to do anything they were asked, and their reward now is to be degraded and worse paid. We have put in these services in the face of much obliquy from Parliament and great indifference on the part of the War Office, but when the crisis came we were very useful. I remember a Secretary of State for War asking me at the bottom of St. James' Street whether I really thought the Yeomanry were any use at all. I do not know whether it was the result of my argument, or of the march of events—my argument only lasted to the top of St. James' Street—but at any rate we were not done away with. If during the war the same system had been followed with regard to the second contingent of the Yeomanry that was adopted for the first—that is that the colonels agreed to raise and train men—the second contingent would have been, if not as good as the first, certainly infinitely better than it was, because it was taken away from the colonels and the cadre and handed over to the authorities at Aldershot who took no interest in it.

That is the simple history of what the Yeomanry have done during these 100 years, and I submit that no consideration whatever has been given to their traditions or to the character of the service they have rendered. Under these circumstances is it possible for us to view with satisfaction the proposal of the Secretary of State, who knew so little about us that when he introduced his Bill he was actually under the impression that the pay we are now getting was something absolutely novel, whereas it is precisely the same pay as we have had for 100 years. What is new is that my noble friend gave us something for the horse, but that does not come under the specific term pay. I am glad of this opportunity of saying that what revived the force was what my noble friend did for us after the war. I was one of the four Yeomanry officers who had the honour of being summoned by the noble Marquess in the black week that followed our most serious disasters in South Africa, and as we went out of the room, one of my friends said to me, Is this going to make us or break us? As it turned out, it made us. But it was not the service we had given; it was not such credit as we had gained; the tradition of that would by degrees have died down, certainly in the minds of recruits. What made us was the fact that we showed we were worth something in the war. My noble friend below me realised this and introduced changes which, as chairman of a Committee, I had the honour of suggesting to him, which enabled us to get the men, and what helped us more than anything else was the £5 for the horse.

The Secretary of State for War has been going round the country preaching patriotism. To whom? Apparently he has been preaching it to the patriots themselves. He has been going round to the Volunteers and other branches of the service, but these are the very men who are doing the patriotic service. Does he really think that these County Associations will be able better than the colonels to persuade men who have not one atom of patriotic feeling in their breasts to be officers? Does he really think that they will be able to persuade to come into the ranks, men to whom we who have been troop and squadron officers have gone on our knees? Why should they be able to do it? Why should they be more successful than we have been? But, after all, patriotism does not come before a man's bread and butter. A poor man who has to think of his family puts patriotism a little in the background, and when the Secretary of State cuts down the pay of the Yeomanry it is a somewhat extravagant idea of human nature to suppose he is going to make that force more popular and get either as many or the same class of recruits as we have been getting for 100 years.

But, after all, the important thing is to get officers. If you get the officer you may get the men. If you do not get the officers I do not think you will get the men. I very much fear that a demand is going to be made on the time of the officers which will not make it any the more easy to fill their ranks. Lord Lucas, to whose speech we listened with so much interest, and who showed a mastery of detail upon which I sincerely congratulate him, read out a portentous list of classes which officers in the future will be expected to attend. That is what has been going on since the war. My work as a commanding officer has since the war been increased quite 50 per cent. by correspondence. Not a single day passes during which I am not doing Yeomanry work of one kind or another. Since last night I have spent seven hours in the train for the purpose of doing Yeomanry business. There is a tendency to demand more and more. Inspecting officers ask more and more at the annual training, and officers are being asked to give more and more time to classes in order to get the instruction which they ought to have. I quite admit that they ought to know all these subjects, and I sincerely wish that many of our young officers knew more than they do. But one has to deal with facts. The class of officer who has been so much decried by certain Members of the Party opposite — the monied country gentleman of leisure — has practically disappeared. Nearly every country gentleman now, at least in my part of the country, has to work for his living, and, being young men—junior partners, for instance—they are unable to give the time which is asked for all these classes. The noble Lord's list yesterday was far longer than anything I had previously heard suggested, and I am afraid the Secretary of State is under a delusion if he supposes that the young gentlemen whom we get will be able to find the time. It is not a question of will. They would do it gladly, but they cannot afford it. If he is disappointed in getting the officers, I am afraid he will find great difficulty in getting the men.

Then I should like to say a word as to the degradation to which we are to be subjected. We are left in the Bill, but the Militia is taken out. Why should we be so treated? Why should we not be taken out of the Bill also? Why should we not be put upon our trial and asked whether we are ready to recruit for foreign service on embodiment? As I have said, we offered last year to do that. Why should we not be given the opportunity of trying? I believe there are a great many men whom we now recruit who would be willing to join on those terms. I realise there is a difference in the men of the Yeomanry and the men of the Militia in this sense: there are amongst them a great many employers of labour for whom it is difficult to undertake a liability for foreign service, seeing that they might be sued for breach of contract or for neglect of the business in which they are engaged. But there are a large number of young men who would not be deterred by that feeling, but would be ready to undertake the liability.

The third point I referred to was the question of pay. Noble Lords opposite are making a serious mistake if they suppose that the change of pay will not make a grave difference in the class of men they get. I have seen since the war a very marked change in the class of men we are getting. They are an excellent class, but there is one class we are not getting at all, and that is the real yeoman, the man who owns and farms land. They are most civil when I speak to them on the subject; they say they have so many engagements or something of that kind, but I know what is making the difference. When in camp they have to live in a tent with other men, and they will not run the risk of having to put up with men who are not accustomed to their manner of life. You expect to get for something like half the pay the same class of men. You will not get them. Why should you? I calculate that my men put in twelve hours a day during their training, and their horses five hours. Does the Secretary of State hope to make the Yeomanry more efficient or to get more work out of the men and horses for half the pay? That is really too great a strain upon human nature. You may get a Yeomanry, a mounted Territorial Force, but you will not get the class of man for which the Yeomanry has been noted for so many years. The Secretary of State has laid great stress upon the necessity for having the same rate of pay all through. The infantry must be on the same scale as the Regular infantry, the Yeomanry on the same scale as the Regular cavalry. I admit he has thrown in 1s. for messing, but he started upon the basis of the Yeomanry receiving the same pay as the Regular cavalry. That is a mistaken idea altogether. The Regular is a man who has had difficulty in finding work in civil employment; he is a half-a-crown a day man in the country or a 4s. a day man in London, whereas the men I am getting earn from 40s. to 50s. a week. Why should you expect to get that class of man for the same rate of pay as the man who can earn 2s. 6d. a day in civil life. It is a practical commonsense question based upon human nature. For these reasons I am afraid the Secretary of State is under a delusion in supposing that three years hence if this scheme is applied to the Yeomanry—a great deal may happen in three years; the scheme may not be applied; I sincerely hope it will not be; but if it is, he and the country will suffer a serious disappointment as regards the class of men they will get. They will not get the present class who are accustomed to horses for the greater part of the year, and therefore are to a certain extent horse masters; they will have to take a class of men who know nothing whatever about horses, and teach them horse mastership as well as all the other matters necessary for a horse soldier.

I am one of the oldest officers in the service, and on the ground of my experience I venture to appeal to noble Lords who have the question officially under their hands at the War Office to reconsider this Bill as regards the Yeomanry. As far as I can see, it is just as easy to leave us out as it was to leave out the Militia, and, being the mounted branch of the Militia, we are entitled to claim that we should be treated in the same way as the infantry branch. There is this argument to be added. The Secretary of State hopes that this scheme will provide for the expansion of the Army for foreign service in time of war. I hope it may do so. I hope the Militia will consent to recruit for foreign service on embodiment, and that thereby the infantry portion of the Army, perhaps the artillery, will find that it has a reserve. But where is your reserve for the cavalry? Why is not one as necessary as the other? Why should you not treat us as you have treated the infantry branch of the Militia? Remembering that there is not a single thing that you have ever asked from the Yeomanry that they have declined to do, give us an opportunity of doing something more for the country.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, when the Lord President rises presently to close the debate I shall be surprised if he complains of the manner in which the Government proposals have been dealt with on this side of the House. My noble friends have been critical—it would have been strange if they had not—and they have been inquisitive—I do not think we can blame them for that, for the Bill suggests many questions, some of which have been put and not replied to. But there has been throughout this discussion nothing which can fairly be described as unreasonable opposition to the Government proposals. I believe I may say that all of us who sit here realise to the full the great difficulties which any Minister must encounter who addresses himself to the difficult task of Army reform. I remember a discussion which took place early during the present session on the subject of London traffic, when the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, who had been, I think, a member of the Traffic Commission, told us that the reason why the London traffic was, as he described it, in a tangle, was because the thoroughfares, the tramways, and the railways of this great city had all been, in the first instance, constructed in a haphazard fashion. That is, I think, not untrue of the British Army system, which has been constructed—one might almost say has grown—in a haphazard fashion; and that is why it is so difficult to introduce anything like system or order into elements which are themselves confused and indistinct.

I think I may say that we are all of us in the main in agreement with the objects which the Secretary of State desires to attain. He wishes to provide this country with an efficient striking force. He wishes to provide means of expanding that force outside the limits of the Regular Army, and he desires to provide us with an efficient Army for home defence. These are all in themselves commendable objects; and the only questions we have to ask are whether the striking force which we shall get under the Government Bill will be a stronger and better organised striking force than that which this country has hitherto been able to command, whether it will be easier than it has been hitherto to expand that force, and whether a better organisation is forthcoming for the unwieldy mass of auxiliary troops which are to be found in this country. I wish I could say that the whole of these questions could be confidently answered in the affirmative.

This Bill has been spoken of as a very elastic Bill. It is the most elastic Bill I have ever had the opportunity of perusing. It is elastic to the point of elusiveness. If you strike out of it that which we can do without the Bill, if you leave out of account what depends not so much on the Bill itself as upon the discretion of the Army Council and the bodies which will be created under the Bill, there is not very much remaining. A good example may, I think, be drawn from what has happened lately with regard to that part of the scheme which affects the Militia. I will not, after what has been said by noble Lords on the back Benches, speak of the compromise which has been arrived at, but the fact remains that lately a considerable modification was made in the Government proposals with regard to the Militia; but yet we were told that that modification, important as it was, could be effected without altering a single line of the Bill. Under these circumstances, we are driven to look rather at the acts and the declarations of His Majesty's Government than at the provisions which are to be found within the Bill itself.

The noble Earl who has charge of the Bill referred in terms of commendation to the scheme of Lord Cardwell. I was glad to hear him do so, because I am one of those who believe that the foundations laid by Lord Cardwell were truly laid, and that, if we have been able to achieve anything since, it has been in a great measure due to the great work done by Lord Cardwell at the outset. I remember that Lord Cardwell was very fond of quoting a very often quoted passage in Horace, in which the poet, describing the happy life of the old-fashioned Roman farmer, draws a picture of him vigorously pruning his fruit trees, amputating the useless boughs, and inserting in their place grafts of a happier growth. Lord Cardwell used to say that that should be the motto for a Secretary of State for War, and I must ask your Lordships to consider a little the manner in which, on the one hand, that process of amputation has been carried out by the Secretary of State, and, on the other, what His Majesty's Government have done in the direction of making good that which they have themselves taken away from the British Army.

I do not think it will be contested that the amputations have been, not merely of a courageous, but I should almost say of a ruthless character. One battalion of Guards is gone, a second is doomed, and eight battalions of infantry are reduced—the strength of the battalion is reduced by 100 men. My noble friend behind me suggested that a good many of these reductions involve the wiping out of the increases which had been made to the Army during the Government of the late Lord Salisbury, at a time when I had the honour of being connected with the War Office. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, commenting on my noble friend's observations, said that that was, perhaps, not an unfair way of putting it, but that, at the same time, there was another way of putting it, and I think he said that, in spite of all that had happened, the strength of the Army was still 27,000 men in excess of the strength of 1895. That may be perfectly true, but, to the best of my recollection, our additions to the strength of the Army amounted to something like 50,000. It may be the case that the whole of those large increases have not been taken away; but I still maintain, and I shall continue to maintain unless I am corrected, that the reductions which His Majesty's Government have decreed do involve a very serious diminution of the fighting strength of the British Army. But, my Lords, during the course of his statement, the noble Earl let fall one observation which I hope I did not misunderstand: it was, I think, to this effect. He said that, although the strength of the battalions had been reduced to 700——

*THE EARL OF ELGIN: 720.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: That although the strength of the battalions had been reduced to 720, it was intended, he did not say when, but ultimately, if possible, to revert to the higher strength. That is a very important admission, and I am glad to have elicited it from the noble Earl. As to the reduction of the Royal Artillery, the noble Earl made a statement which was, if we have not misunderstood it, eminently satisfactory. He told the House that the Government were not prepared in any way to weaken the strength of the Royal Artillery. That is an observation of the utmost importance, for that statement appears to qualify in a very important manner the statements which have been made upon the same subject by the Secretary of State for War. We were certainly under the impression that the Secretary of State had announced that His Majesty's Government did propose a reduction of horse and field artillery by something like 3,700 men and sixty-seven officers. If that idea has been abandoned, all I can say is that the uneasiness which many of us felt on this subject will be to a great extent removed. I should like to know whether it is not the case that the Garrison Artillery has already been reduced and is now from 3,000 to 4,000 men below its former strength.

We have had explanations of the circumstances in which these reductions have been made. I understand that they are defended partly on financial grounds; but Lord Lucas, in his maiden speech, which showed so much ability and promise, spoke evidently not without authority when he suggested to the House that these ten battalions had been struck off because they were redundant to the scheme of organisation which found favour with the War Office. All I can say is that I cannot conceive the circumstances in which it could be a matter of congratulation to the War Office to find itself deprived of the services of eight or ten fighting units. Even if it be the case that they do not fit exactly into the scheme of the Government, we who have had anything to do with Army administration know that the difficulty has always been the shortage in the number of fighting units; and that if by any chance you found yourselves with one or two to spare, it would be a matter of congratulation rather than the contrary.

With regard to these reductions, there is also this to be said—that they involve a very serious loss to the Army owing to the number of officers whom we lose in consequence of them. The dearth of officers has always seemed to me to be one of the most serious difficulties that we have to face. A trained British officer is, after all, the most valuable military asset that we possess; and it fills me with despair to think that so large a number of such officers should be sacrificed in this manner. I believe I am right in saying that the Army Estimates of this year show a falling off of no less than 500 officers and of something like 1,000 non-commissioned officers as compared with the strength that formerly obtained.

There is another point to be considered, the effect of these reductions on the Army Reserve. That effect is twofold. If you weaken the numerical strength of your units you want a larger number of Reservists to fill them up; and even if the amended figures given by the noble Earl are accepted, it will still be the case that the Expeditionary Force will contain relatively a far greater number of Reservists and a far smaller number of men serving with the colours than the expeditionary force which could have been sent and was sent from these shores a few years ago. Besides that, you have to remember that by reducing the number of these battalions you diminish the output of Reservists. That is incontestable, because each unit is, so to speak, a machine which manufactures Reservists. There is, I understand, a conflict of opinion as to the precise extent to which these changes will, in fact, weaken the Army Reserve. I will not attempt to discuss so intricate a question at this hour of the night. I never doubt the arithmetic of the actuaries, but I always remember that they have to make their calculations on certain assumptions which are given to them by those for whom they act. But I maintain that it is absolutely inconceivable that if you diminish the number of your units and also diminish the strength of each unit you will not in the result have a much smaller Reserve than you would have with a greater number of units, and a higher strength; and when you consider in addition that the length of men's service with the colours has been increased, it seems to me to stand to reason that the policy adopted by His Majesty's Government must be one which tends to diminish the strength of the Army Reserve.

The noble Earl said that, in the opinion of the Army Council, the men who would be taken from the Special Contingent to be placed in the fighting line are men every bit as well qualified for a place in the fighting line as the ordinary Reservist. That is a statement which fills me with surprise. I should have thought that any commanding officer would prefer to have his battalion filled up with Reservists who had served their seven or even their three years continuous service with their regiment, who had been properly trained, properly disciplined, men who can be described as formed soldiers, rather than by youths taken from the Special Contingent, recruited at the age of seventeen, trained for a few months at the outset, afterwards for a few days at irregular intervals, and who can have no *esprit de corps*, no knowledge of their battalions, and no acquaintance with their officers. I think that the noble Earl said such men would compare with the Militia Reservists of old days. I do not know whether it is the case, but I would remind the noble Earl that it has not been our custom to put the Militia Reservists in the fighting line at the outset.

The noble Earl in charge of the Bill explained that under this scheme practically the whole Reserve would be absorbed by the Expeditionary Force at the outset of hostilities, and that these men from the Special Contingent would therefore have to be taken at the outset of hostilities, and, before any time was available to give further training, placed in the front rank to meet the disciplined troops of a foreign enemy. I can only come to the conclusion that the amputations to which the Government have resorted will have a very serious effect in weakening the fighting efficiency of the Regular Army.

One word with regard to the Militia. No point in the Bill was to my mind more obscure than the original intentions of His Majesty's Government with regard to the Militia. We were told that the continuity of the Militia tradition was to be preserved, that the distinctive character of the belongings of each regiment was to be maintained, that they were to pass from one side to the other of the Line without feeling the change in any material degree. But, my Lords, to most plain folk the original proposal of His Majesty's Government seemed to involve something very like the complete obliteration of the Militia as we know it. I might say it involved putting into the melting pot everything except perhaps the regimental plate. The original proposal has been considerably modified. My noble friend Lord Salisbury expressed his gratification at the change which has been made. It was not quite so cordially received on the Benches behind him. Noble Lords behind me have a practical acquaintance with the Militia, its history, its traditions, the composition of the force, to which I cannot pretend. I agree with them that on many points even the modified proposal seems to bear hardly upon the Militia, but in spite of that I am bound to say that to me it seems satisfactory that under the scheme as we now know it the Militia does at all events remain apparently in existence as a separate and distinct force, instead of being as it would have been under the original proposal merged with the Volunteers in the Territorial Army. When we get to closer quarters in Committee, I have no doubt my noble friends will press upon the House proposals designed to obtain for the Militia some of those concessions for which they have so earnestly pleaded this evening, some of which at all events seem to me not at all unreasonable demands. I cannot for the life of me see the object of setting up an arbitrary distinction between the third and fourth Militia battalions—a most invidious distinction, and one which I should think the Secretary of State for War will do well not to insist upon. I feel however convinced that I am only expressing the opinion of all the noble Lords in this House who are connected with the Militia when I say it is their desire to accept in the most loyal spirit any changes which His Majesty's Government deem indispensable, and that it will not be for want of their co-operation if His Majesty's Government are not successful in keeping alive and turning to good account the old constitutional force which has done such excellent service to the country in the past.

With regard to the Territorial Army, we understand that it is to be maintained for the double purpose of securing the safety of these islands and of acting as a kind of reservoir for the Regular Army. Both these functions seem to me to be essential. I am certainly not one of those who underrate the importance of providing an adequate garrison for the defence of these islands. I have often regretted the attempts which are made to divide us into those who belong to what is called the blue water school and those who do not. In my belief there is much less divergence of opinion on this subject than many would have us believe. I have never met a reasonable man who did not admit that sea power was only one branch of our national defence, and that behind the Fleet it was absolutely necessary that this country should have an adequate land force for the protection of these shores. It is indeed obvious that we require such a force to secure the mobility of our Fleet, and because the strength of our defensive force really determines the strength of the force with which the enemy can hope to invade these shores. The larger the invading force the greater the difficulty of the task which the invader will set himself to perform. For that reason, in order to deter an enemy from invading these islands it is absolutely necessary that we should have at home a force of sufficient strength and organised in such a manner that it is capable of meeting either a raid or an attempt at an invasion on a larger scale in an adequate manner at whatever point the attack may be delivered.

Nor do I deny the necessity of a home Territorial Army for the purpose of supplying a reservoir from which the needs of the Regular Army may be supplied. Like my noble friend Lord Milner, I cannot forget the events of the South African war, nor how soon after we had supplied the force which we had been led to suppose was adequate for the purpose of dealing with our South African difficulties—and not only that force, but a very much larger force—we found it necessary to appeal to the patriotism of the country. We all know how greatly our difficulties were increased owing to the fact that although men were forthcoming in abundance, they were to a great extent men unfamiliar with military discipline and organisation and training.

I pass now for a moment to the County Associations. I am not sure that the obscurity of the Bill does not lie thickest at this point. That part of the Bill really is little more than an embodiment of an aspiration for a closer union between the local Army and the local authorities. That is an admirable aspiration. There are obviously many points of contact between the local authorities and the local Army—the provision of ranges, buildings, and land for the use of troops, questions affecting the relations of Volunteers with their employers, questions connected with rifle clubs, with the care of discharged men and their families, questions concerning camps and manœuvres, all of which are clearly matters which can be most advantageously dealt with by bodies of men of local experience and representing different aspects of public life in our country districts; but there is a great amount of uncertainty with regard both to the composition and to the duties of these Associations. I was very glad at the outset of this debate to hear my noble friend Lord Fortescue ask a number of pertinent questions with regard to the position of the Lieutenants of counties. I do not think those questions have yet received the answers to which they were entitled. We have been told that the lord-lieutenant will be the constitutional head of the Association, and will not be excluded from the chairmanship; but we want to know a little more than that. The president will have rather a motley team. There are to be officers of all arms and branches of the Territorial Force, representatives of county and borough councils, co-opted members representing employers of labour and trade unions, and, where universities are within reach, one or two dons from those universities. In addition there are to be general officers of His Majesty's Forces who are to be entitled to speak but not to vote.

We should like to know whether the lord-lieutenant is expected to drive this team or whether he is to be in the position of, as it were, a kind of patron—the kind of position he would occupy with reference to the Toxopholite Association of the county or other institutions of that kind. There is to be, not only a president of the Association, but a chairman and vice-chairman. I do not think I do the Secretary of State an injustice when I say that on one occasion he explained that they were to be men of business—a sort of suggestion that Lords-Lieutenant were not necessarily men of business, and that their shortcomings were to be supplied by these other officials. Then we should like to know whether, in all these cases, the procedure is to be by vote, and whether the president is liable to find himself left in a minority, and outvoted by the other members of the Association; or whether, on the contrary, he is really to be in the position of the Secretary of State at the War Office, with an advisory council, of which he is *primus inter pares*.

Then there is an amount of uncertainty as to the duties of the Associations. They to are give advice and assistance. That is obviously right, but they are also to be entrusted with the organisation, administration, and recruiting of the Territorial Army. It is, I think, pretty clear that these Associations are really miniature War Offices, which are to be spread all over the country and which are to have very extensive powers and very vast responsibilities. I cannot imagine a more difficult or a more responsible position than that of a Lord-Lieutenant of a county who finds himself called upon to preside over one of these bodies and to decide how the Exchequer grant, which, I understand, is to supply the financial requirements of the Associations, is to be distributed amongst the innumerable claimants who will, no doubt, importunately demand a share of it. But until these points have been further considered and explained, I am quite willing to suspend my judgment with regard to these Associations, and to accept them without demur as an indication of the desire of His Majesty's Government that the local army and the local authorities should be drawn together as closely as possible.

With regard to the Territorial Army itself, I think those noble Lords are perfectly correct who have said that, after all, it is the old Volunteer Force under a new title. It is, so to speak, the old dog in a new doublet. The Territorial Army is to be collected by "the enlisting of such persons in such manner and subject to such regulations as may be described." There is a delightful vagueness in that description, which is rather characteristic of the rest of this part of the Bill. In dealing with the Volunteer Force His Majesty's Government have to deal with the immemorial difficulty of reconciling the demands of military efficiency with the obligations of civil life, and I wish I could say that I found in this Bill anything to show that these conflicting interests have been thoroughly reconciled.

With regard to the Yeomanry, I may be allowed to express my entire concurrence with what was said by my noble friend Lord Scarbrough. He said, speaking, I believe, on behalf of a large number of Yeomanry officers, that the force was contented as it was, and that it was in a satisfactory state. I do not think that will be denied by anyone, because I believe there is no part of the British Army which has made more extraordinary progress or gained more in public confidence than has the Yeomanry Force within the last few years. I entirely agree with what fell from my noble friend Lord Harris on that subject. What we are doing with regard to the Yeomanry Force is, as has been truly said, to ask them to do more work for less pay, and that, I am afraid, does not seem to be a very promising outlook.

My noble friend Lord Midleton dealt so fully with the financial aspects of the Bill that I will not travel over the ground which he traversed last night. It is impossible to represent this Bill as being one which effects a large saving of public money. My noble friend gave the figures to your Lordships. He showed that the saving that could be claimed for the Bill did not exceed £885,000, and of that £200,000 is prospective only; and he showed that this saving was due entirely to those reductions in the Regular Forces of which I have already spoken, and which I so greatly regret. In these circumstances we can scarcely regard this Bill, if we consider its financial aspects, as a triumphantly good bargain for the country. As to its destructive effects, there can be no doubt. As to its constructive proposals, there is much that must remain uncertain. We cannot yet judge what its results will be, but I trust that, worked courageously and with the loyal co-operation of the local authorities, the Bill may do much to increase the efficiency of our Territorial Forces. I am afraid, however, that I must add that it seems to me altogether too much to claim for the Bill that, as it stands, it is a complete and thoroughly-considered scheme of Army reform, or that the passing of it will at once render this country, for purposes either of offence or of defence, stronger and better equipped than it was a few years ago.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, I greatly regret that it falls to me to wind up this debate instead of to my noble friend who leads the House, and who unfortunately is not able to be here this evening. I have to ask the indulgence of the House in comparison with many of the noble Lords who have spoken, owing to the fact that the War Office is one the inside of which I have never seen. I have only, as one of the public, watched it from outside with a certain amount of terror due to the peculiar reputation which it has enjoyed, sometimes, I think, rather unfairly attributed to it.

I heartily concur with what fell from the noble Marquess when he said that he was sure that we on this side of the House would not make the slightest complaint of the manner in which this debate has been conducted. Our proposals have been subjected to a great deal of criticism, and a great many questions have been asked, but we complain of neitner. The noble Marquess, Lord Salisbury, seemed to think that my noble friend Lord Elgin had complained of the interrogative turn of the Opposition. That was not so. When questions are asked in the course of a speech by what I may call volley firing we do our best to answer them, but my noble friend only protested against what I may call the sniping habit of some noble Lords in rising to ask a single question, as was done rather frequently in the course of my noble friend Lord Lucas's speech.

This House is certainly distinguished for the number of those who can speak with authority on this subject. Both its Leaders on each side have been Secretaries of State for War. One very distinguished Member of the House, whose absence and the cause of it we so deeply deplore—the Duke of Devonshire—was also Secretary of State for War, and in addition to that we have the new and welcome presence of the noble Viscount opposite, Lord Midleton. I hope he will allow me, as an old friend, to say how much we welcome him here. His father was a very familiar and a very highly respected figure in this House, and, though we cannot say that either the Benches opposite generally or the Front Bench needs any accession of strength, still we welcome the noble Viscount none the less heartily on that account. In addition, there are six noble Lords in this House who have been Under-Secretaries of State for War and other noble Lords who have held positions at the War Office; and I hope I may be allowed to congratulate my noble friend behind me, Lord Lucas, on the very pleasant reception which his maiden speech, full of knowledge as it was, was received in all quarters of the House.

Now, my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War has found, as other Secretaries of State for War have found, that his path is not strewn with roses, but rather resembles one of those caravan routes across the African desert, strewn with whitened bones which show the disasters of those who have passed that way before. I cannot help thinking how difficult it is for any Secretary of State for War to tackle the Army question at all. There is no subject in this country upon which change has been so often attempted, and upon which change is regarded with so much suspicion. I very well remember in 1881, when the territorial names were substituted for the numbers of the regiments, the excitement that was caused by what seemed to outsiders a reasonable process, but which was regarded by many of the senior officers of the Army and by others as marking one more milestone on that progress to the dogs which apparently the Army has been taking ever since we have had an Army at all.

It would not become me to pay any compliment to the ability with which my right hon. friend has tackled this question, but I can speak for the unwearying thought and pains which he has given to the production of this Bill. As noble Lords on both sides of the House have said with perfect truth, this measure is an attempt to carry on, and so far as possible to crown, the work which was initiated by the greatest of our War Ministers of recent times—Lord Cardwell; and I think an examination of the Bill will show that in no particular has it departed from the principles which Lord Cardwell laid down. It is in pursuit of the plan of Lord Cardwell that my right hon. friend has adhered to the system of linked battalions and has not attempted the experiment of large depots, which, I think, the noble Earl Lord Donoughmore regards with favour, as some other distinguished authorities do, but has preferred, I believe with the general approval of the great majority of military authorities, to stick to Lord Cardwell's system.

Before I say anything about the various criticisms which have been levelled against the Bill, I desire to say a word upon the subject which was introduced by the noble and gallant Earl (Lord Roberts) on the cross benches, whose opinions we naturally regard with respect, and carried on by Lord Milner and by Lord Newton—I mean what may be called either universal service for home defence, or, as I think noble Lords on the Front Bench opposite more correctly described it, a system of conscription. That system has to be viewed, not merely as regards the Army alone, but in connection with the whole system of national defence. When you speak of a nation in arms as an abstract conception, it may, or may not, be an admirable thing. That entirely depends upon the purpose to which you wish to apply the arms. Now, Lord Milner—I regret the noble Viscount is not in the House—wanted to see a large Army of this kind, because, as he said, this country is not safe from serious invasion, and he asked how it was that the country was perfectly willing, apparently, to go any lengths to secure a paramount Navy, but was not willing to take similar steps in regard to the Army. Surely the answer is simple.

We are the strongest naval power in the world, and so long as there is a shot in the locker and a sixpence left in the purse we mean to remain so. But we do not pretend to be the strongest military Power in the world, or even one of the strongest military Powers. As I said, the question is one of the whole system of national defence, and if it really is necessary to keep in this country a trained army which is able to repel, not merely a raid, but what I may call a continuous invasion—that is to say, the pouring into this country of large numbers of troops belonging to some Continental Power—then we have a land frontier. We are no longer, for any practical purposes, an island. If that is so, if we have a land frontier, you may be perfectly certain that the country will not consent to keep up an Army on a Continental scale, and at the same time to maintain the Navy at its present strength. If we have a Continental Army the country will insist upon a very large reduction in our Navy Estimates, because, if our Navy cannot protect us from invasion, undoubtedly we spend far too much upon it at the present moment.

The noble Lord opposite, Lord Ampthill, protested very strongly against the force referred to being spoken of as a conscript force. I confess I do not know what the difference is. I understand that the proposition is that a very large number of the youth of the country should undergo every year or two years, as the case may be, military training. The particular men who at that time are undergoing the training will be the people who are to repel this invasion. It is not proposed, I take it, to keep another fully trained Army also in this country for the purpose, and therefore they will be, it seems to me, precisely in the position which the conscript army of such a country as France is in when it is out for its training, and, of course, with the same immense reserve to call upon which continental countries have. But I also ask, like other noble Lords, what is this great army to do? I remember a speech which the noble and gallant Earl made, I think last year, in which he seemed to contemplate the possibility of our desiring to place a very large force of men at some time or other on the continent of Europe. If that is so, all I can say is, on behalf of the Government, that we do not contemplate any possibility of the kind. All that we contemplate that the British Army, in case of war, can do is to send out the striking force, and, of course, we should use such an Army as we have in combination with the Fleet in that kind of operations of which there have been so many examples in our past history. If this question of invasion is considered in the way that the noble Viscount regards it, the whole view of our national position undoubtedly has to be altered. But, if not, I am perfectly certain that the people of this country will not consent to anything of the kind. I think it was Mr. Balfour who said—and said with great truth—that the country would not agree to pay a double insurance premium for a singe risk, and either the Navy is sufficient to guard us against the possibility of invasion on a large scale or it is not. The example of other countries was spoken of. Of course, we all know of the great muster of men in continental armies. The whole standing army of the United States, with its vast population and its vast area, consists of some 60,000 men; consequently it surely is necessary to consider all the conditions of the case, and not to attempt to form analogies for which no foundation really exists.

Much has been said on the question of the reductions which noble Lords state have taken place in the Army. We do not attempt for a moment to deny that financial considerations have operated, and as we maintain are bound to operate, considerably in determining what the size of the Army is to be; and, for this reason, that if it is to be the national rule that the expenditure on the Navy is not to be closely checked, the people of this country will certainly insist on the Army expenditure being very closely checked; while, if any Government attempts to forget this fact, and to spend money too lavishly on the Army, there is risk of a very dangerous reaction in the country, and a determination to cut down military expenditure on a scale which none of us would wish to see done, but which, if that reaction really took place, no Government in this country could possible resist.

Some noble Lords—not noble Lords who have had official experience—talk in a very light-hearted manner about the cost of the Army. The noble Viscount, Lord Milner, for instance, said that several millions more might properly be spent. Anyone who speaks in that tone seems to me to be in the position of a guest who goes to stay at a country house, and says to his host, "I wonder you do not cut away that hillside and make a series of Italian terraces." It is a light-hearted and irresponsible manner of talking of expenditure for which one has no responsibility. Of course, if we had an unlimited sum at our disposal it would be easy enough to provide an Army of almost any kind you might desire. It was a great Italian Minister who said that any fool could govern in a state of siege; and anyone could preside at the War Office if he had the purse of Fortunatus at his disposal. But the Secretary of State is tied down by restrictions, and his desire is to give the best he can for the sum at his dispssal.

Lord Midleton threw a tolerably heavy douche of cold water on our Bill, but he did not make any positive suggestions of a material character as to its improvement. He spoke specially, I think, of the Field Force — the first Line—and regarded the interests of the fighting Army as having been sacrificed to the Territorial scheme. Much has been said, and I think my noble friend has replied to it pretty fully, as to the reductions in the Army. But my right hon. friend claims that, in spite of those reductions, he is able to put into the field a larger organised striking force than has ever before been at the disposal of any War Office in this country. So long as he is able to state that, and to state it without contradiction, it appears to me that he is in a strong position; and the mere fact that certain battalions existed before which do not exist now was of no real service to the country so long as those battalions were not available, as they were not for the purposes of mobilisation.

Several noble Lords have asked about the Artillery, and my noble friend behind me, Lord Elgin, made a statement which has been commented upon by two noble Lords opposite, and on which I wish to say a word, because it is important that before the debate closes we should be quite clear that we mean exactly the same thing. Now, my noble friend said that the strength of the Artillery would not be reduced. I am anxious to explain exactly what he meant by that. It is not the case that the peace establishment of the Artillery will necessarily remain, or indeed probably remain, at its present figure. Certain brigades will be utilised for the purpose of training the Special Contingent, and therefore the peace establishment will be lower. But these reductions in numbers will be compensated for in this way, that a certain proportion of the remaining brigades will be replaced by men engaged for three years, so that noble Lords will see that with the Reserves thus available the total will work out to a similar number of men existing at present, when the batteries are placed on a war footing. In addition, there are the men of the Special Contingent who will be employed for the ammunition columns, and those, of course, are a pure addition, because the work which they will do would under present circumstances have to be done by the more highly-trained men. Consequently the gain in men is represented by the ammunition columns of the Special Contingent, and the loss on the peace establishment is replaced by the greater number of men who will come forward from the Reserve when the batteries are placed on a war footing.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: Will the number of Regular Artillerymen now serving be decreased?

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Yes, they undoubtedly will. The number of men serving with the field force will be decreased when it is on a peace footing.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: Can the noble Earl give us the figures? I make that request because there has been so very much misunderstanding about this matter. The noble Earl the Colonial Secretary told us that it was not proposed in any way to weaken the strength of the Regular Artillery.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Yes. I think the number is about 2,000 who are transferred for the purposes of training. My noble friend was quite accurate in saying that the Artillery would not be weakened, because, when the Reserves are called up, the number will be equalized with the present number by the addition of the Reserve men who are available. As regards the Garrison Artillery, that has been reduced by 3,000 men, consequent on the withdrawal of some of the garrisons of the West Indian stations. The noble Earl, Lord Donoughmore, complained that these reductions were undertaken from policy and not from military necessity. That seems to me to be almost a contradiction in terms. I cannot conceive how a reduction in any army can be made by a military necessity. All persons connected officially with an army would like to see it made as large as possible. We admit that the reductions are due to policy.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I think I said political pressure. At any rate, that is the phrase I meant to use.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I would point out that, be these reductions right or wrong, they do not in any way affect the character of the scheme as a whole. The general substitution of the system of two lines for three remains altogether unaffected by these temporary changes which my right hon. friend has made. We have heard a great deal from the most competent authorities on the subject of the Militia. The position of the Militia, as I understand it, in the view of my right hon. friend is this, that given that he desired to create two lines of defence for this country, the Militia must either in practice join one or join the other. It might have become simply a part of the Territorial Force. That, as we know, was one proposition, and the number of men who were required for replenishing the line battalions in time of war would have been supplied by the Special Contingent; but under present circumstances the Militia becomes in practice part of the first line, and that, of course, involves distinct alterations of its position as it exists now under the Act of 1882.

The Duke of Bedford, and I think some other speakers, complained of the construction which had been placed upon what passed at various interviews between them and the War Office authorities. I am quite certain that nobody had the faintest intention of accusing the noble Duke, or anybody else who could speak for the Militia, of any unpatriotic refusal to do what he could on behalf of the Force. What, as I understand, the noble Duke and his friends did was simply to state their opinion of what was possible, and what would be the result of certain action taken or not taken by the authorities. But my right hon. friend, in stating what he did, simply put in a terse form the fact that, in the opinion of the noble Duke, he as commanding a Militia battalion, and other Militia colonels, would not be able to supply the men for drafts abroad.

The noble Duke, unlike the noble Viscount, did make a series of positive suggestions. He asked that the Militia should be allowed to have charge of their own recruiting, and he pledged himself, if they were allowed to do that, to keep the Army going through the Militia. In fact, the noble Duke really asked for a blank cheque from the War Office to keep the Army going; but I am bound to put it to him in this way. He must see that before the War Office could undertake to hand that responsibility over to the noble Duke and other Militia colonels they must necessarily be convinced that the thing would answer, because the whole of the responsibility would rest, not upon the noble Duke, but upon my right hon. friend and the War Office.

The noble Marquess, Lord Salisbury, who also speaks with great authority on the question of the Militia, made various suggestions which I am quite certain my right hon. friend will consider. The noble Marquess, of course, will not expect me to say off-hand whether it is possible for the War Office authorities to entertain any of them or not. He specially desired, I think, in the first place, that the concession which was made to existing Militiamen, that they should not be drafted to any battalion but one of what I may call the superior battalions of their own regiment, should be extended to all Militiamen for all time. It certainly has been the desire and intention of the War Office that that course should, as far as possible, be invariably followed; but it is, of course, possible to conceive a case in which it might be difficult to maintain it. If you were to take the case of two battalions engaged in a foreign war, one of which was almost cut to pieces and the other of which had never been under fire at all, it surely would be inconvenient if the drafts belonging to the second and more fortunate regiment were obliged to remain at home and could under no circumstances be used to replenish any other battalion. I am perfectly certain that the noble Marquess and all other Militia officers in this House, although they have been obliged very properly to state their own case strongly, do recognise that the well-being and the necessities of the Field Force are bound to be the first consideration, and that, although my right hon. friend would desire to meet them in every way, yet he is bound to consider that the necessities of the Army in the field must be paramount even over the desires and prejudices of those who serve in the Militia.

Lord RAGLAN: My Lords, the noble Earl is bringing forward the accusation that we Militia commanding officers are looking at this matter from a personal point of view. We regard it just as much from the point of view of the country as any Regular officer, and we tell these exceedingly foolish people that their scheme will not be successful.

***The Earl of CREWE**: I made no kind of accusation against Militia colonels; but it seems to me absurd to suppose that the noble Lords' views can fail to be somewhat coloured by what they conceive to be the interests of the branch of the service to which they belong. Lord Raglan has had a large military experience outside the Auxiliary Forces, and therefore everything which he says is listened to with respect. He thinks that the Army Council are wrong in this matter, and, of course, he is perfectly right to hold his own opinion. With regard to the question of supplying drafts, I would ask the House also to consider what a very remarkable step in advance is taken by the new arrangement for training the drafts before they go out. Noble Lords who remember what happened when drafts were sent out to South Africa will recollect that at that time everything had to be improvised. It was not the fault of those who were at the War Office, because nobody imagined that that kind of strain would be placed on the War Office. At any rate that provision is now very definitely provided for in this Bill.

The Yeomanry have been very fully dealt with by Lord Harris and also by Lord Scarbrough, and certainly I am not going to say a word of disrespect towards that very remarkable and very efficient force. But I should like to ask noble Lords to consider this. Is it quite certain that the impulse which was given to the Yeomanry by the South African war, and by the fine service which it did there, will not somewhat tend to diminish as peaceful years go on? A great and very deserved glamour hangs now about the Imperial Yeomanry, but those of us who remember what the force was before the war, cannot but consider that the kind of enthusiasm which now makes that force so popular can hardly be expected to be quite permanent after what we all hope will be a long series of years of peace.

I confess I did hear with some astonishment the suggestion that the Yeomanry should be taken out of the Territorial Force and placed in the SpecialContingent. In the first place, is it really conceivable that the type of man who now joins the Yeomanry will be content to be drafted into a cavalry regiment in the manner which would take place in the infantry? In the second place, I would remind the noble Lord that to do what he proposes would involve the destruction of the Territorial Army as an Army. It would leave the Home Defence Army with no cavalry at all. If the noble Lord thinks that a desirable state of things, that is his affair; but it is entirely foreign to the notion of my right hon. friend, who desires to make the Home Defence Army a real Army and not merely an aggregation of armed men.

The County Associations have come in for considerable criticism, very largely of a merely jocular character. I do not exactly know what there is in these bodies which should appear to excite the amusement of noble Lords opposite, any more than there is in a county council or in any other organised body for local purposes. Lord Harris also compared the prospect that these Associations will attract men, at any rate to Yeomanry regiments, very unfavourably with what he and other Yeomanry colonels are able to do. It is not every commander of an Auxiliary regiment or battalion who, like the noble Lord, has been the captain of a very successful county cricket eleven, and I have no doubt that the noble Lord's powers of personal persuasion in Kent are quite equal to those which any Association could exercise. But I certainly should have thought that nobody would be found, in this House or out of it, to deny that it is a desirable thing to associate county feeling with national defence. I am sorry, therefore, that so many sneers have been levelled in the course of this debate at the idea of these Associations, and I confess it seems to me scarcely fair. I think it is obvious that, if you can get the Lord-Lieutenant, the country gentlemen, the trade union officials, and all those classes of people who are mentioned, to take a combined interest in that share of national defence that belongs to their county, you will achieve desirable work. I was sorry to hear Lord Raglan hint that it was likely that country gentlemen would sulk because they dislike some of our legislation or consider that the death duties are too high.

LORD RAGLAN: I said nothing of the kind.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Even if that class had been unjustly attacked, which I do not admit, I do not believe that any feeling of chagrin would prevent them from exercising the patriotic influence which they are able to bring to bear in their own neighbourhood, and I believe they will combine heartily and fully with all other classes in the county for this purpose. The noble Marquess Lord Lansdowne complained of the excessive elasticity of our suggestions with regard to the County Associations, but I cannot help reflecting that if we had attempted to lay down hard and fast rules of conduct for these Associations all over England we should have been condemned on that account for not making allowances for different localities. If this thing is to work at all, and I trust it may—it is, of course, an experiment—it can only be done by varying the conditions according to the needs of the locality, and although I admit that our proposals in this relation may appear to be of a skeleton character, they may have been made so because we conceived it to be absolutely necessary.

The noble Earl Lord Donoughmore said that, after all, there was really no change. It was simply a matter of leaving the Volunteers and Yeomanry alone. But he went on to say that some proposals of my right hon. friend, which he most heartily welcomed, did, in effect, weld together into a solid weapon the scraps of the Auxiliary Forces as they exist in different districts. He quite admitted—and I think noble Lords generally will be disposed to admit—that it is a very desirable thing that the various branches of the Auxiliary Forces, instead of standing entirely apart and in no relation whatever to each other, should become an organised corps, with guns, with army service, with medical service, and all that go to make up a complete army. If that is so, whatever force there may be in the different criticisms which have been levelled by various noble Lords at these proposals concerning the Territorial Army, we do maintain that we are giving the Second Line a higher standard of military efficiency to aim at; and consequently in certain cases we do ask particular branches of them to give up certain things, in consideration of becoming an infinitely more serious body for the purpose of national defence than singly they can possibly be said hitherto to have been. It has been said that this whole scheme is speculative, but we are entitled to ask in reply, Are you absolutely content to remain as you are? Do you think that the present Army, the Militia, the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, really represent the last word of perfection for an Army of such a country as this?

Lord NEWTON: No.

***The Earl of CREWE**: My noble friend Lord Newton, who is nothing if not candid, has, I believe, washed his hands of this Bill; but he admitted, with the utmost candour, that there was an extraordinary absence of positive suggestion on the part of the critics of this Bill.

Lord NEWTON: Hear, hear.

***The Earl of CREWE**: I am glad to hear my noble friend cheer that. Consequently, I think we are entitled to say, not that we have made an ideal Army, because we have to take things as we find them and do the best with the materials we have at hand, but that the suggestions which we have made, subject, of course, to any criticism of detail which noble Lords may make, are the ones which are before the country, and we are, I think, entitled to assume in the absence of others that they are the best that can be put before the country.

I repeat once more that we have no complaint to make of the character of the criticism which has been levelled against this Bill. We do not think it entirely reasonable in all cases, but it has certainly not been unfair, and it has been expressed uniformly with the greatest courtesy towards my right hon. friend and the Government generally. I can equally assure noble Lords that we shall desire to give the most patient consideration in the Committee Stage to any Amendments which they may propose. I am also quite certain that noble Lords opposite will rejoice quite as much as we do if, when this Bill becomes law, as I trust it may, it proves to be a real step forward—I quite admit that much must be left to future years—towards the solution of what, after all, is one of the most difficult problems affecting our whole national life and the security of the Empire.

On Question, Bill read 2ª.

The Earl of PORTSMOUTH: My Lords, I propose, subject to the general convenience of the House, to put the Bill down for Committee on Monday and Tuesday, 8th and 9th July. I also ask most respectfully that noble Lords will put their Amendments down as soon as possible. It is our earnest desire to consider all the Amendments most fully, and to treat them with every consideration.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday the 8th of July next.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Twelve o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 26th June, 1907.

The House met at quarter before Three of the Clock.

MR. SPEAKER'S ABSENCE.

The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unadvoidable absence from this day's sitting of Mr. Speaker; whereupon Mr. Emmott, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table, and, after Prayers, took the Chair as Deputy-Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Birmingham Corporation Water Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

London County Council (General Powers) Bill (by Order). Consideration as amended, deferred till Wednesday next.

London County Council (Electric Supply) Bill. Reported from the Select Committee [Preamble not proved].

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 220.]

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Metropolitan Water Board (Charges, etc.) Bill. Reported, with Amendments, from the Joint Committee on the Metropolitan Water Board (Charges, etc.) Bill and the Metropolitan Water Board (Various Powers) Bill; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Metropolitan Water Board (Various Powers) Bill. Reported with Amendments, from the Joint Committee on the Metropolitan Water Board (Charges, etc.) Bill and the Metropolitan Water Board (Various Powers) Bill; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

PETITIONS.

COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

Petitions in favour; From the House of Thurso; Ormiston; Penston; Tranent; and, Woodhall Collieries; to lie upon the Table.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL OPTION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour; from Haddington; Latheron; and Tranent (two); to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS.

Copy presented, of Report of the Chief Inspector for 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EXPLOSIONS (GENWEN COLLIERY, CARMARTHENSHIRE).

Copy presented, of Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by W. N. Atkinson, esquire, and J. Dyer Lewis, esquire, two of His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines, on the circumstances attending an Explosion which occurred at Genwen Colliery on 5th March, 1907 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of List of Certified Schools for Blind, Deaf, Defective, and Epileptic Children in England and Wales on the 1st August, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (CAMBRIDGE).

Copy presented, of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, on the 7th March, 1907, amending certain of the College Statutes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 218.]

SUGAR CONVENTION (COMMERCIAL, No. 5, 1907).

Copy presented, of Despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Brussels, respecting the International Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3840 and 3841 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House:—

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure for 1906, with Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 219.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Automatic Railway Couplings.

MR. BERRIDGE (Warwick and Leamington): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can now state what progress, if any, has been made with regard to the examination of automatic couplings for railway wagons by the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade in April, 1906; and whether, in view of the fact that several persons claim to be possessed of efficient and cheap appliances of such a kind as would greatly minimise the number of those serious accidents to railway employees now regularly reported in the Parliamentary Returns, he will take such steps as will expedite the deliberations of the Committee, so as to enable him to put into early operation the powers conferred upon him by The Railway Employment (Prevention of Accidents) Act, 1900.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The question of automatic couplers has not yet been inquired into by the Committee appointed to consider railway safety appliances, but the Chief Inspecting Officer of Railways has recently made an independent investigation into the matter, and has advised that there is good reason to doubt whether the adoption of such appliances would tend appreciably to reduce the number of accidents. The Committee have hitherto been considering the question of "either-side" brakes, and, as the result of their investigations and experiments, the Board of Trade will shortly be in a position to propose a rule on that subject. Other matters affecting the safety of men employed in the railway service will from time to time be referred to the Committee.

London Poor Law Expenditure.

MR. BROOKE (Tower Hamlets, Bow and Bromley): To ask the President of the Local Government Board what was the total expenditure by the boards of guardians in London for the year 1905–6; how much of that total was centralised by an equal rate over the whole area, and how much was left to be raised locally by a varying rate; what are the principal heads of Poor Law expenditure in London at present not centralised; and what were the different totals raised under each head for the year 1905–6.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The total expenditure met by boards of guardians in London in 1905–6 was £4,615,072. This represents the expenditure met by the guardians, not only for Poor Law purposes, but also for other purposes with which they are concerned. It also includes the expenditure of joint Poor Law authorities paid for by the guardians under precepts. It does not include expenditure out of loans. To meet this expenditure a sum of £3,039,210 was available, derived from grants or from rates leviable at a uniform amount in the £ throughout London. The grants amounted to £614,720. After allowing for sundry small receipts the total sum left to be raised by rates levied otherwise than by an equalised amount in the £ throughout London was £1,369,846. The principal heads of the expenditure in this total and the sum expended under each head were as follows:—

	£
Out relief - - -	309,514
Loan charges - -	401,837
Buildings and furniture, not paid for out of loans, rent, rates and taxes - - -	329,683

Promotion in Salisbury Post Office.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that it is proposed to pass over several senior and qualified men at Salisbury for the post of assistant inspector of messengers in favour of a junior man; and whether the fact that this man was the only one who refused to sign a petition against a recent order which had to be withdrawn is the qualification that has gained him nomination for the post.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) No post of the nature referred to by the hon. Member has as yet been formally authorised, but, as a temporary arrangement, a town postman is employed to supervise the telegraph messengers. He was selected because he was considered to be the best qualified officer at Salisbury to perform the duties. I am informed that his selection was not in any way due to his not having signed the petition referred to. If an estabished appointment be authorised the claims and qualifications of all the eligible candidates will, of course, be carefully considered before a selection is finally made.

Appointment of Women Inspectors under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

MR. STUART (Sunderland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he intends in any instances to appoint duly qualified women as medical inspectors under the Workmen's Compensation Act, particularly in those places where that Act affects a specially large number of women and children.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I am considering the question whether it is desirable to appoint any women doctors as medical referees under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

Pay of Female Operators for the London Telephone Service.

MR. STEADMAN (Finsbury, Central): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the general manager of the Post Office London Telephone Service has invited applications for skilled female operators at wages from 11s. to 26s. per week; whether, in addition to a knowledge of telephony, they must be able to receive and send on the Morse telegraph sounder at thirty words per minute; and whether he will explain the departmental action in asking for persons who are skilled telephonists and telegraphists in London to work for a maximum of 29s. weekly, when the wages of skilled women telegraphists are 38s. per week, and a Select Committee of this House is investigating the whole question.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) In the London Trunk Telephone Exchange there is a class of call-wire telephone operators who in addition to performing duty as ordinary telephone operators, must be able to work the Morse sounder, but are not required to possess full telegraphic qualifications. Their scale of pay is the same as that of the ordinary telephone operators; but in virtue of their telegraph qualifications, their starting pay is fixed at a point above the minimum, according to their age and qualifications. It is to fill vacancies in this class at the authorised rates of pay that applications have been invited, and the question is not therefore affected by the sitting of the Select Committee.

Evicted Tenants—Case of Terence Dunne.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received a claim for reinstatement from Terence Dunne, Quarrymount, Killeigh, King's County, to a holding on the Trinity College estate, Moneyquid, Queen's County; and can he say what course the Commissioners propose to adopt in this case.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell*) The Estates Commissioners cannot trace the receipt of an application for reinstatement in this case.

Closing to Public of Banks of the Shannon at Banagher.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that certain grounds on the banks of the Shannon at Banagher, which for sixty years have been used by the public without objection as a public promenade, were recently closed against them by order of Mr. Dudley Fletcher, inspector and engineer of the Board of Works, and that fishermen and other boat-owners, who from time immemorial had anchored their boats there, have also been prohibited from using this bank by the same order; will he say whether, before taking this prohibitory action, Mr. Fletcher or the Board of Works had taken legal opinion as to their right to interfere with the public in the enjoyment of this ground; if so, has he any objection to give the name of the counsel consulted and the terms of the legal opinion; and, if not, will he see that this order is revoked.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman*) I presume that the piece of land referred to is the same as that mentioned in a Question put to me by the hon. Member for Birr on the 13th instant.† That land, I understand, has never been open to the public, nor is it used by boatowners to anchor their boats. The Board of Works inform me that they have given no order relating to the land nor have they consulted counsel, as they have no doubt as to their legal rights. It may, however, be that the hon. Member has in his mind another piece of ground at Banagher belonging to the board at which owners are allowed by courtesy, though not by right, to draw up their boats, but there has been no interference with their privilege.

Grant of Money to Lord Cromer.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any special vote of money is to be proposed for Lord Cromer, and, if so, when.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative, but the date when a Resolution for a special grant will be submitted to the House cannot be stated yet.

Sir Eldon Gorst's Pension from the Egyptian Government.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Sir Eldon Gorst is still in receipt of the pension of £500 a year granted to him by the Egyptian Government.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) I must ask the hon. Member to defer his Question as inquiry is being made of His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo.

Irish Land Purchase—Mortgaged Estate.

MR. GINNELL (Westmeath, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners keep a record of the amounts of mortgages and other incumbrances, with their respective rates of interest, upon property sold under the Land Act of 1903, whether to themselves or direct to tenants; if so, will he state what the rates of interest are, and the average rate on such incumbrances; and will he state, without vendor's name, from the experience of the Commissioners, all the financial facts of a typical case, including cost of collection and usual outgoings and deductions connected with land and not connected with money, to illustrate the effect upon an incumbered owner of selling under that Act.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Land Commission inform me that no such record as is mentioned in the Question is kept by the Commissioners, and it would not be possible to state the financial facts of a typical case from which any general conclusions could rightly be deduced.

Royal Visit to Ireland—Holidays for National School Teachers.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether in view of the proposed visit of His Majesty the King to Ireland next month, and the fact that on similar occasions the Commissioners of National Education extended the usual holidays given to national school teachers by one week, he will ask the Commissioners to consider the advisability of granting a similar privilege during the forthcoming Royal visit.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) This question will be considered by the Commissioners of National Education at their next meeting.

Medical Officers of Health and Veterinary Inspection.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what special training, if any, medical officers of health have got in veterinary matters: and whether, seeing that by the Public Health Act they are expected to diagnose diseases in animals used for food of man, he will give instructions to all sanitary authorities that only veterinary surgeons be employed in the inspection of meat and milch cows in all cases where the medical officer of health has no special training.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) In the case of county boroughs any person who may be appointed as medical superintendent officer of health is required to possess a diploma in sanitary science, public health, or state medicine. This requirement ensures that the person appointed possesses the requisite training to enable him to discharge the duties which devolve upon him in the inspection of meat intended for human food. In other districts in which a medical superintendent officer of health is appointed the officer is required to possess a similar diploma. Any sanitary authority may appoint a veterinary surgeon for the purpose of the inspection of meat to be used for human food, and such appointments have been made in the case of Dublin and Belfast.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 1613.

Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Lombard.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Glamorganshire, Rhondda): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners are in a position to state when the reinstatement of Mrs. Lombard to her holding on the Listowel estate, Ballyhooly, county Cork, will be effected; and if her application for an increase of the free grant for rebuilding and restocking the farm will be favourably entertained, seeing that the amount proposed to be allocated would prove inadequate.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The solicitors to the owner in this case have not yet lodged the purchase agreement in the case of Mrs. Bridget Lombard, to whom the Estates Commissioners have sanctioned a free grant of £100. When reinstatement has taken place the Commissioners will consider Mrs. Lombard's application for a further grant.

Irish Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Ellen Sheehy.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the Estates Commissioners have received a representation form for reinstatement from Mrs. Ellen Sheehy, of Toureen, Athea, in the county of Limerick, who was evicted in the eighties by the landlord, Captain Harkness, for non-payment of rent; and whether he will see that the inspector of the Commissioners interviews Mrs. Sheehy, whose present address is Newcastle West, with a view to inquiring into her case and taking action in reference to it.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The Estates Commissioners are unable to trace the receipt of any application from Mrs. Sheehy.

Drainage of the Scariff District, county Clare.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any steps are being taken to promote the scheme for the drainage of the Scariff district, county Clare, which was brought under his notice some time ago.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I would refer to the Answer which I gave on the 19th instant, to Questions put by the hon. Member for the Leix Division.† For the reasons then given it will not be possible to consider drainage schemes for particular districts for some time to come.

Marking of Goods imported into Australia.

MR. SEAVERNS (Lambeth, Brixton): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Commerce Act of the Commonwealth of Australia requires that British-made articles imported into the Commonwealth of Australia, bearing English words, must also bear in every case the words "Made in England," appearing on the same side of the article as the other wording.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) I understand that a regulation has now been made by the Australian Customs Department providing that it is sufficient that such goods should be described as made in Great Britain.

The Suez Canal.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state what approximately was the cost of construction, improvement, and enlargement of the Suez Canal up to the end of last year; the capital account, the number of shares, the original price or value of each share, the income in 1876, 1886, 1896, and 1906, and the dividends for the same years; and what is the present value of each share.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) The following are the particulars desired by the hon. Member: Cost of construction, etc., up to 31st December, 1906, francs 612,484,201·23 (at par, £24,304,928 12s. 5d.) Capital: Shares, francs 200,000,000; loans, francs 272,999,399·16; total, francs 472,999,399·16 (at par, £18,769,817 8s. 6d.) Number of shares: Actions de capital at francs 500, 400,000; now represented by — Actions de capital, francs 383,640; Actions de jouissance, francs 16,360.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxvi., 463 *et seq.*

—		1876.	1886.	1896.	1906.
		Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
Gross revenue -		31,174,694·35	59,022,626·28	82,222,855·26	111,989,122·98
Net profits -		2,002,913·51	28,358,166·14	42,283,380·28	71,377,464·78
Dividend	Gross	28·55	75·33	100·05	151·69
	Net	26·05	70·69	92·50	141·00

Present value of—Action de capital, francs 4,480; Action de jouissance, francs 3,810.

The Exchequer and Audit Department and the Official Secrets Act.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will state what contravention of the Official Secrets Act necessitated the Comptroller and Auditor-General recently drawing the special attention of the members of his Department to certain office rules prohibiting information to the public press under pain of dismissal.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) I am not aware that there was any contravention of the Official Secrets Act.

Free Housing of the Colonial Audit Branch.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that the Colonial Audit Branch in London received free housing accommodation, fire, and light at the expense of the Imperial Government for seventeen years prior to 1906, he will explain why the Comptroller and Auditor-General wrote off a point on this subject when it was raised by a subordinate.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) No, Sir; I cannot undertake to ask or to give an explanation of the reasons which led the Comptroller and Auditor-General to differ from his subordinate.

Communication between Members of Parliament and the Heads of Government Departments.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that, in reply to Questions 1733–9, Sir George Murray, in his evidence before the Select Committee on National Expenditure, on the 4th of November, 1902, stated that Members of the House of Commons could more intelligently criticise Estimates by studying departmental administration and by communicating with departmental officials, he will explain why the Comptroller and Auditor-General recently drew the special attention of his subordinates to certain office rules prohibiting official information of any kind to Members of the House of Commons under pain of dismissal.

(*Answered by Mr. Runciman.*) In reply to the last part of the Question I have nothing to add to my Answer of the 11th April last.† As regards the first part of the Question, it must be obvious to the hon. Member that communication between Members of Parliament and the heads of Departments was suggested, and of course no interference was intended with the discretion of the head of a Department as to the information to be imparted.

Date of Visit of Channel Fleet to Bangor, County Down.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary of the Admiralty if he can say on what date the Channel Fleet is expected to visit Bangor, county Down, Ireland, this year?

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxii., 332.

(*Answered by Mr. Lambert.*) The Channel Fleet, according to present arrangements, will not visit Bangor. H.M.S. "Drake," and perhaps two other vessels of the Second Cruiser Squadron, will be there between the 3rd and 10th July; and the second division of the Atlantic Fleet will be there from the 1st to the 19th August.

Elementary Teachers' Superannuation Fund.

MR. HEDGES (Kent, Tonbridge): To ask the President of the Board of Education when he expects to be able to lay before the House the Actuarial Report as to the state of the funds under the Elementary Teachers' Superannuation Act, 1898?

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The Report of the Actuary nas not yet been received, but I understand the investigation is approaching conclusion.

Additional Postal Facilities at Bar of Slattenagh, County Leitrim.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General, if he is yet in a position to communicate the result of his inquiries into the question of additional postal facilities for the village of Bar of Slattenagh, county Leitrim.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The inquiry in this case is not yet completed; but I will send the hon. Member a reply as soon as I am in a position to arrive at a decision on the subject.

Payment of Jurors' Expenses.

Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that jurors are summoned from Ilfracombe to serve on the assizes held at Exeter, and that the expenses which they are forced to incur in the matter of travelling and hotel expenses are considerable; and whether, by legislation or otherwise, anything can be done to relieve men in poor circumstances of this burden.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) Juries for the assizes are summoned from different parts of the county for which the assizes are held. I fear I cannot undertake to propose legislation to provide for the payment from public funds of the expenses that jurors may have to incur in obeying summonses.

Notification of Still Births.

MR. W. PEARCE (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can give the number of still births which were notified to the local supervising authorities by certified midwives under the Midwives Act, 1902, during the year 1906.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I have made inquiry, but have not been able to obtain this information.

Proficiency Pay—Re-engaged Men as Second Class Shots.

MR. JOWETT (Bradford, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, under the new system of proficiency pay, men serving in India who have re-engaged for twelve months, in consideration of receiving 6d. per day extra pay, are liable to lose 2½d. a day in the event of their being classed as second-class shots, although no such deduction was contemplated or agreed to at the time of signing on; and whether, in view of the fact that this deduction may be regarded as a breach of contract, he can amend the order regarding proficiency pay.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Extension of service from seven to eight years with the colours, whether in India or at Home, gave men a right to service pay, subject to their remaining efficient, and to their attaining such a standard in musketry as may be prescribed by regulation. The Class I. standard has been raised, in the interests of efficiency, both for service pay and proficiency pay, from that of second-class shot to first-class shot, and presumably the Indian Government will apply this rule in India as it will be applied in this country from the date of the next classification in musketry. This is within the discretion of the Army Council and involves no breach of contract. On the contrary, no standard has been set up for second-class pay, and men who are only third-class shots can earn the Class II. rate of 4d. for their full term of eight years. The difference between the two rates is 2d. and not 2½d.

Alterations in Pay, etc. of Staff Officers.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will specify the alterations which have been made during the present financial year as compared with the standard of 1905–6 in the salaries and emoluments of officers holding staff appointments.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The chief alterations of importance are as follows:—(1) The reorganisation of the staff of artillery commands which has been approved, includes the appointment of a lieutenant-colonel of general staff (at Aldershot) at a special rate of pay of £650 a year, instead of £550, the normal pay of that appointment. (2) Sanction has been obtained for raising the pay of assistant directors of supplies and transport (substantive colonels) from £750 to £900 a year. (3) The pay and allowances of the staff of the School of Musketry and of the assistant director, Army Veterinary Service, have been consolidated.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Reserve of Armour Plates.

*CAPTAIN FABER (Hampshire, Andover): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty at what ports in the United Kingdom are $\frac{3}{16}$-inch plates kept for repairing destroyers; and whether sufficient supplies of these plates for immediate repairs are now in stock at each one of the ports he names.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. LAMBERT, Devonshire, South Molton): As I informed the hon. and gallant Member on the 11th June, steps are being taken to secure an adequate reserve of these particular plates. In the meantime there are approximate sizes in stock at each of the Home Yards which can be utilised in lieu of the $\frac{3}{16}$-inch plates should the occasion arise.

Dockyard Old-age Pensions.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many employees recently engaged at Deptford, Chatham, Greenwich, Devonport, and Portsmouth have been discharged through old age; what has been the amount of weekly pension granted to them; whether he is aware that the allowance made to employees discharged through old age is so inadequate that many of the above have been compelled to apply for parochial relief; and, if so, whether he proposes to take any action in view of the letter and spirit of the House of Commons Resolution of 6th March, 1893.

MR. LAMBERT: It is estimated that during the six months ended 30th April last, some fifty established workmen were discharged from the home dockyards on reaching the age of sixty, with an average pension of about £45 a year. Very few dockyard pensioners are in receipt of parochial relief, and these few are men who have been discharged at a considerably earlier age than sixty. It is considered that the Resolution to which the hon. Member refers is being fully adhered to.

H.M.S. "King Edward VII."—Defective Rudder.

MR. LEA (St. Pancras, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty why the directors of the Ayrshire Foundry Company or the officials of that company, who were responsible, were not brought to trial for fraud for their conduct in supplying a defective rudder for H.M.S. "King Edward VII."; and, considering all the circumstances of the case as reported in paragraph 18 of the Report from the Public Accounts Committee, who is responsible at the Admiralty for the fact that a criminal prosecution was not instituted.

MR. SMEATON (Stirlingshire): At the same time may I ask the Secretary to the Admiralty why the manager of the Ayrshire Foundry Company has not been prosecuted for fraud in having supplied to the Admiralty the rudder for H.M.S. "King Edward VII.," which they knew to have a dangerous flaw, which flaw they concealed by a secret electric welding operation on a Sunday during the absence of the official inspector; and whether, in view of the recent disclosures regarding adulteration of cordite, the adulteration of canvas, and the secret commission paid by an Admiralty contractor to certain stewards for passing ready-made clothing, he will take steps to deal with such cases with the utmost severity permitted by the law.

MR. LAMBERT: The question of a prosecution was carefully considered, but the law officers of the Crown, under all the circumstances, advised against that course. The firm in question was immediately struck off the contractors' list, and the running contract cancelled. The Admiralty will certainly use all their legal powers to suppress and punish such malpractices.

MR. BELLOC (Salford, S.) asked whether the names of the directors of the company were to be given to the House.

MR. LAMBERT: The name of the company is stated in the Question and in the Report. I do not know the names of the directors.

MR. BELLOC asked whether the publication of the names would not act as a deterrent.

MR. LAMBERT: Anyone can find out the names of the directors of the Ayrshire Foundry Company.

Naval Contracts.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether his attention has been drawn to paragraph 10 of the Report from the Committee of Public Accounts; and whether he can give an assurance that in future the procedure followed in connection with the contracts for H.M.S. "Invincible," "Inflexible," and "Indomitable," for which, without Treasury sanction, no competitive tenders were invited, will not be repeated.

MR. LAMBERT: Treasury sanction will be invited should the occasion indicated in the Question arise.

MR. LEA: Who was responsible for this departure from the ordinary practice?

MR. LAMBERT: It was not during the tenure of the present Board of Admiralty.

Bribing Admiralty Officials.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether his attention has been drawn to paragraph 5 of the First Report from the Committee of Public Accounts issued on Saturday last; and what steps the Admiralty purpose taking to prevent a repetition of these offences, either by contractors to the Board of Admiralty or persons under the control of the Admiralty.

MR. LAMBERT: As regards employees of the Crown, the Admiralty are considering how best to emphasise the already stringent regulations forbidding such offences. The warning against bribery contained in the contract conditions has been made more clear. Any breach would result in the contractor being struck off the list, and other Departments would be informed of the delinquency. The Admiralty are determined, so far as is in their power, that these practices shall cease.

MR. LEA asked whether the contractors in this case had been prosecuted, or whether there was any intention to prosecute them.

MR. LAMBERT: No, Sir. This case occurred about two years ago.

Defective Ammunition.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty why the contractors who supplied the 6,000,000 rounds in 1900 and 1901, 5,000,000 of which were condemned in 1905, were not proceeded against in a court of law, with a view to recovering the loss which the public suffered, in accordance with the view expressed by the Public Accounts Committee in paragraph 24 of their Report; and who is responsible for the fact that no action has been taken.

MR. LAMBERT: It was considered that as the ammunition had passed inspection and proof and been accepted no claim could be sustained. There was no suggestion that the deterioration was due to fraudulent conduct on the part of the contractor.

Illegal Possession of Government Cartridges.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any steps have been taken by the Board to prosecute the general dealer at Portsmouth who was discovered to have in his stock 22,400 cartridges for use with the Morris tube, all of which were marked Government property; and if not, why, considering the advice given in paragraph 26 by the Committee of Public Accounts in their last-issued Report.

Mr. LAMBERT: The general dealer referred to was prosecuted by the police of Portsmouth, but the charge was dismissed as there was great doubt in the case, and the law officers of the Crown advised that fresh proceedings against the man would probably prove fruitless. A further case at Portsmouth is now being investigated. The accused man, who was also concerned in the previous case, should have appeared before the Portsmouth magistrates yesterday, but I understand that this man has committed suicide.

Closing of Coastguard Stations.

Major SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby): I beg to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty how many coastguard stations have been closed during the last two years; and in how many cases was there a lifeboat station or a rocket apparatus, or both, at the coastguard stations which have been closed.

Mr. LAMBERT: Seventy stations and detachments have been abolished since 1st April, 1905. At twenty-five of these stations and detachments there was a rocket apparatus. Lifeboats are not maintained at the coastguard stations, nor are they in charge of the coastguard; but there are lifeboats stationed at nineteen of the places where coastguard stations or detachments have been closed since the date mentioned.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): Are we to understand that the rocket apparatus is also abolished?

Mr. LAMBERT: The rocket apparatus is under the control of the Board of Trade.

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): Is it not a fact that the rocket apparatus is worked by the coastguard?

*Mr. LAMBERT: No, Sir, not entirely. The rocket apparatus is under the control of the Board of Trade, but by an arrangement with the latter Department it is placed in charge of the coastguard, where the costguard station is conveniently situated for the purpose.

Mr. CATHCART WASON: Will the hon. Member make inquiry into the matter?

Mr. LAMBERT: There is a Report now before the Board of Admiralty.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): Are we to understand that the rocket apparatus will be worked at these stations?

Mr. LAMBERT: The Board of Trade is responsible.

Major ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: Will they work the apparatus?

Mr. LAMBERT: The hon. Gentleman had better address that question to the President of the Board of Trade.

Major SEELY: Will the Report be laid upon the Table of the House?

Mr. LAMBERT: I cannot say that. It is being considered by the Admiralty.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): Are any more coastguard stations likely to be closed?

Mr. LAMBERT: A pledge was given by the Secretary to the Admiralty that no more stations should be closed until the House of Commons has considered the matter. That pledge will be strictly adhered to.

Machinery in Gibraltar Dockyard.

Sir WILLIAM BULL (Hammersmith): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the estimated cost of the machinery now housed at the Gibraltar dockyard; when it is proposed to set it up; and what sum is allotted in the 1907–8 Estimates for this service.

Mr. LAMBERT: Sufficient particulars are not available at the Admiralty to state what is the cost of the machinery now housed, but not erected, at Gibraltar dockyard. But if the hon. Member wishes, I will call for a report from Gibraltar, and communicate the information to him when received.

Quick-firing Guns at Gibraltar.

SIR WILLIAM BULL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the age and calibre of the quick-firing guns now lying unmounted on the shore at Gibraltar.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): There is no information in the War Office in regard to the quick-firing guns alleged in the Question to be lying on the shore at Gibraltar. I will inquire about the matter.

Government Officials and Contractors' Commissions.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, having regard to the fact that the Report from the Committee of Public Accounts shows that four stewards at one of the naval depots have been in the habit of receiving from the contractor a commission of 5 per cent. on all clothing examined, and that the Admiralty, in view of the contractor's statement that he thought it was the custom, have found it necessary to issue notices warning all employees against the acceptance of commissions, will he state whether it is clearly understood throughout the War Department that such practices are irregular; and, if not, will he consider the expediency of issuing similar notices.

MR. HALDANE: If my hon. friend will kindly refer to paragraph 419 of the King's Regulations, paragraph 94 of the Supply, Barrack, and Transport Services Regulations, paragraph 98 of the Army Ordnance Services Regulations, and paragraph 180 of the Engineer Services Regulations, he will find ample instructions in regard to the matters to which he alludes. There is also the usual clause in Army Contracts warning contractors of penalties in case they attempt to bribe. There are also the stringent provisions of the Prevention of Corruption Act of 1906.

Defective Shells.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can furnish any details regarding the bursting of a shell in a howitzer, whereby the howitzer was destroyed and men's lives jeopardised, at Lydd on Saturday last; and to what does he attribute the accident.

MR. HALDANE: A portion of the muzzle of an 8-inch R.M.L. howitzer was blown away at Lydd on the 29th ultimo (not on Saturday last), apparently by the premature explosion of a black powder filled common shell in the bore. No reason for the destruction of the howitzer can be assigned. Although formerly numerous prematures occurred with powder-filled shells, this is the first instance of any damage having been caused thereby to the howitzer.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY asked whether there was a defect in the shell such as had been complained of the other day.

MR. HALDANE: We have no reason to think so.

British Service Ammunition.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what are the tabular results of trials of British service ammunition and high-velocity ammunition such as is used abroad, on which the official statement is issued that at 1,100 yards range the velocity of the latter was considerably less than what was attained with British service ammunition.

MR. HALDANE: My hon. friend is apparently referring to a statement I made in debate in Committee on Army Estimates Vote 9, in which I inadvertently used the word "velocity" instead of "energy"; in regard to the "energy" of the Lee-Enfield bullet the statement would be quite accurate.

MR. BELLAIRS: Is it not the case, with regard to the substitution of energy for velocity, the energy is greater with the rifle bullet only after 1,400 yards has been reached?

MR. HALDANE: That has got to be proved.

Woolwich Arsenal Discharges.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham): On behalf of the hon. Member for Hoxton, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has made any inquiry and can give any computation of the number of women and children dependent for their food upon the 1,952 men of good service, extending from one to fifty-two years, discharged from the Ordnance Factory at Woolwich from 1st June, 1906, to 1st June, 1907; and, if not, will he make such inquiry and communicate the result to the House.

MR. HALDANE: In selecting men for discharge, regard is paid to all the circumstances of each man including any points concerning his family he may put forward, but no record has been kept of the number of women and children dependent on those discharged. I am not prepared to order the undertaking of such an inquiry; in many cases the information could not be obtained, and I am inclined to think that some would resent the investigation as inquisitorial.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR asked if records were kept of the circumstances in each individual case.

MR. HALDANE: No, Sir.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: When are the discharges to cease?

MR. HALDANE: I inquired this morning, and am glad to say that they are approaching a termination.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): We have been approaching the termination for five years. Is it not the fact that the last Government sacked or discharged 6,000 men and they said they were approaching the end of the dismissals? You have been forced to discharge many more, and surely the right hon. Gentleman can say when the minimum will be reached.

MR. HALDANE: The reason why I cannot say accurately is that the calculation of the minimum is a difficult and intricate matter, but it is very nearly determined now.

MR. MADDISON (Burnley): How many men have been discharged at Newcastle and Sheffield owing to the reduction in the demand for munitions of war?

MR. HALDANE: I cannot say.

MR. KING (Cheshire, Knutsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say how many men were discharged from Woolwich Arsenal during the period between the end of the war in South Africa and December, 1905; and how many have been discharged since that date.

MR. HALDANE: The number of men discharged at the Ordnance Factories in Woolwich Arsenal between 1st June, 1902, and 30th November, 1905, was 4,567, and between 1st December, 1905, and 22nd June, 1907, was 2,473. These numbers do not include men discharged for other reasons.

SIR J. RANDLES (Cumberland, Cockermouth) asked if the same type of men were being discharged by this Government as by the last. Was not the policy of the last Government only to discharge recent comers?

MR. HALDANE: When you are performing this painful duty you naturally discharge the men who have been with you the shortest time, but as time goes on the short-service men become exhausted and you have to deal with those of longer service.

The Militia.

MR. PIKE PEASE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, if he can now state if it is intended to reduce the number of Militia battalions; and, if so, which battalions are to be done away with.

MR. HALDANE: When the scheme for the Infantry of the Special Contingent comes into force there will be fifteen battalions of the Militia in Great Britain to be disposed of. These battalions would be dealt with as follows:—(1) By amalgamating the officers and men into the third battalions; or (2) by amalgamating the officers and men into the fourth battalions; or (3) by offering them transfers to the Territorial Army. Possibly a combination of all these methods might be adopted. It is not possible to say at present which Militia battalions will be dealt with as above.

Indian Tariff on British Beer.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether it is the intention of the Indian Government to impose an increased tariff on British beer entering India, the result of which will be that His Majesty's British troops in India and Burmah will have to pay an increased price for British beer.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE, Bristol, E.): The Indian Excise Committee have recommended that the existing Indian duty of one penny per gallon on beer (imported as well as locally produced) should be raised to twopence. The Government of India are considering the recommendation.

Whippings in India.

SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that judicial sentences of whipping in India are appealable, but that the sentences in such cases are carried out at once, before the appeal can be heard, and that in many cases injustice has followed from this procedure; and whether he can see his way to enjoining that such sentences when appealed against shall not be inflicted pending the hearing of the appeal.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Sentences of whipping are not ordinarily appealable when whipping is the sole punishment ordered. They are appealable only when passed by a magistrate of the second class specially empowered by the Local Government, and it is believed that this authority is seldom given, and only when a magistrate having superior powers is at hand to hear an appeal, if any is made. When whipping is ordered in addition to imprisonment in a case subject to appeal, the whipping is not inflicted until fifteen days from the date of the sentence, or, if an appeal is made within that time, until the sentence is confirmed by the Appellate Court. As the hon. Gentleman is aware, the whole subject has been for some time under the Secretary of State's consideration.

SIR H. COTTON: Have there not been cases of scandalous injustice in which the whippings have been inflicted pending the appeal which has been allowed after the whipping has been carried out?

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I am not aware of any such scandalous cases, and shall be glad if the hon. Member will draw my attention to any.

SIR HENRY COTTON: I can assure the hon. Gentleman there have been many.

Nairobi Gaol—Prison Treatment of Europeans.

MR. LEA: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies with regard to the sentences passsed on Mr. Grogan and other Europeans concerned in the flogging of natives at Nairobi, whether they spent their term of imprisonment in the native gaol; whether sentence was passed about ten o'clock in the morning, when the prisoners were removed to a portion of the gaol, the only one in Nairobi, which had been divided from the rest of the prison; whether the same evening, Mr. Jackson, the acting Commissioner, arranged that the prisoners should be taken to some rooms above the police station which had been specially cleared for them, but the prisoners elected to remain in gaol for that night; whether a bungalow, situated in the best residential part of the town, which had just become unoccupied, was rented by the Government for the detention of Mr. Grogan and his companions until their sentences expired; whether he is aware that the prisoners had all their meals sent in from one of the hotels or the Travellers' Club; that they were allowed to smoke, while friends and relatives were permitted to visit them daily; will he explain why these lapses from prison discipline were allowed to occur, and who is the official responsible; and what action has been taken in the matter by the Colonial Office.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): The facts are as stated by the hon. Member. The Acting Commissioner is the officer responsible for the treatment of these persons while in prison. The reason which he gives for removing them from the ordinary gaol was that it had been medically condemned as insanitary for Europeans. In these circumstances the Secretary of State considers that their removal was justified; and he does not consider it necesary to express any opinion on the subsequent relaxations of prison discipline, which are matters which must be left to the discretion of the responsible officer on the spot.

Sir J. JARDINE (Roxburghshire): Why is this preferential treatment accorded to Mr. Grogan?

Mr. CHURCHILL said there was a good deal of feeling between the official and non-official European classes in the Protectorate. They had consistently adopted the policy of supporting our officers on the spot in their administration of the law. If our officers had found it possible and advantageous to make some relaxations of prison discipline with a view to producing a better state of opinion, he thought full discretionary power should be given them.

Mr. LEA: Does the right hon Gentleman think this relaxation of the rules——

*Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order! That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. LEA: Is such relaxation usual in the case of prisoners confined for flogging natives?

Mr. CHURCHILL: I do not think any white prisoner has been recently confined for flogging natives. A very severe example has been made of this case, and I now consider this matter must be left to the discretion of the local authorities.

An HON. MEMBER asked whether Mr. Grogan was still a magistrate, and whether it would not be better to remove this "Daniel come to judgment."

Mr. CHURCHILL said he was not discharging his magisterial functions now.

Slavery on the Zanzibar Slip.

Mr. PIKE PEASE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can now make a definite statement as to the abolition of the legal *status* of slavery on the Zanzibar slip; and whether he will state why it is necessary to spend so large a sum as £40,000 to attain that object.

Mr. CHURCHILL: The Report referred to in the Answer which I gave to the hon. Member for the Forest of Dean on the 5th of June† has arrived this morning, and I hope to be able in a few days to make a definite statement. The sum of £40,000 is the amount which it is estimated will be required as compensation to owners of slaves for loss occasioned by their emancipation.

Transvaal Loan.

Mr. GRETTON (Rutland): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer when he intends to introduce the Bill guaranteeing the issue of the short-dated security of the Transvaal Government.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.): No Bill relating to the loan can be introduced until the Transvaal Parliament has passed the necessary legislation. It is therefore impossible to fix any date.

Mr. GRETTON asked if the sanction of Parliament would be asked this session.

Mr. ASQUITH: Certainly.

Ascot Race Meeting—Police Expenses.

Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Durham, Barnard Castle): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many members of the Metropolitan Police were detailed for duty at Ascot Heath during the recent race meeting; what the total cost of their maintenance, including pay, expenses of horses, etc., was; and to what fund is the amount charged.

*The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.): The number of police doing duty at Ascot Heath during the recent race meeting was:—On the 18th inst., 649; on the 19th, 580; on the 20th, 746; and on the 21st, 530. Of these numbers, 510, 467, 575, and 417 employed in maintaining order on the course on the respective race days were paid for, as I said in answer to a similar Question last year, by various private persons; the remainder attended at the cost of the Police Fund. Nineteen mounted men were sent; these, with all the horses, being paid for by private persons. I am not yet in a position to state the total cost, as the accounts have not yet been audited; but the amount will be approximately £1,400, of which some £200 will fall on the Metropolitan Police Fund.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxv., 665.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON: Do we understand that the ratepayers of the metropolis will be called upon to find £200 for the attendance of the police at a race meeting outside the metropolitan area?

*MR. GLADSTONE: The Metropolitan Police Fund will bear the cost of the police necessitated by the presence of the King, and of the police who have to look after that portion of the criminal population of London which attends race meetings.

Cab Drivers' Whips.

MR. SOARES (Devon, Barnstaple): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that the points of most of the whips used by London cabdrivers are made of gutta-percha instead of whip-cord; whether severe punishment can be inflicted on a horse by the use of such whips, and whether he will instruct the London police to take proceedings against all drivers guilty of cruelty in this respect.

MR. GLADSTONE: I understand that large numbers of cabdrivers and carmen use gutta-percha or cat-gut points to their whips, the reason being that such material does not fray like whip-cord. I am not prepared to say that the proper use of such a whip involves cruelty; the police would at once intervene if unmerciful treatment of horses in any form came to their notice.

Butterley Tunnel.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he has now received a Report from the Board of Trade inspector on the condition of the Butterley tunnel and the complaints of traders regarding it; whether he can state if he proposes to take any action in consequence of the Report, either regarding the tunnel itself or regarding the Midland Railway Bill now before Parliament; and whether he intends to lay the Report of the inspector upon the Table of the House.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. KEARLEY, Devonport): Yes, Sir; the Report has been received, and will be laid upon the Table. Sir William Matthews is of opinion that the cost of maintaining a navigable channel through the Butterley tunnel would be out of all proportion to the use which would be made of such through communication, and that the arrangements proposed by the railway company for securing a supply of water may be accepted, provided that the company are required always to maintain a depth sufficient for barges drawing three feet. The Board of Trade therefore suggest that the Midland Railway Company's Bill at present before the House should not be withheld from the consideration of a Committee.

St. Asaph Rural District—Dr. Roberts' Report.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that Dr. J. Lloyd Roberts, of Colwyn Bay, county medical officer of health, when recently submitting his annual Report at a meeting of the district council of St. Asaph, North Wales, was requested to amend it; and will he state whether a local authority has the right to insist on a medical officer of health withdrawing statements which he has thought proper to make in his annual Report in regard to the sanitary condition of a district under his supervision.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I am informed that, in the opinion of the St. Asaph Rural District Council, the Report was inaccurate and incomplete, and that the medical officer of health has been asked further to consider it, and to submit it at the next meeting of the council. I am not fully acquainted with the circumstances of the present case, but speaking generally, it does not appear to me that a district council can insist on the withdrawal by the medical officer of health of statements in his annual Report in regard to the sanitary condition of the district under his supervision.

Colwyn Bay Refuse Destructor.

MR. MORTON (Sutherland): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will state the cause of delay in the construction of a destructor by the local authority at Colwyn Bay; and whether arrangements will be made for the destruction of offensive materials to be carried on at a greater distance from the town during the holiday season.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I have no information on this subject, but I will communicate with the district council with regard to it.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): Is there any justification for these repeated inroads of the Picts and Scots into the sacred soil of Wales?

Valuation Bill.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board when he proposes to introduce the Valuation Bill promised by His Majesty's Ministers.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I am afraid I cannot make any statement on the subject at the present time.

Underground Telegraph Wires at Edinburgh.

MR. C. E. PRICE (Edinburgh, Central): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he has come to any agreement with the corporation of the city of Edinburgh as to the streets to be used for the underground telegraphic system through the city; and, if so, can he state the nature of the agreement.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I regret that notwithstanding every effort on my part I have not yet been able to come to any agreement with the corporation. I am advised that the direct route along Princes Street is quite practicable, and I shall be glad of any assistance the hon. Member may be able to give in expediting a settlement of the difficulty.

Inspection of Welsh Intermediate Schools.

MR. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS (Carmarthen District): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he has come to an arrangement with the Central Welsh Board whereby the dual inspection of intermediate schools in Wales which has been condemned by Welsh educationists and schoolmasters shall cease; and, if so, what is the arrangement.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): I am aware of the serious objections to the present system of dual inspection, and I hope means may be found to put an end to it, but I am not yet in a position to make any statement on the subject.

Teaching the Welsh Language.

MR. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he has considered the suggestions made to the Board by Welsh educationists relating to the teaching of Welsh in the training colleges of Wales; and, if so, what decision he has arrived at.

MR. MCKENNA: A new regulation will be inserted requiring that "in training colleges in Wales provision must be made for the teaching of Welsh." The effect of this will be that there must be on the staff of every training college in Wales at least one person competent to teach Welsh. It has also been arranged that students may obtain on their ordinary certificate on leaving the college a mention of the fact that they have passed a satisfactory examination in elementary Welsh or, where this is the case, have obtained a mark of distinction in the Welsh language.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman send a copy of that Answer to the Irish Secretary.

MR. MCKENNA: Yes, Sir.

The Education Bill.

MR. KING: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education if it is intended to proceed this session with the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill; and if he can say when the Second Reading will be taken.

MR. MCKENNA: Yes; certainly, it is proposed to proceed with this Bill, but I cannot yet say when the Second Reading will be taken.

Grants for Pupil Teachers.

Mr. BRIDGEMAN (Shropshire, Oswestry): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education when the grants due for the instruction given to pupil teachers in the year ending 1st July, 1906, will be paid over to the local authorities; and what is the cause of the delay.

Mr. McKENNA: The great bulk of the pupil teacher grants for the year ending 31st July, 1906, were paid before the conclusion of the last financial year. The delay in the payment of any of these grants which may still be outstanding is probably due to correspondence as to the fulfilment of the conditions precedent to the payment of the grants.

Alcoholic Patent Medicines.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether official tests are made of patent medicines offered to the public as to the amount of alcohol which they contain: whether there is any limit to its use in patent medicines; if so, what is it; and what penalties are attached to misuse.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Runciman, Dewsbury): Perhaps I may be permitted to answer this Question. Samples of medicines are from time to time tested at the Government Laboratory, in order to ascertain whether they are sufficiently medicated to be entitled to the privilege of sale without a spirit licence. There is no limit to the use of alcohol, but in every case there must be sufficient medication to secure that the preparation cannot be vended as a beverage. The sale as a medicine of any article not entitled to be regarded as a medicine would subject the offender to the penalties applicable to the unauthorised sale of spirits.

Supplementary Estimates.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury for what Services Supplementary Estimates are to be presented during the present session.

Mr. RUNCIMAN: It is impossible to say at present.

The Public Trustee.

Mr. MICKLEM (Hertfordshire, Watford): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether any steps are being taken to constitute the office of Public Trustee under the Public Trustee Act of 1906.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir John Walton, Leeds, S.): This is a matter which comes within the province of the Lord Chancellor, with whom I have communicated, and who has authorised me to make this reply. It is considered necessary to have a public trustee in being three months before the Act comes into operation, so that the necessary office arrangements may be made. With this in view communications have passed with Mr. C. J. Stewart, some time Official Receiver in the Companies (Winding Up) Department of the Board of Trade, and afterwards clerk to the County Council. It is intended to appoint him in October next, and meanwhile he is acting with a committee to advise in the constitution of the office and staff under the Act of 1906.

American Gooseberry Mildew.

Mr. LAURENCE HARDY (Kent, Ashford): I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture; whether, in view of the fact that outbreaks of the American gooseberry mildew in its highly infectious summer stage have occurred within the last few days in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Norfolk, and that this disease, which is described in the Board's recent circular as having rendered the culture of gooseberries unprofitable and practically impossible wherever it has appeared, spreads with great rapidity by the spores produced in this stage, the Board will place the outbreaks under the charge of one or more properly qualified mycologists to supervise the carrying out of those measures necessary to secure the eradication of the disease.

The TREASURER of the HOUSEHOLD (Sir Edward Strachey, Somersetshire, S.): The Destructive Insects and Pests Bill, which will I hope receive the Royal Assent in a few days, imposes on the local authorities the duty of taking the necessary steps to prevent the spread of this disease, but the Board will gladly supply any information and assistance which it is in their power to afford. An inspector has been instructed to go down to Norfolk in order to arrange for the destruction of the affected bushes and the disinfection of the gardens. Similar precautions are being adopted in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire.

Island of Lewis Medical Officer.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland, having regard to the fact that the Local Government Board for Scotland in their Report last year expressed the opinion that it was not possible for the duties attaching to the office of chief district medical officer in the Island of Lewis to be discharged by any one resident in Dingwall, will he state what steps have been taken by the Board to ensure the appointment, vacated some time since by Dr. Macrae, of Stornoway, being filled by a medical officer resident in the island.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): I have no official information, but I understand the District Committee is to meet shortly in order to appoint a successor to Dr. Macrae.

Irish Dairy Instructors.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether his atttention has been called to the appointment of Mr. Carroll, a son to an official under the Department, as instructor in dairying under the Department; whether his duties consist of inspecting creameries and instructing creamery managers in the technical side of their business, and what are his qualifications and experience; and, in view of the fact that experienced Irish creamery managers have been hitherto appointed to these positions, will he explain why the Department made an exception in this case.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR IRELAND (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.): Along with five others Mr. Carroll was some time ago appointed for one season to act as instructor in dairying. Amongst other duties he will be required to inspect creameries and instruct creamery managers. Mr. Carroll has studied dairying at the Midland Agricultural and Dairy Institute, Kingston, as well as at the Ladelund Agricultural School in Denmark. He is son of Professor Carroll, who has been inspector of agriculture and dairying and superintendent of the Albert Institute, Glasnevin, successively under the Commissioners of National Education and the Department. The appointment to these posts is not confined to any one class, and I understand Mr. Carroll was chosen on his technical knowledge of the subject, his special knowledge of machinery, and the personal qualifications required in those who are entrusted with these posts.

Dairy Management.

MR. HALPIN (Clare, W.): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) whether, considering the importance of the dairy industry of Ireland, he will instruct the Department of Agriculture to compile a pamphlet containing all the available information on the breeding and management of dairy cows, something similar to, but more comprehensive than, those issued by the Cornell University of New York and the Dairy Commissioners of Canada.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The Department understand that the pamphlets and reports issued by the Ministry of Agriculture for Canada and the Agriculture Department, Cornell University, comprise the results of experiments carried out by those authorities on the feeding and management of dairy cattle and particulars of a scheme for the improvement of dairy herds. The Department have in operation a scheme for the improvement of dairy herds, and are also carrying out experiments in the feeding of dairy cattle. As these experiments are not complete it would not be advisable to issue a Report at this stage. The Department have already issued leaflets dealing with the rearing and management of stock.

Land Purchase Rules.

MR. GINNELL (Westmeath, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland, in view of complaints as to the effects of the rules, forms, and instructions in use in connection with rent fixing, and the danger to the purchasers and to the ratepayers of basing prices upon rents considered inequitable, will he advise a revision of those rules, forms, and instructions, and especially the annual and capital value of the landlord's property and of the tenant-right or occupation interest and improvements to be separately ascertained and set forth in every case; and, if not, will he state the objection to such revision.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. CHERRY, Liverpool, Exchange): The rules, forms, and instructions referred to in the Question have been prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Land Law Acts, and have, when made, been presented to Parliament in accordance with the statutes. I have no jurisdiction whatever in regard to these rules. The matter rests entirely with the Land Commission.

Edenderry School, Portadown.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the residence connected with Edenderry national school, Portadown, county Armagh, was built for the benefit of the teacher; if the money advanced by the Board of Works was solely for a teacher's residence, and does the teacher derive any benefit directly or indirectly from it; how much interest and ground rent is paid per annum; and how much rent does the present tenant pay, and to whom does the profit rent go.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): The house in question was built as a teacher's residence partly from funds obtained from local sources and partly by means of a loan of £250 obtained from the Board of Works on the recommendation of the Commissioners of National Education. The house is not now occupied by the teacher, but, as I have already stated, the teacher is at liberty to use it, if he should desire to do so. The Commissioners have ascertained from the local trustees, in whom ownership is vested, that the house is at present let at £35 per annum. Of this sum £5 5s. is paid in ground rent, £12 10s. in repayment of the Board of Works' loan, and £12 in repayment of a loan of £300 obtained from other sources. The balance of £5 5s. is expended on the upkeep of premises, and any sum which may remain is paid over to the teacher. I am inquiring into the general question of the conditions upon which the Board of Works make loans in such cases.

Irish Evicted Tenants.

MR. GINNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what do the Government propose to do for the families of evicted tenants in Ireland whose claims are morally and legally good, but who, owing to the death or exile of male members consequent on eviction, are, in the opinion of the Estates Commissioners, not suitable to receive holdings.

MR. BIRRELL: It does not appear to have been intended by the Act of 1903 that evicted tenants should be compensated in money for the loss of their farms, but rather that such of them as were able to work land should, if possible, be provided with suitable farms. The only funds at the disposal of the Estates Commissioners for assisting evicted tenants is the Reserve Fund, upon which the Commissioners can draw, in the case of the sale of an estate, for the benefit or improvement of the estate or generally for the purposes of the Act. In the opinion of the Commissioners, these words would not cover grants of money to evicted tenants who are not in occupation of land on any estate, and whom it is not proposed to put in occupation of any such land.

MR. GINNELL: Can nothing be done for families of this description?

MR. BIRRELL: At the present moment I am unable to give a definite Answer.

Irish Congested Districts.

MR. GINNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it has yet been decided to present to this House, or make available for public use, statistics for other counties corresponding to those already published for Donegal; and, if so, will he consider favourably the desirability of adding the area of untenanted and non-residential land.

Mr. BIRRELL: I have already informed the hon. Member that it is the intention of the Royal Commission on Congestion to present statistics for the other counties of Ireland which contain scheduled congested districts, similar to those already presented in regard to Donegal. The question whether like statistics relating to non-congested counties should be published has not yet been decided by the Commission. It is not proposed to include in these statistics the area of untenanted land. A full return of untenanted land in each county in Ireland was presented to this House last year at the instance of the hon. Member.

Extra Police Rates in County Cork.

Mr. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the districts of Glashakinleen and Rockchapel, Kanturk rural district, county Cork, are compelled to pay a rate for extra police of 4¼d. in the £, though there has not been a single outrage, agrarian or otherwise, committed in either district for a considerable period; and whether, in view of the peaceable condition of the entire locality, the people will be relieved of the payment of the extra police tax.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the constabulary authorities can explain why a police hut and a force of one sergeant and three constables have been established on the farm of Mr. Owen Daly, near Meelin, county Cork; are they aware that this farm was sold by order of the recorder of the East Riding and purchased by Mr. Daly at public auction, but that, owing to the money having been paid to the then registrar of the court, Mr. Tristam Curry, who has since absconded, Daly has not yet got full legal possession of the holding, to his great loss and inconvenience; and whether, in view of the fact that Mr. Daly is popular in the district, that this police protection is personally most distasteful to him, and has communicated with District Inspector O'Neill, asking him to instruct the policemen not to accompany him to fairs and markets, this police force will be transferred to other duty, and the district relieved of the payment of an extra rate of 8¾d. in the £.

Mr. BIRRELL: The two districts named are assessed with a tax for extra police amounting to 7¼d. in the £. The extra force consists of three men of the reserve who are required for the constant protection of Mr. Owen Daly. It is the fact that no serious outrage has been committed in the locality during the past twelve months, but in the opinion of the police authorities, who are responsible for the preservation of the peace, it is absolutely necessary to afford constant protection to Mr. Daly. The police are stationed on his farm with his consent, and he has not applied for their withdrawal. In present circumstances it is not possible to relieve the locality from the charge for extra police.

Mr. FLYNN: Is the right hon. Gentlemen aware that Mr. Daly does everything possible to escape from his police escorts?

Mr. BIRRELL: It is the fact, I am glad to say, that Mr. Daly himself is personally very popular in the district. He naturally dislikes being accompanied to the various markets by the police, as this interferes with him in the transaction of business: but nevertheless it is a fact that there are some few people in the locality who entertain feelings of strong disapprobation, and it is not the fact that Mr. Daly desires that the police protection should be withdrawn.

Mr. MOORE (Armagh, N.): Are the people who threaten him members of the United Irish League?

Mr. BIRRELL: I know nothing about that.

Kilmeedy Schools.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the Commissioners of National Education in a letter, dated 3rd January, 1906, to the manager of the national schools at Kilmeedy, in the county of Limerick, stated that they proposed to alter rule 194 of their rules, so that they may be empowered to award grants towards building school-houses for separate boys' and girls' schools, where an average attendance of thirty-five pupils is maintained in each school; and, if so, can he say what action they have taken or intend to take in the matter.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say whether the Commissioners of National Education intend to devote any of the £40,000 voted for school buildings in Ireland to the building of separate boys' and girls' schools at Kilmeedy, in the county of Limerick; and, if so, when may it be available.

I beg further to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say when will the £40,000 for national school buildings in Ireland be available for the building of new schools in places where the old buildings have been condemned by the inspectors; what are the conditions for obtaining this grant; and whether they have been declared to be realised by the Commissioners of National Education in their letter of the 3rd January, 1906, to the manager of the Kilmeedy schools in the case of the schools there; and, if so, whether a grant will be given to him, and when.

MR. BIRRELL: I will answer these three Questions together. It is the fact that the Commissioners wrote to the manager to the effect stated in the first Question, but they also subsequently informed him that their proposal to alter the rule had not received the necessary sanction. The Commissioners, therefore, have no power to make a building grant for separate boys' and girls' schools unless the average attendance of each sex is fifty or upwards. This condition is not fulfilled in the case of the Kilmeedy schools. The £40,000 for national school buildings in Ireland is now available, and the conditions under which building grants are made are fully stated in the Commissioners' rules, to which I would refer the hon. Member.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: Does not the right hon. Gentleman think it desirable in the interests of education itself to alter this rule, and will he use his influence with the Commissioners of Education to bring that about?

MR. BIRRELL: I cannot say that I think that is desirable. The number fifty is not unreasonable on the whole.

Boyton Estate, County Donegal.

MR. C. MACVEIGH (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can say what is the cause of the delay in completing the sale to the tenants on the Boyton estate, near Convoy, county Donegal, who entered into an agreement to purchase their holdings over two years ago, and are still paying the old rent to the receiver; and whether he will call the attention of the Estates Commissioners to the tenants' loss in the matter.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners inform me that the purchase agreements in respect of this estate were lodged in December, 1905, and the case will be dealt with in its order of priority. In the meantime rent is not payable, but interest in lieu of rent is being collected.

M'Mahon Estate, Quilty, County Clare.

MR. HALPIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the police at Mullagh and Quilty stations, West Clare, are herding twenty-seven head of cattle, night and day, on the M'Mahon property, near Quilty, leaving the supervision of the remainder of their respective districts to the people themselves; and, if so, whether he will give instructions to the police authorities to have those men withdrawn from this herding so that the landlord should employ herdsmen to look after those cattle, and have the police attend to their proper functions.

MR. BIRRELL: I am informed that police patrols visit a grazing farm on the M'Mahon estate for the protection both of the cattle on the farm and of the herdsman who has been threatened. It is not the case that the police act as herdsmen. The performance of their duty of affording the necessary protection in this case does not prevent them from performing their other duties in the district.

Police and the Grazing Disputes.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the number of cases of driving of stock off farms in certain districts in Ireland, he will issue a circular from Dublin Castle instructing tenants of grazing farms as to the best mode of protecting their property in accordance with the views of the Chief Commissioner of Police.

MR. BIRRELL: The Answer is in the negative, for the reason stated in my reply to the hon. and learned Member for North Armagh on the 17th instant.†

Ballinaglera Boycotting Cases.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a man named Brady, caretaker on a farm at Ballinaglera, county Leitrim, is so rigorously boycotted that he has to travel twenty-six miles to the village of Dromahair to obtain the bare necessities of life; whether he is aware that early on 18th June he was assaulted and his donkey and cart taken from him; whether any arrests have been made; and, if so, whether either the Attorney-General or the Solicitor-General will prosecute in the case in person.

MR. BIRRELL: On the 17th instant two men were arrested upon the charge of assaulting Martin Brady, a son of the caretaker referred to in the Question, and stealing from him a donkey which he was riding. The accused were on the same day taken before the magistrates, who, by a majority, refused to receive informations and return the accused for trial. My right hon. friend the Attorney-General for Ireland has since considered the evidence in the case, and has directed that a Bill against the accused shall be sent up at the next Assizes. He will consider the suggestion of the hon. and gallant Member as to prosecuting in person, but he cannot undertake to do so in the case of every agrarian offence.

Derrinlough Grazing Farm Dispute.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a grazing farm at Derrinlough, midway between Cloghan and Birr, King's County, occupied by a Mr. Parsons, of Shinrone, was cleared of all its stock on the 18th June; whether the police have any information on the subject; whether any arrests were made; and, if so, whether either the Attorney-General or the Solicitor-General will prosecute in the case in person.

MR. BIRRELL: This Question refers to the same case as that about which the hon. Member for Mid-Armagh put a Question on Thursday last.‡ No arrests were made, but proceedings by summons are being taken against several persons with the object of requiring them to find sureties to keep the peace and be of good behaviour. The Crown solicitor is in charge of the proceedings.

MR. MOORE: Were these proceedings instituted under the Act of Edward III.?

MR. BIRRELL: I dare say they were.

Mr. Hopkins' Ballybrophy Estate.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether negotiations for sale to the tenants of the estate of Mr. Hopkins, Blackhall, county Kildare, situated near Errill, Ballybrophy, Queen's County, are pending before the Estates Commissioners; whether he is aware that Mr. Joseph Mole, who held the farms of Park and Lyrogue upon the eleven months system up to 1904, has for the purpose of sale to him been made a yearly tenant of those farms; and whether, in view of the fact that this land is required for the enlargement of small holdings and the settlement of evicted tenants in the locality, the Estates Commissioners propose to sanction the sale to Mr. Mole.

MR. BIRRELL: Purchase agreements in respect of the estate mentioned were lodged with the Estate Commissioners in July, 1905. The agreements include one by Joseph Mole for the purchase of a farm held by him as yearly tenant under a tenancy created in April, 1905. The question of making an advance to Mole will be duly considered by the Commissioners when they come to deal with the estate.

Doon Evicted Tenant.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether a grant in money or kind was made to Mr. P. Kilbride, of Toomaline, Doon, county Limerick, by the Estates Commissioners; and, if so, how much; whether Kilbride is a reinstated evicted tenant; and, if so, will he give particulars of when and why he was evicted.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxxvi., 126.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, clxxvi., 626.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners have sanctioned a free grant of £180 for stock and £20 for buildings to Patrick Kilbride, who has been reinstated in a holding of 113 acres on the Wilkinson estate from which he was evicted in 1889 for non-payment of rent.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: Will steps be taken to see that the stock is not sold to pay this man's debts?

MR. BIRRELL: The Commissioners will take such steps as they can. Considering the general character of this tenant I am glad he is reinstated.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: Has not the stock been already sold?

MR. BIRRELL: I must ask for notice.

Mayo County Council Chairmanship.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Goverment Board have decided between the rival claimants to the position of chairman of the Mayo County Council; and who is the rightful holder of that office.

MR. BIRRELL: I have already stated that the Local Government Board have no power to decide the question which the hon. Member raises. The question is a purely legal one, and could only be finally decided by a Court of law.

Killoran Branch, United Irish League.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the report of a special meeting of the Killoran branch of the United Irish League, signed by two secretaries of the branch, containing a recommendation by a county councillor that the members should ignore British law altogether and stand loyally by the laws of the United Irish League; and whether he intends to take any action in this matter.

MR. BIRRELL: My attention has now been called to a newspaper report to the effect mentioned in the Question. Mr. Cawley, the person who is said to have made the recommendation referred to, is not a county councillor. No action appears to be called for. I have no reason to suppose that the supremacy of the law will be endangered by Mr. Cawley's remarks, assuming that he made any.

Distribution of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. LONSDALE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what was the total number of the statutory free establishment of constabulary distributed by Order in Council on the occasion of the last redistribution of the force among counties and county boroughs; whether the constabulary authorities are of opinion that the number so distributed is adequate to existing demands and requirements in Ireland; whether there is power to increase the establishment of police in the absence of the proclamation of counties and baronies under the provisions of the Act 6 Will. 4, c. 13; and, if not, whether he will consider, in consultation with the constabulary authorities, the question of the propriety of recommending the Lord-Lieutenant to give effect to the provisions of this Act by the issue of proclamations declaring certain counties or portions of counties to be in a state of disturbance necessitating the employment of extra forces of police.

MR. BIRRELL: The total number of the free force of the Royal Irish Constabulary, as fixed by Order in Council of 18th May 1906, is 8,553. I am not prepared to make any statement upon the matters referred to in the remainder of the Question beyond saying that the Government will take all proper measures for employing extra police in those districts in which their services may become necessary.

Athenry Disturbance.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received particulars of the midnight affray between the police and a disorderly crowd at Athenry on Thursday last; and whether any of the rioters were arrested.

MR. BIRRELL: I have received a police report of the disturbance at Athenry on the night of the 20th instant. Two persons who were identified as being disorderly on the occasion are being summoned to find sureties to keep the peace.

Athenry Cattle-Driving Prosecution.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, whether he is aware that, at the hearing of a charge of cattle-driving against nine men before the Athenry Petty Sessions Court on Friday, the solicitor for the defence contended that it was not the duty of the constabulary to protect any man's cattle, and laid stress on the statement of the Chief Secretary that it was the duty of these people to make some attempt to protect their own property; whether a majority of the magistrates dismissed the case; and what further action he proposes to take in this matter.

MR. BIRRELL: According to the newspaper reports of this case, the solicitor for the defence did not suggest that it was not the duty of the constabulary to afford protection, but said he was not aware that it was their duty to act as herds. Seeing that the constabulary do not act as herds, the solicitor's comment has no particular force. It is the fact that the majority of the magistrates refused information in the case referred to. The question whether further proceedings should be taken will be considered by my right hon. friend the Attorney-General for Ireland in due course.

MR. MOORE: Why does the right hon. Gentleman in some cases accept newspaper reports and in others reject them?

MR. BIRRELL: I cannot say.

Skibbereen Smuggling Case.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Dutch ketch "Cosmopolite" was recently seized by H.M.S. "Skipjack" for smuggling, and that the charge was heard at Skibbereen, county Cork, petty sessions on 13th June last, and dismissed by the local bench of magistrates; whether he is aware that, on first being brought before a Court, when a remand was granted, two magistrates only were in attendance, Captain H. Townsend and Mr. B. R. Purdon, R.M., and that the solicitor for the defence, Mr. J. Travers Wolfe, had canvassed a number of justices of the peace to attend, one of whom, Mr. W. Wood Wolfe, was a relation of his; whether he is aware that another magistrate, Dr. Jennings, although dispensary doctor and acting, as well, as *locum tenens* in another dispensary district, attended specially for six hours at the trial; will he say whether the "Cosmopolite" has been released, and, if not, is it in consequence of any irregularity at the trial; and what action the Government intend to take.

MR. BIRRELL: I understand that the facts are as stated in the first part of the Question. The prosecution was not instituted by the police, but by the Customs authorities, and any inquiry upon the subject should be addressed by my hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury who answers for the Customs. So far as the alleged canvassing of magistrates is concerned, I may say that the police have no knowledge that any such canvassing took place.

Irish Protestant National School Teachers.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to resolutions passed by the Irish Protestant National Teachers' Union, with reference to the power of managers to dismiss teachers without assigning a reason; and whether he intends to take any action in the matter.

MR. BIRRELL: My attention has been directed to these resolutions, and I propose that the first of them should be communicated to the Commissioners of National Education with an expression of the Irish Government's opinion that, if it is at all possible, effect should be given to the desire of these teachers for some protection against arbitrary dismissal.

Land Law (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he proposes to give notice without delay of the Amendments to the Land Law (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill, which now stands next in order on the list of Standing Committee B.

MR. BIRRELL: I have nothing to add to the reply that I gave to the hon. Baronet's previous Question on this subject, namely, that if the Government should decide to propose any Amendments to this Bill due notice will be given.

De Burge Bateson Estate Evicted Tenants.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say on what grounds the Estates Commissioners have decided not to take any action in reference to the case of the representatives of Mr. Cowhey, deceased, late of Ballinaguile, Croagh, in the county of Limerick, evicted tenant on the De Burge Bateson estate; and whether, having regard to the fact that there are five boys and two girls of deceased, unmarried, living on the home farm of 100 acres, he will take steps to see that their case is dealt with on its merits, so that some untenanted land on the Dickson Power estate may be given to one of them.

MR. BIRRELL: The Estates Commissioners have decided to take no special action in this case because the holding in which reinstatement is sought has been sold under the Land Purchase Acts to the occupying tenant, and the applicants are already in possession of a farm of 100 acres. Moreover, the applicants father is stated to have surrendered the holding from which the applicants allege he was evicted. If, however, the Commissioners should acquire the Dickson Power estate they will be prepared to consider any fresh application which may be made to them. I have no power to direct the Commissioners in the matter.

Boyle Local Inquiry.

MR. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the Local Government Board for Ireland have given notice that one of their inspectors will hold an inquiry, on 2nd July, 1907, on a petition forwarded by certain ratepayers in Boyle to constitute that township an urban sanitary authority; if he is aware that the notice was only received on 19th June, and that there is no meeting, either of the Roscommon County Council or the Boyle District Council, to be held between the date of notice being received and that on which the inquiry is to be held; if, seeing that both these bodies are interested in the matter to be inquired into, he will see that the inquiry be adjourned to a date that will give these bodies an opportunity of considering the course they should adopt in the interests of the ratepayers they represent; and if he will take steps to secure that the Local Government Board shall consult these bodies as to a convenient date for the inquiry.

MR. BIRRELL: The Local Government Board gave the usual statutory notice of this inquiry. The Board have since received from the county and rural districts councils a request that the inquiry may be postponed, and in reply have informed these bodies that the inspector will attend and formally open the inquiry on the date fixed, and will then adjourn it to any date which may be arranged to suit the convenience of the parties concerned.

Limavady Post Office.

MR. BARRIE (Londonderry, N.): On behalf of the hon. Member for South Down, I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether in the event of the Limavady post office being placed under Derry, the salaries of any of the Derry officials would be increased; whether the Derry postal officials are supporting the proposed change; and whether he can state the receipts of the Limavady office for each of the past ten years.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I cannot say at present precisely to what extent, if any, the work, and consequently the salaries, at the Londonderry office might be ultimately affected by making Limavady subordinate to Londonderry. The Londonderry officials have not been consulted as to the change, which is in no way the result of any suggestion on their part. The existing staff at Limavady will retain their present scale unless they prefer transfer to another office. The postmaster's salary also remains the same. There has been some increase of work at the office during the last few years, but last year showed a falling off. As I have already stated the change will in no way impair the postal facilities of the district including the Scottish and English mails, but on the contrary, will increase the efficiency of the local service.

Warrenpoint and Carlingford Postmasters.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General the length of service and qualifications of the postmasters recently appointed to Warrenpoint and Carlingford respectively.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Neither of the persons appointed to the two sub-post offices named had any experience of post office work; but both were regarded as the most eligible of the available candidates.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: And in order to appoint these two men were thirty other officials with sterling qualifications passed over so that Nationalists might have the appointments, men who had never had a single hour's acquaintance with the office?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The officers appointed were those considered to be the best qualified.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) asked as to the Business for next week.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): It will be the Finance Bill.

INJURED ANIMALS ACT (1894) AMENDMENT BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee A, with an amended Title.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 221.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 221.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 256.]

INCEST BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from Standing Committee A.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 222.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 222.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be taken into consideration To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 257.]

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee A: Mr. Beckett.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee C: Mr. Bowles; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Beckett.

Sir WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON further reported from the Committee; That they had discharged the following Member from Standing Committee C (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. George Faber; and had appointed in substitution (in respect of the Small Holdings and Allotments Bill): Mr. Mansfield.

Reports to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Amendments to: Destructive Insects and Pests Bill [Lords]; St. Neot's Urban District Council Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (HOUSE OF LORDS).

Ordered, That the Proceedings on the House of Lords Motion, if under consideration at Eleven o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*).

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [25th June] to

Question [24th June], "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by Law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail"—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman*);

Which Amendment was,

"In line 1, to leave out from the word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'the Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the Legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished."—(*Mr. Arthur Henderson.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*MR. JAMES CAMPBELL (Dublin University): The discussion upon the Resolution and Amendment before the House was closed last night by a speech by the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary for the Colonies which was remarkable in many ways. I do not think anyone who listened to that speech would entertain for a moment the slightest doubt that the right hon. Gentleman had come to the conclusion that the sluggish appetite of the followers of the Government in this House and in the country required something more stimulating than the half-hearted, lukewarm utterances of his colleagues who had preceded him in the debate—the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General. Those right hon. Gentlemen professed to find in the Resolution nothing that was unfriendly or hostile towards the House of Lords, and they stated as their belief that were this Resolution to have the effect of law, there still would be a useful and honorable role for the House of Lords to fill in the Constitution of the country, and there still would remain for them very many responsible and difficult duties to perform. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary for the Colonies had plainly thought that such poor stuff as that was not sufficient to arouse the popular enthusiasm in favour of this crusade, and that, if it were necessary, as he believed it to be, to play up a little more to the gallery in the matter, the situation demanded much more lurid and blood curdling language than that indulged in by his colleagues. Accordingly the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to deliver a harangue which, for the wealth of its vehemence, violence, and vituperation, has seldom, I think, been exceeded in the annals of Parliamentary history. It was the sort of speech everybody is accustomed to in other arenas. We have heard something like it at the hustings, on the pavement, and in our parks, but I venture to say it is a new experience coming from a responsible Minister of State speaking with the responsibility and authority supposed to attach to occupants on the Front Bench. What were the terms in which the right hon. Gentleman thought it becoming and consistent with his dignity and position to describe the institution which, in the opinion of the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General has a dignified and important rôle to fill in the legislation of this country, and has many difficult and responsible duties to discharge? He charged that House with being animated solely by the meanest partisan motives; he described that institution as nothing but a Party dodge, and, warming to his subject as he proceeded, he reached a climax when he declared that the House of Lords used its veto for the grossest and basest purposes of political partisanship. Now I observe hon. Members opposite, with few exceptions, have not cheered that. My anxiety has been to elicit cheers from them for that reference to the right hon. Gentleman's speech, and if they had cheered it I think some of them would find themselves in a position which would render it difficult for them to follow the Government in the division lobby, because if they believe it is a true description of the House of Lords it will be difficult for them to reconcile their action in supporting a Resolution which the Prime Minister, who is responsible for it, has declared will still leave that House of Lords, described in such language by the right hon. Gentleman, an important factor in the legislation of the country. But the speech had other advantages. It unmasked for the first time in this debate the true inwardness of the Government proposal, and it also disclosed in part the methods by which it is proposed to accomplish their purpose. Now, the most cursory examination of this proposal will, I think, satisfy any Member of the House who has taken the trouble to examine it that, if followed up by legislation, it must necessarily annihilate the effectiveness and power of the House of Lords for legislation. I do not stop to criticise the extraordinary machinery by which they propose to adopt three separate and distinct occasions, at distinct intervals, on which four Members from either House will meet in secret conclave and, like the witches in "Macbeth," stir up the political cauldron; I do not propose to waste time in discussing this fantastic proposal, because it is perfectly plain to anyone who has followed the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies that these proposals, in their present form, are the merest and veriest sham, and are the subterfuge of a weak-minded and divided Government which is marking time upon this question and wishes by this performance to leave it open, so that when they have watched the course of politics they may be able to say either that their proposals meant everything or, on the other hand, nothing. But the right hon. Gentleman was also good enough to reveal something of the methods of the plan of campaign, and for this purpose he had recourse to the language of military strategy. He told us the Government were opening the first line for a great siege; they had to sap up to the first parallel. I hardly think it was a happy inspiration for the right hon. Gentleman to refer to sapping and mining. It is not the first time in the history of this short-lived Parliament that we have heard of this policy of sap and mine, and I think the result of its first application, in the case of the Irish Council Bill, was hardly of such a character as to encourage its repetition. I would like to dwell for a few moments on the history and incidents of that Irish Council Bill, because it is invaluable, to my mind, in this discussion, owing to the fact that it demonstrates clearly how unreal and artificial is the nature of the effort that is being made to manufacture a case against the House of Lords. Will any Member on this side or on the other side of the House stand up in his place and say now that he believes the Government ever intended or desired to pass the Irish Council Bill?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): I do.

*MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: I am glad to see this indication of courage on the part of the right hon. Gentleman, and I hope that that quality will soon be displayed more actively in connection with Irish administration. But while I have not the slightest desire nor idea of understating the sincerity of the right hon. Gentleman's declaration, I should like to refer for a moment to the position in which we stand in regard to the Irish Council Bill. In the first place it was introduced for the purpose of enabling hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite to reconcile, to themselves and to the electors, the various conflicting and inconsistent pledges which they had given on the subject of Home Rule, and it was supposed that this could be best done by a sort of mongrel measure which enabled some of them to point to it as an instalment of the larger policy, while others could regard it as merely an innocuous contribution to local government. But the real and main purpose of the Irish Council Bill was this: it was deliberately framed in the expectation and belief that the House of Lords would reject it, and certainly it demonstrates this lesson—the futility of this talk that we have listened to about the will of the people. The will of the people when clearly and definitely expressed is one thing, but the form in which the Government of the day chooses to clothe that expression of its opinion is a wholly different matter. We must assume that the Government either had, or believed they had, the sympathy and support of the Members for Ireland below the gangway in the introduction of their Irish Council Bill. That is not a violent assumption, because their subsequent action showed that that was so. If they had not the implied sanction or express sanction and support of hon. Members for Ireland below the gangway, then that would make it absolutely plain and clear that they never meant business with the Bill; but if they had that sanction and support then an object lesson is afforded on this question of the people's will. If hon. Members for Ireland had given any such promise, and if they proceeded loyally to carry out that promise, that Bill, with their assistance, would have gone from this House and would have been sent up to the House of Lords to meet its doom. Just imagine the outcry against the House of Lords here if they had set their voice once more against the clear and expressed will of the people, not merely the will of a small section of English electors, but of the entire Nationalist people of Ireland, whom we are so anxious to govern according to Irish ideas. That would have been the cry. That was the main purpose and object of this abortive Bill, and had it not been for the accident that, instead of hon. Members for Ireland supporting the Bill in this House and helping it on its way to the Upper House—had it not been for the accident that they took the course of a referendum to an Irish Convention, that Bill would have passed from this House with the assistance of the Government and its legions, and the cup to be filled up against the House of Lords would have received a very substantial addition. Had that Bill gone to the House of Lords and been rejected, that House and not the Government or this House would have been interpreting the will of the people. If that Bill accomplished nothing else, it has accomplished one result which I think is almost without parallel in the history of Irish administration, certainly for the past century. All classes, creeds, and sections throughout the length and breadth of Ireland were united in their condemnation of that Bill, which went to its grave without a single individual in that country to mourn or regret it. The Amendment moved by the hon. Member below the gangway has certainly one merit which distinguishes it from the Resolution of the Prime Minister. That Amendment, which was so well proposed and seconded, raises a courageous straightforward issue. At the same time I confess to a certain difficulty in following the argument which was addressed to the House in its support by the hon. Member for Barnard Castle, because, as I understood him, it seemed to me that the ground upon which he advocated the adoption of the straight and square course proposed was that the House of Lords were out of sympathy with the schemes of social and industrial reform which are believed in by the Party sitting below the gangway. It struck me as rather an audacious assumption, because the hon. Member went on to say that their Party numbered thirty in this House. It would be, I think, rather a novel and dangerous constitutional principle to say that where an expression of public opinion has only reached the concrete shape of returning to this House thirty representatives of particular views, those views were therefore to prevail and to be taken as the mandate of the country, and that hon. Gentlemen below the gangway were here with authority to dictate to the other sections and Parties to the Constitution.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): I think my hon. friend never made any such statement of his position. What he said was that the House of Lords was against reforms which the people wanted, and not merely of what we wanted.

*MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: I accept that explanation, but who are the people in the opinion of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle? I would be the last to misrepresent any hon. Gentleman, but I certainly understood, and I think the House understood, that the main line he took was that the views and ideas of the House of Lords were in direct conflict with the views of the people as he understood them. Of course, it is perfectly obvious when speaking of the people he was speaking for those whom he represents, and for whom he is entitled to speak. I doubt whether any hon. Member would care to attempt to explain the views of those whom he has no claim to represent. It is not a violent assumption that the hon. Member in speaking of the views of the people was speaking of that class of the community who sent himself and his colleagues to this House. The hon. Member based his case for the adoption of the Amendment upon the allegation that the House of Lords had often delayed legislation. Well, strange to say, it is that fact which in the opinion of many people in this House, and certainly of very many people outside the House, commends the retention of the House of Lords. This delay or retarding of legislation is essential in the system of Party government. Every man in this House knows that the Party opposite, as well as the Party on this side of the House, has frequently brought in measures embodying principles and intended to carry out objects which, when in Opposition, they have themselves for years opposed. That is common to both Parties in this House, and the explanation is obvious. The Party, whichever it may be, has come to the conclusion that there has been during some years of discussion and controversy material provided to satisfy them that the people of the country, taken as a whole, have come to a deliberate conclusion on the matter. But there is another benefit in this retarding of legislation. We all know that the English people are very sympathetic at times; they are, like other people, on some occasions inclined to run away with questions, and it may so happen that under the influence of popular excitement, popular prejudice, or popular sympathy, the Government of the day bring in a scheme which, in many of its essentials, involves a course of injustice to the rights of minorities. It is well that such a measure, after being fully debated and purged of those inequalities, should perhaps get another chance, and that is what actually happens in practice, because I think there is hardly a case on record in the history of Parliament in which a Bill, which after discussion in this House and the House of Lords has been ultimately rejected, has ever again been reintroduced in its old form. It has always been made the subject of amendment, and it has also received the benefit of the criticism which it has undergone in the previous session, or in the session before that. That criticism and those changes have been for the inevitable good of the general community, and those measures have been purged of very many clauses which, if not noticed, and passed unchallenged, would have worked undoubted hardship on individuals and minorities. This cry for the abolition of the House of Lords is no new one. With hon. Members below the gangway and hon. Members opposite it is entirely different, and I think the country will ask and wait with some impatience for an answer to the question why it is, or what it is, that to-day for the first time has opened the eyes of hon. Members to the necessity for destroying one of the integral parts of our Constitution, which has survived for centuries and been the envy and admiration of every civilised country in the world, an envy and admiration, I may say, which has taken a form which we know to be the sincerest form of flattery, that of imitation.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Where?

*Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL: Many authorities have been quoted. I will satisfy the impatience of my hon. friend the Member for South Donegal if he will only restrain himself. Many authorities have been quoted in favour of the excellence of our constitutional arrangements, but the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies quoted one who was somewhat disparaging. I am sorry that he is not in his place, for I would have liked to refer him to one authority, and in his absence I will refer the House to an authority whom, I am sure, he will value much more than those who have been quoted, and that is himself. The right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies published an election address in 1899. I presume that one may say that an election address is prepared with some little care. It is not a mere collection of random thoughts. Here is an abstract from the right hon. Gentleman's election address—

> "I believe that the present Constitution of the United Kingdom is upon the whole the best and most practical arrangement for the purposes of government which exists in the world, or is recorded in history."

I am quite aware that right hon. Gentlemen opposite feel the onus which is cast upon them of explaining to the electors of the country why it is at this late hour of the day they have become so keenly alive to the pressing importance of this question, and, so far as I can follow their suggestion, it is that the action of the House of Lords for the last two years is a sufficient justification for attacking an institution which for so many centuries has been an integral and vital part of our Constitution. Three measures have been referred to—the Education Bill, the Plural Voting Bill, and the Trade Disputes Bill. Certainly it is a case of hit high or low you cannot miss, because one of the three measures selected was passed by the Lords with Amendments, another was rejected, and the third was passed, that is to say, that so far as the Lords could do it, they did not reject the Education Bill, but they amended it. Let me say a word with regard to the Education Bill, because I think it is a very happy illustration of the real meaning of the political maxim as to the will of the people. It is not desired that the will of the people should be contravened if it is clearly and definitely expressed, but it is a matter for the determination of this House and the House of Lords, whether the form in which the Government have thought fit to express and to clothe their views and ideas as to the will of the people in every case is to be accepted, and whether that is to be taken as consonant with the wishes of the people, without their having an opportunity of saying "Yes" or "No" on the subject. I quite admit that this question of the grievances under which many people believe they suffer in the matter of education was a burning topic at the last election. There can be no doubt about that. This much I am confident of, that the electors of this country never contemplated by any expression of their will to set aside one form of clerical tyranny and set up in its place another, and to place the children of the poor belonging to the Church of England and the Catholic Church at the mercy of that somewhat elastic and indefinite element, the Nonconformist conscience. Then, with regard to the Plural Voting Bill which is also included as one of the counts in the indictment against the House of Lords; there is a great deal to be said in favour of such a Bill. But to my mind it is a crude and ridiculous proposition to say that in the case of a representative system like ours, which is full of anomalies, which makes no provision for proportional representation, or for redistribution, nor has regard to any logical principle which anyone can understand or see, and when the consensus of opinion is that the whole system requires to be overhauled and remodelled —I say it is idle to think that the House of Lords or any other legislative body was acting unwisely in saying, "We will not allow this thing to be done piece-meal. You must bring in a comprehensive scheme to deal with all those anomalies and give every Party fair play." The criticism of the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary for the Colonies with reference to the action of the House of Lords on the Trade Disputes Bill was most extraordinary, and showed what amount of freedom and latitude of expression of opinion he is prepared to concede to the House of Lords. The gravamen of the right hon. Gentleman's attack on that institution in connection with the Trade Disputes Bill was simply that Lord Halsbury in the course of one of the debates had expressed views in reference to it which, if my recollection serves me, coincided with the views expressed in this House by the Attorney-General. Why is it that the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary for the Colonies did not select for his criticism one of the Members of the Upper House who sits by hereditary right? On the contrary, he went out of his way to make an attack on a man who by exceptional ability, his distinguished and brilliant professional and political career, was an honour to this House for many years and who took his place in the Upper House because he had attained to the highest legal position in the land.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir JOHN WALTON, Leeds, S.): What I said was that Lord Halsbury had had the candour to express the true reason for passing the Bill and that he did not hide himself behind the hypocrisy of saying that it was passed in the interest of the public.

*MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: The hon. and learned Gentleman is under a complete mistake. I was not referring to him, but to the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, who selected for attack a distinguished Member of the Upper House solely on the ground that Lord Halsbury upon occasion had made certain references to one of the principles of the Bill. All I said in connection with the hon. and learned Member for South Leeds was that Lord Halsbury's criticism coincided to a large extent with the views expressed by the hon. and learned Gentleman in this House. In the course of the debate hon. Gentlemen opposite have been challenged to quote one single instance in which the House of Lords has set themselves in open defiance of the people's will. We wait with anxiety and interest to know what is that case.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside): The tramways over Westminster Bridge.

*Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL: I am very grateful for that interruption, and I hope that in the remote ages when the House of Lords is to be destroyed, if that time ever arrives, the worst epitaph that can be written upon the House of Lords will be that in one case it voted against tramways going over the bridges in London. That is the solitary exception. On the other hand, there are many instances in which they have rejected measures which subsequent experience showed had not the approval of the country. When the Under-Secretary for the Colonies was interrupted by cries of "What about the Home Rule Bill?" he said, "I anticipated that and I will explain it." What was his explanation? It was, "Home Rule is not yet a settled controversy." I do not quite follow the lucidity of that explanation, but I take it for what it is worth. It enables me to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman upon the second effort he has made as a prophet with regard to the future of the Home Rule question. What were the views of the right hon. Gentleman as expressed in his election address of 1900, some time ago it is true, but not a long time in the history of an aspiring statesman? I commend this language to hon. Gentlemen opposite. It has two points; it demonstrates the useful position which the House of Lords has occupied, and I hope will continue to occupy for many years to come; and in the second place, it demonstrates what the views of the right hon. Gentleman are as to the future of the Party with which he is now associated.

"What will happen,"

the right hon. Gentleman wrote—

"if a Radical Government comes into power? They enjoy the support of the Irish Vote, and on the understanding that they will introduce a Home Rule Bill—either they will break their pledges or the dreary farce of their last administration will be repeated."

"The Conservative Party,"

he goes on to say—

"in the House of Commons will vigorously oppose and the House of Lords will most certainly reject that pernicious plan which the electors of England have twice condemned."

In the matter of politics as well as in other matters, I believe that the English people like to do business. [Opposition cheers and Ministerial counter cheers.] I am glad to hear those Ministerial cheers, and I hope that the Gentlemen who have cheered will bring pressure to bear upon their Government to do business in this matter, and come out into the open, take their courage in their hands, and adopt and support the abolition Amendment moved by the Labour Party. Let them do this and thus give an opportunity to the people of the country, which I believe they are impatiently waiting for, of pronouncing their verdict upon the Government and the Party who have wasted two whole years of Parliamentary life in the weary wilderness of drifting and drivelling. I believe that if they do submit this issue in a clear and definite form to the electors of the country the result will not be for a moment in doubt.

*The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs): The right hon. and learned Member for Dublin University began his speech on the Resolution submitted by the Prime Minister by firing off another speech which he had prepared for the Second Reading of the Irish Council Bill; and therefore he struck the wrong note. I feel some sympathy with him, for many a time I have had experience of the same trouble myself, in common with most Members of this House. I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on the success with which he has got off that speech at last; but I do not quite see what his grievance is about the Irish Council Bill. His complaint is that the House of Commons does not represent the will of the people. I should have thought that the action of the House of Commons on the Irish Council Bill serves to demonstrate how sympathetic the House of Commons is in regard to the wishes of the people. The moment the House of Commons discovered that all sections of the people in Ireland repudiated, through their Convention, the Irish Council Bill, they responded to the will of the people and dropped the measure. The right hon. Gentleman complained that this Resolution was so vague that the Prime Minister and the Government, if they discovered that their plan did not commend itself to the country, would propose something else. My recollection is, however, that the Prime Minister was very definite and laid before the House a very clear scheme. If the right hon. Gentleman can persuade his Leader to be as definite in his plans in regard to other important matters, such as tariff reform, and to lay before the country as clear and definite and consecutive a scheme as the Prime Minister has put forward—if he no longer waited, I will not say for the jumping cat, but for the jumping preferential kangaroo in order to see how it leaped in the country —then we should know pretty well where we are. The right hon. Gentleman naturally is a very ardent advocate of the position of the House of Lords. He represents a privileged minority in Ireland—a minority which has associated British rule in Ireland with its one disastrous failure ; a minority which has induced the British Parliament to initiate legislation, and, what is more important, to fail to initiate legislation, which has had the effect of driving millions of his countrymen for shelter and sustenance to foreign shores ; a minority which has made the Protestant religion, which stands in every other land for faith, freedom, and progress, in that country synonymous with oppression and cruel rapacity. No wonder that the right hon. Gentleman has no confidence that the democracy will finally sanction a system of that sort, and that he looks for strength and refuge to the House of Lords. His criticism upon this plan is this. He first of all says he prefers the Amendment of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle. Of course, that is always what critics of any plan say. They attempt to divide the forces of those who propose any reform. It is a very natural system of tactics, and I do not blame them for attempting to do so, but I should blame very much those who on this side of the House listened to them. It is an obvious attempt to produce a schism, but I am perfectly certain that in this instance it will not succeed. The right hon. Gentleman has referred within the last few minutes to the Home Rule Bill of 1893, and I observe that one thing he said in the course of his speech was that there were many cases in which the House of Lords rejected Bills passed by this House where they had been amply justified by the sequel. I waited to hear the instances, but the right hon. Gentleman never mentioned them. He only mentioned one in the course of a century, namely, the Home Rule Bill. Does the right hon. Gentleman consider what would have been the effect of this Resolution if it had been in force in 1893 in the case of Home Rule ? It is perfectly true that the Government sent up to the House of Lords a Bill which was afterwards rejected by the country; but, supposing the Bill had been sent up under this Resolution in 1893 and rejected by the House of Lords, assuming that the Ministry of the day persisted in 1894, there would have been a second Bill. When a Government re-introduces a Bill they naturally profit by the criticism passed upon the first Bill, and probably in 1894 they would have had an amended Bill. That, I presume, would have been rejected. The first opportunity there would have been of sending up the Bill a third time would have been in 1895, or during a special session of 1894, and if the Lords had not accepted it, it would have passed on to the Sovereign and received the Royal signature in the winter of 1894. It could not have come into operation until six months after that Parliament had been dissolved and an anti-Home Rule majority was present in the House of Commons.

MR. BONAR LAW (Camberwell, Dulwich) : The date of the dissolution could have been altered.

*MR. LLOYD-GEORGE : How could it have been altered when the Government had been beaten ? It would have been perfectly impossible for that Government to go on for another fortnight. Thus that Home Rule Act under this plan would not have come into operation until a

Unionist Parliament had been summoned, and if they were not prepared to accept that Act, and the country was overwhelmingly against it, all they had to do was to pass a Bill of two lines declaring that it should never come into operation. The precedent of 1893 is a justification of the Prime Minister's plan. Let me take another point. The noble Lord the Member for East Marylebone said that a good many Bills were passed through this House about which those who supported them had a good many misgivings. They may pass Bills in that way once; they cannot do it twice, and I am perfectly certain they cannot do it three times. I do not know any great controversial measure which has ever been carried through this House which did not to a certain extent shed some of the support of the Ministers who brought it forward. I remember specially the Act of 1902 and the Act of 1904. There was then considerable cleavage among the right hon. Gentleman's own friends: there were about fifty or sixty Members, his very loyal supporters, who never went into the division lobby, and many of them voted constantly against the Government. With a great agitation going on in the country against that Bill, and with by-elections going against the Government, could the right hon. Gentleman even have attempted to force his Bill through in 1903, if there had been a perfectly impartial House of Lords to throw it out? No Minister can possibly face the electorate with an attempt to press through a measure against all that gigantic agitation which can be got up against an unpopular Bill. I agree that the Government plan is a medium course between the two extremes which say, on the one hand, that there shall be no Second Chamber at all, and, on the other, that there ought to be a revising Chamber with practically co-ordinate powers. It is a medium course, but a real one. An indefensible Bill that cannot stand criticism cannot be carried in face of a procedure of this kind. It is rather remarkable that there has been no out-and-out defence of the House of Lords during the whole of this discussion. The noble Lord did not defend it, and the Amendment put down by the hon. Member for the Walton division of Liverpool clearly indicates that a considerable body of opinion on the Unionist side of the House recognises that the present system is absolutely indefensible. They are very subservient in the House of Lords, and the right hon. Gentleman, I think, is the first to recognise that they would stand from him that which they would not stand from any other living man. I remember the speech of Lord Lansdowne when he complained that they had great Bills sent up to them at the end of the session when they had not sufficient time to consider them. But they passed them nevertheless; so things are made easy for the right hon. Gentleman, though I doubt whether in his heart he really thinks that it is the most effective revising Chamber that could be set up. I do not say we ought not to have a body for that purpose, or that in a scheme of this kind you might not under certain circumstances have better legislation; but I am certain that the present system has made Party Government, as we understand it, absolutely impossible. Let us consider some of the arguments that have been used. I forget by whom, but by one hon. Gentleman in the course of this debate we were challenged to produce cases where the House of Lords had so materially altered Bills as to make them worthless, or rejected them altogether, and where the House of Lords had been wrong. I put it the other way. The Irish Home Rule Bill is the one solitary case that is claimed throughout the century, the single case in which hon. Members opposite claim that the House of Lords has been right. They have rejected or mutilated a good many Bills. They have so mutilated Bills as to take the life out of them. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down said they did not reject the Education Bill. On the contrary, they passed it, but they amended it. It is not always necessary to kill a man; you may simply deprive him of his limbs. And that is what was done with the Education Bill. If you guillotine a man, you do not kill him; you only remove a part of him. That was what was what was done with the Education Bill. They so mutilated it as to take the life out of it. That process has been going on for three-quarters of a century. Several instances have been given in the course of the debate. I will add one or two cases which are relevant to the discussion. The argument of the Leader of the Opposition is this, and the argument was put not only in his speech here but in his speech elsewhere last night. He says—I do not use his exact words, but their substance—What safeguard have you against rash legislation which may destroy beneficent institutions, overthrow property, and generally imperil the security of the rights and interests of the people? Does that criticism apply to the legislation rejected by the House of Lords during the last fifty or seventy years? Let us take the treatment of Nonconformists, and that is a good case, for the reason that the House of Lords contains no Nonconformists. There is no substantial representation of Nonconformity in the House of Lords in the same sense as the Anglican and even the Roman Catholic Church are represented. There is no body of opinion that can make itself felt in which the Nonconformists are represented. That is an important feature. I am not making any personal attack on the House of Lords. I believe that the Members of the House of Lords are imbued with the same sense of duty as other Britishers are when they are placed in a position of responsibility. What I say is that they are ill-informed; that they have not the experience which is essential, they are not in touch with the interests in regard to which they have to legislate, and they are really not competent to deal with questions of this kind. And it is just on questions of this kind, about which they know nothing, that they go wrong. Their training is not of the standard which enables them to understand them, and more than that it gives them a prejudice. I have no doubt we suffer from it ourselves, but at any rate when we get into this House we do come into contact with every shade of opinion and have to consider it. The House of Lords do not come into contact with this great body of opinion. How have they treated the great body of Nonconformists? I think Nonconformists are as well-behaved, as well-conducted, as industrious, as sober a body of men as you can find in any community in the country, and they have sacrificed more for what they conceive to be the cause of religion, especially amongst the young, than probably any other community of the country. How have the House in Lords treated them with regard to universities, schools, and training colleges? They have always treated the proposition to allow Nonconformists to sit in a university, to get inside a training college with Anglicans and Roman Catholics, and to teach in the village school, as if it were a real danger to the moral standard of society. I ask any fair-minded man whether a Chamber which is so completely out of touch with a body of men who, after all, have done great things in some of the noblest passages of the history of England is fit to sit in judgment upon their claims, demands, and grievances. Speaking as a Nonconformist, that is my case against the House of Lords. They have themselves admitted that they were wrong in most cases. The Universities Bill was sent up from this House time after time, to allow Nonconformists to take degrees, and it was thrown out—for the sake of religion. It is true that after twenty, thirty, or forty years they allowed the Bill to go through. But does anybody say that there was anything gained by the delay except bitterness, exasperation, and rancour—rancour in religion, the last place where we want it? After this long delay of forty or fifty years they grudgingly let Nonconformists into the universities; but they had to make declarations which had never been made before lest they should contaminate their associates. The only Nonconformist Bill that was allowed to get through the first time was the Burials Bill. They did not mind how Dissenters were buried, so long as they were out of the way. Then there was the case of Church rates, which is another case in point. The Quakers are the best citizens in the whole country, and in proportion to their numbers they have done more for the cause of humanity than any other community. What was gained by putting these excellent citizens in prison for the cause of true religion? The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down said the Education Bill was a Bill to place the schools of the kingdom at the mercy of the Nonconformist conscience. He could not have read the Bill. It was a Bill to give control of the schools to the citizens of the land. It handed over the schools of England to county councils. Where the Nonconformists were in a majority they might get their man in; where the Anglican Church was in a majority, as it is in most cases in England, they could get their man in. What it really did was to hand over the control of education to the Anglican county councils. Still, it gave fair play to Nonconformists. It allowed an Anglican county council, or any other county council, to choose a Nonconformist teacher if he was the best man. That was all. I now pause to consider the means by which the Bill was thrown out. It was done, the right hon. Gentleman knows best how, but I am not sure that the history of the tactics whereby that Bill was thrown out was not one of the severest criticisms on the House of Lords. The conference was not a conference of the House of Lords. From that conference the weightiest and most sagacious leaders of the House of Lords were left out; the Duke of Devonshire and Lord St. Aldwyn, men of the greatest weight, were excluded. Why? In order to enable the Bill to be thrown out. Does the right hon. Gentleman deny that?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) was understood to say that he denied everything the right hon. Gentleman had said.

* Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I observe that what the right hon. Gentleman says does not cover what I said about Tariff Reform. Let me take a case the right hon. Gentleman denies. Does anyone who knows him believe that he negotiated the rejection of the Education Bill because he thought that the substitution of the Bible for the Catechism in the schools would lower the standard of morality, or that the admittance of Methodist, Baptist, or Congregationalist teachers to give lessons in a parish school would make infidels? No; there are relatives of the right hon. Gentleman who believe that, but whatever the right hon. Gentleman is, he is not a bigot. Therefore, he was without excuse, for bigotry was the only excuse. It was done simply with a view to the general situation, and the consciences of Anglicans and Nonconformists alike were purely pawns in a political game. And this is the great impartial Assembly, which, without Party bias, sat in judgment on the action of the turbulent, partisan Commons! The right hon. Gentleman knows better than that. But it is not merely with regard to Nonconformists that they have treated democratic legislation in this way. There is Ireland. We have heard a good deal about Home Rule; what about Irish land? There was the Bill of 1870. The Lords mutilated that Bill by cutting out a provision that would have prevented capricious evictions; it was re-introduced in 1881, when the Lords admitted they were wrong. What happened? In the meantime scores of thousands of men, women, and children were driven from Ireland, and whole tracts of country laid waste. That is what was done by this revising Chamber. Then take the question of artisans' dwellings. A Bill was introduced in 1868 to enable the local authorities to pull down insanitary dwellings, and the Lords cut out the effective provisions. In 1875 Sir Richard Cross introduced a Bill which incorporated the whole of the rejected provisions, and a Tory Government admitted after seven years that the House of Lords had been wrong. What did they do? Nothing. They will take a good deal from a Tory Government. Legislation which affects mines and factories, even although it involved heavy burdens, is accepted, but the Lords draw the line at anything which affects land, even when proposed by a Tory Government, and out went the provisions that could be so described. That measure has been practically inoperative ever since, owing to their action; and slums which ought to have been removed, with all their degradation, all their misery, all the damage they do to the vitality of the race, stand to-day as a monument to the revising Chamber. Talk about guarding against danger to institutions! During the time I have known politics the only institutions that have been wiped out were wiped out by Tory Governments. As to one of them I agree they were right. It was an old institution, I am not sure that it was as old as the House of Lords, and that was quarter sessions. They destroyed it in a day. The House of Lords in that instance were right. But there was another institution, a beneficent one, fairly long established, doing a great work—the school boards of this country, which for over

thirty years did more for education, so essential not only to our national greatness but to our commercial supremacy, than any organisation this land has ever seen. They drew some of the best citizens into the work and they were a triumph of British self-government. But there was an extreme clerical faction which did not like them, and they had to go. Where was this defender of national institutions then? Then there is property. You must defend property! The only Bill that I can recall which deprived anybody of property without compensation was passed by the Leader of the Opposition. It was a valuable public property, the reversion to the public of the licences, recognised by law as a vested interest. True, it was only a vested interest for the benefit of the public, not of a class. That property the right hon. Gentleman wiped out, nay, he handed it over as a political bribe to a powerful section of the community. It was the greatest act of plunder and confiscation since the days of Henry VIII. The House of Lords consented. This is the defender of property! This is the leal and trusty mastiff which is to watch over our interests, but which runs away at the first snarl of the trade unions.

VISCOUNT TURNOUR (Sussex, Horsham): What about your Party?

*MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: We did what we promised at the last election. A mastiff? It is the right hon. Gentleman's poodle. It fetches and carries for him. It barks for him. It bites anybody that he sets it on to. And we are told that this is a great revising Chamber, the safeguard of liberty in the country. Talk about mockeries and shams. Was there ever such a sham as that? No wonder the right hon. Gentleman scolds the naughty boys who throw stones at it. The House of Lords, it seems, defends capital. Of a kind, yes. But generally against whom does it defend capital? Against the House of Commons? Why should this House destroy capital?

VISCOUNT TURNOUR interposed an observation which did not reach the gallery.

*MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The noble Lord represents land, but it is not the only form of capital, though it is the only form you cannot scare away. The noble Lord finds some comfort in that. We are told, too, that the House of Lords defends capital. Why should the House of Commons be supposed to be in a conspiracy against capital? *The Times* the other day talked about the danger to property of an absolute House of Commons. Has it ever occurred to *The Times* that practically every profession, every great trade, every great industry, no matter what Party is in power, sends its very best men to the House of Commons? I can say without hesitation about the House of Commons that this is true. All the great industries, the land, shipping, mining, textile trades, the iron trade and every great industry and interest in this country, are represented by men who have devoted their lives to those particular industries before they were elected to the House of Commons. The other Chamber represents substantially only one form of capital. Yet it claims that it has to watch in the interest of property the House of Commons, which is composed of men engaged in every form of industry and commerce, to which they devote their services, and out of which they make their livelihoods. That being so, is it not folly and nonsense to talk of the House of Lords being necessary to protect property? I know of only one Bill passed in the last few years which represents a great inroad upon the profits of capital. That is the Workmen's Compensation Act. I do not say it is unjust, save in one particular; but the exception is important. Suppose there is an accident in a colliery. The man who has put his capital into its development may lose every penny. But the man who derives his income out of royalties from the same colliery has not to risk a farthing. Is not that unfair? Yet it is that injustice—the absence of a provision to make royalties pay their fair contribution towards these accidents—which enables the Bill to pass through the Assembly which is supposed to be the special protection of capital. It is also well-known that the House of Lords has plundered the railways to a huge extent. Railways have cost twice more in this country than in any other country in the world. Why?

Because the House of Lords has piled the cost on to the railways when they came to acquire land; and now the trade and industry and capital of the country have to pay heavily on account of the action of this Chamber which is supposed to be our appointed guardian. The Leader of the Opposition is in favour of checks upon legislation, but deprecates checks upon administration. The right hon. Gentleman insists that there should be a check upon a revolutionary House of Commons which may seek to destroy the country. As if it were possible to conceive of any House of Commons, representative of the people, desiring to ruin their means of livelihood! Forty millions of people suddenly gone mad! But why should we wait for legislation? Legislation is a most roundabout way of destroying the country. Administration, upon which the right hon. Gentleman would put no check, would be more rapid and effective. If a statesman wants to destroy the country, all he needs to do is to pick a quarrel with some part of the world and spend £250,000,000 on a war. That was done not long ago without the slightest check; without a debate in the House of Commons even.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): With the approval of some of your colleagues.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Possibly, my colleagues had done so on false statements as to the facts. [MINISTERIAL cheers and OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh."]

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy-Speaker. Is the right hon. Gentleman entitled to make the charge that false statements have been made by right hon. Gentlemen sitting on this side of the House? [MINISTERIAL cries of "He did not say so."]

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There was such a tremendous shout that from whatever was said by the right hon. Gentleman I was unable to gather who was alleged to have made false statements. It is not in order to say that Members of this House made false statements. I do not say for a moment that the right hon. Gentleman said that.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: What I said about these statements was——

MR. LYTTELTON: That they were false.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Yes; and I still say it. [MINISTERIAL cheers and OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh."]

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I ask you, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, whether you heard the right hon. Gentleman that time.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I did not hear who it was that made the statements.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I made these statements when I had to face much more dangerous persons than hon. Gentlemen opposite, and I am not going to withdraw them now.

MR. T. L. CORBETT again rose; and MR. LLOYD-GEORGE refusing to give way was greeted with OPPOSITION cries of "Sit down."

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order! Does the hon. Gentleman rise to a point of order?

MR. T. L. CORBETT: Yes, Sir.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE then sat down.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: I rise to appeal to you, Sir. [MINISTERIAL cries "An appeal is not a point of order."] I ask you, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman is in order in deliberately stating that false statements have been made by right hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House? The right hon. Gentleman has admitted he made that accusation.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: On account of the constant interruption I am unable to gather who it was that made these statements. But it is well known that it is out of order to say of any Members of this House that they made statements which they knew to be false.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I need hardly say that I do not want to charge any hon. Member or right hon. Member with having made false statements. What I meant to say, and what I said before, and still say, is that there were statements which were inaccurate——

MR. T. L. CORBETT: That's better.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: And if we are not to say of statements that they are inaccurate, then there is an end of all criticism in this House.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: You insulted us.

*MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I can assure the hon. Gentleman that he was far removed from my mind. The Leader of the Opposition declared that he was not in favour of checks upon administration, because it detracted from a Minister's sense of his responsibility. Is not that true also of legislation? As a matter of fact there is nothing more disastrous to the effective criticism of measures in the House of Commons than the knowledge that, though a Bill may pass through this House, it is likely to be mangled or rejected elsewhere. The argument which the right hon. Gentleman has used in regard to administration is doubly important when it comes to legislation. The right hon. Gentleman knows perfectly well what the object is—no revision, no check, when a Tory Government is in power, but every check when there is a Liberal Government in power. He is afraid of a revolution. If there is a revolution it is not the House of Lords that will arrest it. It will be the first institution that will vanish without a struggle. In the English revolution it was the House of Commons that made the last fight. The House of Lords was abolished by a Resolution. The House of Commons made the fight, and when the time for a revolution comes—if it ever does come—the only share which the House of Lords will have in the revolution will be in creating it. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has pointed this out in one of his most powerful passages—and this is the answer to his followers who now ask when the House of Lords have done any harm—

> "We know for our part that in the course of the last hundred years they have more than once brought the country to the verge of revolution; and that they have again and again mutilated, delayed, or rejected Bills of the first importance which are now universally accepted to be salutary and expedient."

But the people are slow to embark on revolutions, and the fact that it has taken fifty or sixty years to curtail the powers of the House of Lords is the best proof of that. They are tolerant of long-standing grievances. No one can doubt their wrongs. But I know the people; I was brought up amongst them. It is only when they are driven by a long course of injustice and of denial of justice that they are ever exasperated into a revolution, and the surest and greatest security against that is, not the House of Lords, but some machinery which will deal effectively, promptly, and justly with their requirements. It is very remarkable that every great Liberal statesman who has ruled this Empire for fifty years has always come to the same conclusion about the House of Lords. I have quoted the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. Lord Rosebery, in language no less strong, came to the same conclusion, and the two greatest names of all—John Bright and Mr. Gladstone—who had given long service to the State and who were no revolutionaries, were of the same opinion. John Bright, although he has been denounced in language stronger than even the present Prime Minister, was a prudent, cautious, and temperate man in action, and always essentially anti-revolutionary. Mr. Gladstone had an almost exaggerated reverence for existing institutions, especially hereditary institutions. He was the last man to lift his powerful arm against them, and yet after the longest and most distinguished public career that this country probably has known, when he had no further personal interest in the matter, and when he had no responsibility for the leadership of the Party, he said that practically progress was impossible until you had dealt with this barrier. The present Prime Minister, who after all has had a longer experience of Parliamentary life than any man here, comes and deliberately asks the House of Commons, and from the Commons appeals to the country, to accept the counsel given at the end of a great career by a statesman who stands to-day not merely in the British Empire but throughout the world as the man who embodies the noblest and the most exalted traditions of British statesmanship.

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton): The right hon. Gentleman has delivered a speech which was throughout impressive and in many passages eloquent, and which certainly was in refreshing contrast to many of his utterances in the country. He has had the privilege of making himself the mouthpiece of a statement of the greatest possible importance. Apparently he has been authorised to inform the House on behalf of his colleagues that they have changed their opinion. He has apparently been authorised to inform the House on behalf of the Members of that section of the Cabinet who are commonly described as belonging to the Liberal League that they have changed their views on the subject of the justice or injustice of the war. As I understood it, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman was of great historical interest, because he implied that in consequence of "false statements" made to them, or "inaccurate statements" if they were made by Members of this House, they have now changed their view. Does the right hon. Gentleman represent to the House that he has been authorised on behalf of his colleagues who previously said that the war was just, to say that they now hold the view that it was unjust? Let him at least, out of consideration for the Attorney-General who sits near him, and who was a frequent and welcome guest at the celebrations at which Lord Rosebery presided, say whether that is so or not. The Attorney-General told the country in explicit language, which I will quote if necessary, that the war was necessary. Will the President of the Board of Trade tell us whether the Attorney-General or the Chancellor of the Exchequer authorised him to come forward in the House of Commons and say that they have now discovered that this war was not a just and necessary war? I notice that next to the right hon. Gentleman is the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He spoke in eloquent language which will long live in the memory of those who sit on this side of the House, because he spoke at a time when support from hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who now sit on the benches opposite was welcome—and he also said that the war was just. Will the President of the Board of Trade put it that the right hon. Gentleman was misled by false statements? Has he changed his mind? If he has not changed his mind, will he get up in this House and say that he and his colleagues have not changed their minds, or that the President of the Board of Trade has inaccurately claimed to speak for them in this House?

Now I pass with pleasure from the subject on which I was led to embark by the argument imported into this debate by the right hon. Gentleman. The President of the Board of Trade informed the House with eloquence, and in tones which quivered with emotion, of the suffering of people who are living in slums, and his remarks were received with generous warmth on that side of the House. What kind of prelude is that to a constitutional agitation which will convulse this House for ten years, and make social reform difficult if not impossible? Does it not mean revolution? Is not that what the Attorney-General has told us? Are you going to establish a revolution, even when reporters are not present, and are you going to postpone all your schemes for social reform? We were told by the right hon. Gentleman in the speech just concluded that the House of Lords had destroyed the school boards. The statement was received with great cheers on that side of the House. I make one observation on that. The right hon. Gentleman had not even considered the tenor and the effect of the Prime Minister's Resolution. It was not the House of Lords who destroyed the school boards; it was the voice of the people. [Laughter.] Is that statement received with incredulity? [AN HON. MEMBER: Yes.] Is it not amazing that persons can be found to vote for Resolutions which they are intellectually incapable of understanding? An hon. Member says with great warmth that they were not destroyed by the people. That is not my position. It is the position of this Resolution. "In order to give effect to the will of the people it is necessary that the opinion of the House of Commons shall be by law established in one session of Parliament." Even a Conservative House of Commons is a House of Commons, and if your criterion of the representation of the people and of their decision is right, the House of Commons which decided that it would destroy the school boards was just as entitled to claim to represent the people of this country as a House of Commons like the present which would, possibly, if it could, re-create them. Then we are told in the same way that there was confiscation by the House of Lords of the reversionary property in public houses. I should like to make the observation that just in the same way as school boards were abolished, so have licences, for good or bad, been dealt with through the House of Commons. I am not saying that there ought not to have been a revising Chamber of such a character as might have interfered with either or both of these proposals. That is not the controversy at present, because you are not proposing to establish such a revising Chamber. You are proposing to say that no matter which Party is in a majority in the House of Commons the decision of the House shall be taken at all times and on all measures as representing the voice of the people. Many of us have for some time wondered what was the reason why the President of the Board of Trade had thrown himself with so great warmth into this constitutional question. Representing a constituency very near to Wales, I am not without opportunity of forming an opinion as to complaints with regard to the position of the right hon. Gentleman on other questions which may have led to this new enthusiasm for a prolonged constitutional dispute. I notice that the right hon. Gentleman has taken the opportunity of allaying some of the suspicions of the faithful. Inquiry was made as to when the long-looked for Pisgah—Welsh Disestablishment—was to be reached, and the right hon. Gentleman wrote a letter in reply in which he said—

> "You ask me whether, if this Parliament runs its normal course, it is the intention of the Government to press a measure for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales through all stages in the House of Commons. To this I can give an unqualified answer in the affirmative. Over the probable action of the Lords when the Bill is sent up—or, shall I say, down?—to that Chamber, the Cabinet have, unfortunately, no control. As to your second question, whether in the event of an appeal to the country being precipitated owing to the action of the Lords, Welsh Disestablishment will hold a prominent position in the official programme upon which the decision of the constituencies will be taken. Of course, in that contingency, all questions must necessarily be subordinated to the one great issue of whether the Peers or the people are to govern the land. But Welsh disestablishment will undoubtedly stand in the forefront amongst the matters which Parliament, under the new conditions which I hope to see established as a result of the conflict, will be called upon to deal with. I have just seen the Prime Minister, and he fully sanctions the above as an accurate interpretation of his views and intentions. Unity now on the eve of the great battle against the grand foe of liberty, Nonconformity, and Wales—the House of Lords.—Yours truly.

What is theprivileged position which this overdue promissory note holds at the present moment? It is that after the Government has dealt with licensing, the land system, and a new Education Bill, a Bill for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales may be brought in; but is it not possible that the zeal and enthusiasm which the right hon. Gentleman has thrown into the campaign against the House of Lords is, to some extent, due to a desire to escape the effect of his promises to the electors of Wales? The right hon. Gentleman was the leader of the Liberal revolt in Wales, and it is not surprising that men who thought they were to receive through him the measure on which they had fixed their heart should quote the case of the tyrant of ancient history, of whom it is written that his policy secured for his followers the gaol and for himself the throne. The right hon. Gentleman, consistent even in details, has bought his countrymen in the cheapest market, and sold them in the dearest. We were told in the brilliant but rancorous speech of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies of the many respects in which the House of Lords to-day has ceased to be entitled to the respect and admiration of his countrymen. The right hon. Gentleman repeated that charge with so much variety and richness of invective that we might ask him, Are these the men to whom the Government are prepared in the future to continue to entrust the functions which the Prime Minister has told us are so responsible and so important? We were told by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies that the House of Lords will still have functions to discharge which are of the greatest possible use; but at the same time we have been told, in a spontaneous sentence, that the House of Lords is one-sided, hereditary, unpurged, unrepresentative, irresponsible, absentee. [MINISTERIAL Cheers.] Let that be cheered from below the gangway on both sides of the House. Every man is entitled to cheer that statement who has come into the open with an honest proposition that the House of Lords ought to be abolished. No man is entitled to cheer that statement, or to make it, who is going in the centuries which are in front of us to commit to an Assembly so constituted what the Prime Minister describes as important and responsible functions. The right hon Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade told us that Nonconformity is not represented in the House of Lords; and that the House of Lords has plundered the country. Then end them. That is what you cannot persuade your Government to do. This incessant conflict between principle and practice is due to the constantly vitiating influence of the Liberal League in the Cabinet! As they destroyed the Irish Council Bill, as they destroyed the Education Bill, so they are equally destroying the proposals for dealing with the House of Lords! The proposals made by the Labour Party below the gangway I consider to be odious, ignorant, and detestable, but they are at least logical, coherent and consistent. What we object to, and what Ministerialists, if they were men, would resent, is that moderating tendency which in the smoking room is so loudly denounced, without that denunciation being reflected in the division lobby. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies referred to the rejection of the Education Bill as an incitement to violence by the House of Lords. What are we to say in adequate praise of the moderation of the men of Lancashire in restraining the riotous impulses springing up in their bosoms in consequence of that rejection? Is there any language which can do justice to the men of Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, and St. Helens who, while smarting under a sense of wrong occasioned by the destruction of that Bill, have nevertheless behaved in such a way that time after time in the lobbies they have compelled the nominal followers of the Government to vote with the Opposition in their efforts to destroy that Bill? The Under-Secretary for the Colonies is extremely versatile in dealing with this and other questions—I will not quote his speeches of five years ago, and thus apply the quinquennial alternative—but will quote from an article of his in the recent columns of a periodical. Let us pause for a moment to notice the hard fate which has compelled the right hon. Gentleman, when he wished to press his views on the Cabinet, to select the medium of a newspaper, having had the misfortune to see colleague after colleague, far inferior to himself in the arts of swashbuckling, pass over his body into the Cabinet. It throws some reflection upon the indignation with which Manchester is seething at the loss of the Education Bill. What is the scheme which the right hon. Gentleman only a few weeks ago commended in the columns of the *Nation*? We do not ask for permanency from you, or constancy from Ministers, but we might have some degree of consistency as the fleeting weeks pass. For three weeks a man may hold the same view. Did the right hon. Gentleman think, at the time he contributed that article to the *Nation*, that the best method of dealing with the House of Lords was to hold occasional sterile conferences with them? On the contrary, the right hon. Gentleman then thought that Privy Councillors as well as Peers should be capable of exercising the full legislative privileges of the Second Chamber as they exist to-day. The Crown, said he, should summon not less than a hundred, nor more than 250 such persons for each Parliament. Writs of summons were to issue from the Crown on the advice of Ministers, might be declined, and persons declining might sit in the Commons. Peers or Privy Councillors who have held Ministerial office should receive *ex-officio* writs. Is that still the right hon. Gentleman's view?

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): The hon. Member will understand that I was only recommending one way, which I deemed a smooth way, of dealing with the House of Lords. There may be other methods less smooth.

MR. F. E. SMITH: Am I to understand that the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies has so much leisure that it is his habit to put forward in the Press smooth proposals which he is not prepared or wishful to see carried into law? Surely the right hon. Gentleman will not suggest that at the time he wrote that article he did not think that that was the most convenient method of dealing with the House of Lords? It is sufficient to point out that it is a method to which he gave his name, but it is not the method on behalf of which he spoke last night. The right hon. Gentleman in another place has observed that there are more ways of killing cats than by choking them with cream. I may be allowed to add that there are more ways of addling a political egg than giving it to an Under-Secretary to sit upon. I do not gather that there is any serious dissent from the view that in essentials, though not in form, it is not possible to distinguish the proposal put forward by the Government from the proposal put forward by hon. Members below the gangway for ending the House of Lords altogether. I do not suppose that anyone can seriously contend that the solemn mummery of three conferences is likely to keep the House of Lords as an effective and permanent part of the Constitution. Let me test the value of these conferences by a question. Is there a single Member of the House who would say that had conferences been held on the last Education Bill, and the Government had had the power to say to the House of Lords, "You shall take this Bill without a line changed," they would not have said it? If that is a fact as regards measures of first class importance, what is the use of suggesting that there would be a power in the House of Lords to alter by a conference Bills on which the House of Commons felt strongly? At such conferences I suppose the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and the President of the Board of Trade would be two of the representatives of the Commons; and conciliatory representatives they would be. The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies would begin with a pleasant reference to the particular artificial methods by which the House of Lords representative might deal with his defective eyesight; the President of the Board of Trade would suggest with polished levity that it was time that the House of Lords was committed to the scrap heap. Does the hon. Member seriously believe that men of first class political ability, as many Members of the House of Lords are, are going to make themselves parties to a political farce of this kind? They are condemned to perpetual sterilisation as far as membership of this House is concerned, and they are it is suggested, to be powerless in their own Chamber. Take Lord Lansdowne, or Lord Crewe, or any other able representative of the House of Lords: is it to be the measure of the services they are to render to the State that they are to be unwilling and powerless members of a conference which is to receive and register on three separate occasions the decisions of the House of Commons? The proposal is an idle one. At the end of the third conference we are told the Bill is to be passed over the head of the House of Lords. This is, I suppose, "The way that must be found, and shall be found;" but speaking for myself, if I were a Member of the House of Lords I would never accept such a Bill—never, never. You might if you choose have one general election upon the subject combined with other topics—I suppose, Welsh disestablishment, to keep faithful Wales sound on the question of the House of Lords, and land proposals in order that the predatory classes generally may take sound views of the question. But every one of the measures which the Government are going to bring forward will be put to the country, in the hope that by accumulating every cause out of which you may draw some discreditable dregs of popularity you may be able to strengthen and add weight to the campaign against the House of Lords. Do you suppose that if you were Members of the House of Lords and the Government of the day came and said, "Here is our mandate to end you"—do you suppose that there is a man of spirit who would not send it back? If I were a Member of the House of Lords I would send the Bill back, and, to be perfectly frank with the House, I would continue to do so until I thought my personal safety was in danger. The total destruction of the House of Lords would be better than its fall under the proposal before the House, for then, at any rate, its Members could sit in the House of Commons. So Members of the House of Lords will be absolutely better off if they fight, and still fight to the bitter end, even if this preposterous proposal succeeds, than they will be if they acquiesce in it. Supposing the Liberal Party come back and ask the House to pass the Bill, there will be three or four more years of convulsion. What is to happen to the right hon. Gentleman's slums; what is to become of the quaver in his voice in the meantime? Will they deliberately squander eight useful years that might be utilised for the purpose of dealing with unemployment and providing old-age pensions? These schemes were never honestly put forward, and to-day they are revived in order that the Liberal Party may carry forward this spurious constitutional strife. Let them desert if they chose their schemes for social reform. Let them dissipate if they would the most powerful instrument for good ever given to the Government of this country by the people of this country. For himself he placed on record his conviction that in the decade of convulsion which the Government invited the Liberal Party would find its permanent sepulchre.

*MR. SIMON (Essex, Walthamstow): In the indignant oration to which we have been listening, many things have been said by my hon. and learned friend. But there are one or two other things about which we should like to hear from the other side of the House, and although this debate has proceeded for some time I do not find any considerable attention given to the matters which I have in my mind. One of them is this: What, according to right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite, is the function of the House of Lords, and what is the function of the House of Commons? The noble Lord the Member for East Marylebone said that he recognised the democratic principle, but I did not catch any observations from the last speaker which show that he recognised the democratic principle, and certainly it could not be inferred from anything that he said; but confining my remarks to those persons who think that the Constitution of this country must have a democratic basis, I think we are entitled to ask how in the present condition of things they say that this democratic basis is to be secured? The hon. Member for Oxford University referred to the constitutional position, and I am sure he will not deny that there is provided under the Constitution a means, I do not say of determining definitely, but of attemping to find out what is the will of people, and that is a general election. That is the constitutional method of ascertaining the will of the people. What do hon. Gentlemen opposite suppose happened at the last general election? Were the people of England at the last election deciding nothing? Is it not reasonable and proper to say that a general election being the instrument by which we endeavour to ascertain the popular feeling, a general election should be the means and machinery by which we arrive at the proposals which ought to become law? I understand that according to hon. Gentlemen opposite the election of 1900 was a magnificient exhibition of the common sense of the people of this country, and where is the force of now taking up the position that the election of 1906 is an exhibition in a contrary direction? You cannot at the same time assert that you hold by the democratic basis and also that you believe in the House of Lords as at present constituted. You may believe in one or the other, but it is impossible that you can believe in both. As I understand it, the proposition appears to be that when the Conservative Party is fortunate at the polls, then we have a House of Commons which expresses the will of the people. But if that Party is unsuccessful and is defeated, then according to the present theory the Liberal House of Commons does not express popular opinion, and you have to turn to the House of Lords in order to ascertain what popular opinion really is. Is the purpose of the House of Lords in the Constitution to determine what the people do want, or what they ought to want? It is perfectly plain that that House now exists in order to determine that Conservative opinion shall prevail. Here is the extraordinary position of the Leader of the Conservative Party. He does not know whether the result of an election is going to be favourable to him or not. If it is, he comes back into this House and says that he is carrying out the wishes of the great mass of the people by passing the measures which he proposes. But supposing that the Leader of the Conservative Party finds himself in a minority in the new House, it does not matter; he calls in the old House to redress the balance of the new. Consequently it does not matter to a Conservative statesman what the result of a general election may be and perhaps that is the explanation of the assertion that the result of a general election is comparatively unimportant. There is high authority for this, that if one has to choose between serving in one place and reigning in another, it may be better to reign in the other. I distinguish carefully between the theological and the political meaning of the phrase "another place." Using the phrase in its political sense, as meaning the place to which good Conservatives hope to go before they die, is it not fair to say that the Leader of the Conservative Party is never under the embarrassing necessity of having to choose between serving in this House and reigning in the other? He does both: and even if the result of a general election is adverse to him, and he has to sit there in opposition as a critic of the Government, over the way he exercises the power of a political Zancig, and is able to put into operation the machinery of the House of Lords to prevent the people being so foolish as not to follow Conservative traditions. If that is the position, does it really seem so absurd, so unreasonable and outrageous, that the mass of the people who do not happen to be Conservatives do not acquiesce in your view? Does anybody suggest that an intelligent foreigner who was brought to look at the British Constitution as a new thing, if it was propounded to him in the terms of the speech to which we have just listened, would not be absolutely aghast at our calling ourselves a democracy? Is there any second Chamber on the Continent that can exhibit such an amazing and astounding constitution as the House of Lords? It is for that reason that the vast mass of the people of this country can see no justification in theory or in practice for the House of Lords. Anybody would think from the line of argument adopted on the other side that if the check which that House exercises over this House was removed, we should go headlong to destruction. I presume the Ministers who now sit on the Treasury Bench have some consideration for their political futures, and I presume that the Liberal Party is not going to run headlong to destruction if the check which now exists and prevents that calamity is removed. The Parliament of 1900, satisfied as it was with its performance, certain as it was that it was following pure Conservative traditions, found there was no House of Lords to check it. When the general election came there was a check, and that is the real constitutional check. It cannot be said that the House of Lords exercises a calm and unbiassed criticism on the legislation of this House. If that could be said, much that is best in the House of Lords might be allowed to remain. But can anybody get up and say that the House of Lords in the past has not been swayed by a certain bias and by certain prejudices in a certain direction? My complaint is that they have acted with this bias and prejudice and did not know how biassed and prejudiced they were. How is it possible for an institution which contains representatives of only one kind of interest to recognise the real claims that can be made by another Party for concessions by proposals they have made peculiarly their own? It never has, never will, and never can be so under the present constitution of the House of Lords. That being so, I feel that if the Government had not taken up the challenge that was thrown down (for it was no quarrel of theirs) they would in truth and in fact have failed to interpret the real feeling in the country. Whether we are right or wrong the general election which is to come will determine. But for the time being there is a great majority in this House that was elected after a great struggle and a great amount of discussion, and it is its bounden duty to carry out what it conceives to be the wishes of the electorate. I do not claim that the question of the House of Lords was in terms put before the electors, but if you consider what has taken place since the election you must believe that the great mass of the people who put this Government into power call now and call earnestly for this reform.

*Mr. BARRIE (Londonderry, N.): We have been told this afternoon by the President of the Board of Trade that Unionists sitting in the House of Commons are representatives of a class largely responsible for the driving of thousands of people from residence in Ireland. This is altogether a new charge to be levelled against Irish Unionists. I have in my short time in this Parliament heard many charges levelled against Irish Unionists, but this is the latest, and I think I may fearlessly claim is the one with the least foundation which could possibly be levelled against us. I can recall it opposition to that suggestion than in an important speech the real ruler of Ireland, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, dealing with the continued decline in the population of Ireland, said that if only Irishmen would remain in Ireland, and work as they had to work in America, it would be better for Ireland and better for themselves. I fear this is to a large extent true. I am free to admit that even in the part of Ireland from which the Unionist Members come there is a continued and much regretted decline in the population. We regret it on many grounds, but we have to admit that it is a result of the continued decline of agriture, even under the best possible conditions. We are here to claim, and I think the House will be largely in sympathy with us, that the present fiscal policy of this country has a great deal to do with it. I only make this reference in answer to the taunt thrown across the floor of the House this afternoon. I prefer to deal with the debate on very different grounds. This is the third day of a debate which will do nothing, and was never meant to do anything tangible as regards the House of Lords, and is nothing more nor less than what may be termed a diversion. It has been finally brought on because of the growing restiveness of many hon. Members opposite. We have had this afternoon reference to the question of temperance, and as one who was returned pledged in favour of temperance legislation I have, not for the first time, to express my regret that the Government has not fulfilled its pledges to its temperance supporters on the other side of the House to press forward the important Bill to which they gave great prominence in the King's Speech. Many measures of first-class importance were mentioned in the King's Speech, and we know that the session is now so far advanced that few are likely to be placed on the Statute-book. We have the Prime Minister's Resolution before us, and an important Amendment upon it from the Labour Benches, and I am bound to admit at once and frankly that I infinitely prefer the Labour Amendment. Its blunt straightforwardness is a quality which I most highly appreciate, while the obscurity of the Prime Minister's Resolution is such as we must conclude is not altogether without purpose. While listening to the speech of the President of the Board of Trade I thought the Labour Members had a right to claim his support in the division lobby. It was a speech not for altering the House of Lords, or for rearranging the terms on which Bills are negotiated between the two Houses, but a speech out and out for abolishing the House of Lords. Now Irish Unionists have every reason to feel grateful to the House of Lords for their action in times past. A good deal has been said this afternoon, and with great ability, to minimise the action of the House of Commons in reference to the Home Rule Bill of 1893. What was the condition of Parties in the House of Commons at that time? The Government, with Mr. Gladstone at its head, had a precarious majority of only forty members, and its supporters included eighty Nationalists. Irish Nationalists in those days were men who took up a very extreme position. In later years the Party has been composed of men who have made very modest speeches in this House, though recent circumstances have caused the nominal leader to make some very extraordinary speeches on the other side of the Channel—I refer particularly to the speech delivered in Wexford last Sunday, in which the hon. and learned Member for Waterford said they were still as much rebels to

English rule as they were in 1798. I desire to recall the attention of the House to this advanced movement, and to point out the real danger which it constitutes to the loyal minority in Ireland. We are abundantly satisfied with English rule, we want no better treatment than the people of England and Scotland get, and we are contented with it; but we do look to the predominant partner to see that we continue to have all the rights and privileges which the people of England and Scotland enjoy. If, after the lapse of time, we have again the two great rival Parties in numbers almost equal, as they were in 1893, when the Nationalist Party held the key of the position, and practically dictated the policy of the Liberal Party, then a real danger at once evolves, so far as the Loyalists of Ireland are concerned. What happened in 1893? We know that, in spite of their precarious majority, a Bill, far reaching in its provisions, was then forced through this House, and was very promptly rejected by the House of Lords. We felt grateful to them for that action. We doubt not that under similar circumstances they would follow the same course again; but what I want to emphasise is that the passing of the Bill through this House was attained by the help of the Nationalist, or the disloyal Party. I ask the House to remember that the Nationalist Party was keenly interested in shaking off the rule of Great Britain, but in this House at that time there were a majority of English and Scottish Members who voted against any such legislation. I desire to show that in regard to the Bill to which I am referring it was not the decision of England and Scotland, the predominant partner, which led to effective legislation; it was the opinion of a minority, supported by the Nationalist Party which rendered that result possible. I have said that such a position may again evolve, and I hope that if ever that day comes, we shall have exactly the same step taken by the House of Lords. We do not for a moment, however, wish to leave the impression that we should not gladly welcome some changes in the constitution of the House of Lords. We have had some references made this afternoon to the Nonconformist conscience. I am myself a Nonconformist. I came here prepared to vote for a modification of the Education Bill—I refer to the clauses dealing with popular control and tests for teachers. But I found when that Bill was introduced that it was absolutely impossible for me to vote for the measure in its entirety, and in the shape in which it finally left this House it became still more impossible. I for one did not come here as an enemy of the Church of England to support the Bill in any shape or form. I remember well the speech of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland when he introduced that Bill, which he said meant equality for all. But in its passage through this House it was shaped more and more in favour of a small class in England, a class which I maintain have no right to any special privileges on either side of the Channel. The Government seemed determined to place the Roman Catholic Church and those belonging to it in a special and privileged position, and that was also manifest I think, in more recent legislation by the same right hon. Gentleman, the present Chief Secretary for Ireland. Passing from that, we had a brief reference this afternoon to the Irish Council Bill. I was glad to hear the Chief Secretary for Ireland so promptly accept the challenge thrown down by the ex-Attorney-General for Ireland, because his admission leads me to say—and I think there is very general curiosity on the subject—that if he did introduce that Bill, anxiously wishing to see it placed upon the Statute-book, he has been very badly treated by those from whom he had a right to receive the most cordial support. Indeed, it is a matter of common knowledge that the terms of that Bill were placed before the Leaders of the Nationalist Party, and practically accepted by them. They voted for the First Reading. We know that public sentiment in Ireland was against the action of the Parliamentary Party on that important matter; and when the Convention was held at Dublin, a very few days later, we had a remarkable development by the present Leader of the Nationalist Party—I do not know how long he is going to continue to be its Leader, because there are many evidences that his power has been largely diminished by his action.

*MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order. The subject on which the hon. Gentleman is now speaking has nothing to do with the question before the House.

*MR. BARRIE: The matter has been so freely referred to that I thought it was permissible to speak upon it. At the Convention on the initiative of the Nationalist Leader the Bill was rejected. When we find Members of the Nationalist Party breaking away and setting up a platform of their own, it clearly shows how important is the House of Lords as a Second Chamber, with a right to review what has been done here, and we hope the day is far distant when it will cease to have that power. Every time there has been an opportunity to test the feeling of the country it has become increasingly clear that the Government has already lost a great deal of the support with which it came into office, and the electorate are only waiting for an opportunity of altering the decision arrived at only eighteen months ago.

*MAJOR RENTON (Leicestershire, Gainsborough): I do not propose on this occasion to deal with the subject historically, nor with the question of heredity. I deeply regret that on this subject I am entirely out of harmony with those with whom I usually act. I see no practical difference between the carrying of the Amendment and the carrying of the Resolution. The Resolution is one of hostility against the House of Lords without a declaration of war. I personally prefer the Amendment, which is precise, clear cut, courageous, lucid, and which is a declaration of war, pure and simple, against the Lords. I prefer the Amendment to the Resolution which the Prime Minister has proposed. We have heard a great deal about the Members of the House of Lords in this debate. Having been a careful listener throughout, the only thing I wonder now at is why they are to be tolerated for another three or four or five years. They have, it would appear, committed every crime in the calendar. [MINISTERIAL cheers.] My hon. friends cheer that. But if that be true their proper place is at the Old Bailey and not Westminster Palace. I am a great believer in a second Chamber, and that is one reason why at the present moment I am addressing the House, but I do not believe in a second Chamber which is too strong, nor in a second Chamber which is simply a mere farce, and of no practical utility whatever. The Prime Minister spoke as to what should be the predominance of the House of Commons. Nobody can deny that it has been brought home by many speakers that the House of Commons is predominant. What the Prime Minister ought to have said was not "predominance," but "omnipotence," and that, with all due deference to the House of Commons, is a doctrine which I cannot subscribe to. I have ventured myself to put down an Amendment which would not have caused much greater delay than the plan of the Government, and it would at least have had this advantage, that it would have enabled the people of this country to be consulted. In days gone by I myself have spoken in the country about the "standing menace" of the House of Lords, the "gross anomaly," and all the rest of it, of which we have heard so much in the last few days. But I have seen during the very short period I have been in Parliament what convinces me of the fact that a second Chamber is absolutely necessary. The hon. Member for Wandsworth last night said that he had analysed many of the divisions, and found that most frequently about half the Members of the House voted. He might have added that on those occasions not half of the Members voting knew what they were voting about. Now the House of Commons cannot, in the very nature of things, represent the will of the people. It only represents a small majority of the people of this country. It is absurd that under the present arrangements one Member should represent 30,000 electors, while another should represent only 1,600. Surely that is a thing which should be put right. After all, we must, also and always remember that we are not elected so much on our own merits as upon the demerits of our opponents. If you are so anxious to trust the people, why is it that the Government in power has always such a horror of any by-election? Two reasons have been given for the course the Government are taking, one of which is the wrecking of the Education Bill of last session. As regards that Bill I am in great doubt how I stand. I am the elected representative of the will of the people in my constituency, one half of which is Church of England and Roman Catholic, and they are all most bitterly opposed to the Education Bill. The other half of my constituency, as represented by the Free Church Council, passed a resolution rejoicing in the action of the House of Lords in destroying the Education Bill. I am, therefore, in great doubt in what way I represent the will of the people. I believe the Government are making the same mistake on this question as they made recently in regard to Ireland, and there they had far better opportunities of gauging the feeling of the people than they have on this question. The Prime Minister reminds the House how in 1649 the House of Commons abolished the House of Lords, but he did not say what the House of Commons did on the following day. I will not dwell on that, but we know that there followed ten years of the greatest tyranny, and in Ireland the troubles of the present day may be dated back to that time. Domestic peace is as essential as external peace. The country has a horror of violent changes, not required and not submitted to it, and I shall, therefore, give my vote against this Resolution and against the Amendment.

*MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I have listened with interest to the views expressed by the hon. Member opposite, views which I much appreciate as the expression of an independent opinion, which one must at all times respect. I could wish that it were more frequently given expression to on that side of the House. In taking part in this debate I desire first of all to call attention to a speech delivered by the hon. Member for South Hackney when he addressed his constituents for the first time upon the conclusion of his first Parliamentary year. The hon. Member for South Hackney is recognised as a thorough-going Radical, but nevertheless he stated that he at any rate was a Second Chamber man. The reason he gave for that opinion was that nine times out of ten when called to a division in this House he had not the faintest conception of what he was voting for, and he declared that he entered this House simply to obey the direction of the Whip who pointed out the lobby into which he was to go, and that was the sum and substance of what he knew as to what he was voting for. Now that is a courageous statement, and I should like to hear the hon. Member deliver himself of such sentiments in this House. I have hopes after all that the hon. Member will carry out his views in the division lobby upon this question, and I have no doubt there will be others who, like the last speaker, will carry out their determination to preserve a Constitution under which we have flourished for so many generations. I wish to say a few words about the Amendment, which at any rate is honest, that is put forward by the Labour Party, which seeks to destroy the Second Chamber altogether. There was a phrase in the speech of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle which I think shows conclusively whither the Labour Party would take us, although it shows the absence of any generous feelings towards the Lords for passing the Trade Disputes Bill. The Member for Barnard Castle said he spoke as the representative of organised labour. I think the term "Labour Party" in this House and "organised labour" are much the same, and organised labour desires to put a final termination to the life of any Chamber which is not directly responsible to the electorate. The Labour Party claim that they should dominate the whole of the legislation because of the votes they already command and the votes which in the immediate future they hope to command in greater quantities. We have to test how far that is likely to be beneficial either to hon. Members on this side or the other who are not directly dependent upon the Labour vote. If we accept the principles which the Labour Party (with consistency I admit) are putting forward in this Amendment, we must remember that the tribunals of the Labour Party are very much akin to a Junta, for they sit with closed doors, they decide matters by those who are in command for the time being, and I can see precious little difference between the methods of the much-abused Star Chamber and the methods of the organised Labour Party acting through its executive officers. If the victory for organised labour is going to compel a man to join their union and make a man come down "on the knee" to accept their doctrines and organisations, then we are going to have a powerful body which is to control in future the destinies, not merely of social legislation, but of everything else that concerns the administration of this House. I will give an instance of what I mean. It is an experience of Sir William Hart-Dyke, who was a respected Member of this House for many years. A very large number of supporters, members of a local trade union, who had been his staunch friends, were working for Sir William Hart-Dyke at the election of 1906. A week had elapsed, and then those men who in all previous contests had not only supported but actively helped him as members of his organisation, came in and confessed that, much as they desired to see Sir William successful, and anxious as they were to take their old place in his political organisation, they had had the word from the trade unions that they were to support not him but his opponent. Is that the expression of the free will of the people indicated in this Resolution which is going to govern the constitution of this House? When we have got rid of the Lords, what is going to happen to the Crown? I dare say hon. Members opposite would suggest that nothing is likely to happen. Without desiring to appear vindictive I cannot refrain from telling the House what already is the expressed opinion of one of the prominent Members of the Labour Party. Speaking in my own division on 12th November last the Member for South West Ham delivered himself at a meeting of trade unions in this way: "He expected nothing from the present Government." That, I think, is very satisfactory. Then he went on to say, "The Lords would have to go, but with the Lords the Church and the Crown would have to go together." That is an indication of the way the wind is blowing in that quarter. I may say that those remarks were commented upon by the editor of a paper with the view of drawing from the hon. Member a disclaimer, but such a disclaimer has never yet been sent. That being the condition of things, what security have we that the Constitution of this country will be maintained if we allow the Second Chamber, the revising Chamber, to be set aside? Anybody would think that the House of Lords had never done any good. An hon. Member opposite said they had committed every crime in the calendar, but he forgets for the moment that they have placed upon the Statute Book many statutes relating to factories and workshops, the public health, employers' liability, and other matters affecting the working classes. I venture to say that the Public Health Act of 1875 is one of the great charters under which the homes of the poorer classes have been made sanitary and kept sweet. That measure, introduced by Lord Cross, was passed by the Assembly which, according to some hon. Gentlemen opposite, can do no good at all. Anybody would think from the utterances of the hon. Member for the Barnard Castle division that the one great and heinous crime of the Lords was committed in 1893 when they altered the Employers' Liability Bill of that year. What was the alteration in that Bill which caused the Government of the day to abandon it? It was because they inserted a clause to enable men to agree with their employers that the compensation to be paid should at least be equal to, or greater than, the compensation provided by the scheme under the Bill. It was owing to the petulance of the Government of the day that the Bill was not proceeded with. The provision which was rejected then has been embodied in the Act which has since been passed, and it is of immense benefit to men who do not desire to get into the hands of lawyers or to take their cases into the Courts. They are able to get compensation awarded to them on terms approved by the registrar, so that there can be no question of dealing unfairly with them. And yet that is put forward to-day as one of the reasons why the House of Lords should be abolished. Then there was the Aliens Bill, which had for one of its objects the protection of British workmen against the unfair competition of foreigners who come to this country. One would have supposed that that measure would have been endorsed by hon. Gentlemen opposite, but while they appear to be most keenly attached to free trade in goods, they objected to our doctrine when applied to labour in times of strikes. Looking at the position of the House of Lords historically, who is there in this House who will not say that it has been in the past a bulwark of the people's liberties? In the early days, when over-reaching claims were made by the monarchy, the House of Lords interfered again and again to the great benefit of the community against the prerogative of the Crown. From what has been said by hon. Gentlemen opposite one would think that the House of Lords was an absolutely irresponsible Chamber, composed only of men claiming to act by right of primogeniture. But it is too often forgotten that the House of Lords is recruited largely from this House. I should like to call attention to the fact that no fewer than sixteen new peers have been created on the recommendation of the present Prime Minister, and of these fourteen have served in the House of Commons. In fact, of the 166 new peers created by successive Governments since 1880, no less than eighty-nine have been Members of the House of Commons, and presumably, therefore, capable legislators. The House of Lords includes in its membership eminent men like Lord Kelvin, Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, and men who have served the State well in the capacity of judges and administrators. I should like to call attention to the experiment which was tried in the seventeenth century with regard to the abolition of the House of Lords. You cannot too often remind the country that this is not a new question. The attempt was made before to work with a single Chamber, and it was found to be a lamentable mistake, as the authors themselves were the first to admit. A Resolution of the House in 1649 purported to abolish the House of Lords. It was then that an expression was used for the first time which has been familiar ever since in Radical clubs and in debating societies, viz: that "the House of Lords is useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished." The curious thing is that those who attempted to govern first by one Chamber, and afterwards by the Lord Protector, came and humbly petitioned the Lord Protector in 1657 to have the country governed by the aid of two Houses. They suggested that the method of appointing the second Chamber should be by nomination at the personal will of the Lord Protector himself. I have here a copy of the writ which was addressed by the Lord Protector to his own son summoning him as a Peer of the Realm. I think that is a chapter in English history which ought to be remembered when hon. Members opposite are dealing in this flippant way with the Second Chamber. In his book on the life of Cromwell the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for India says:—

> "The Independents, though so inferior in numbers, were more important than either Presbyterians or Episcopalians for the reason that their power was concentrated in an omnipotent army. The movement named generically after them comprised a hundred heterogeneous shades, from the grand humanism of Milton down to the fancies of whimsical mystics who held that it was a sin to wear garments and believed that heaven is only six miles off. The old quarrel about Church polity was almost overbalanced by turbid tides of theological enthusiasm. This developed strange theocracies, nihilism, anarchies, and it soon became one of the most pressing tasks of the new republic, as afterwards of Cromwell himself, to grapple with the political danger that overflowed from the heaving of spiritual confusion."

Relating his experiences after a short period as Lord Protector, Cromwell said—

> "I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants, that I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep rather than undertake such a Government as this."

Imagine what the condition of things would be if we had but a single Chamber now. Imagine if we had but a single Chamber, and that Chamber as susceptible to pressure as the present Treasury Bench is to the claims put forward by various classes in the House. Imagine Dr. Clifford going periodically to Hyde Park, with banners flying and drums beating, and demanding measures in regard to matters of theology and undenominational teaching. Supposing that the single Chamber were the only body to enact the law, what happened in the seventeenth century might happen again in the twentieth, with very great detriment to the welfare of the country. Now to sum up the historical part of the argument. [Laughter.] I have no doubt that it does not commend itself to some hon. Members, but experience is a test which in these matters should not be overlooked. I turn for a moment to an expression used by the Prime Minister on Monday. He referred to a saying of Burke that "the virtue, the spirit, the essence of the House of Commons consists in its being the express image of the nation." Can the right hon. Gentleman say that the House of Commons elected in 1906 is the express image of the nation? If he does he might legislate for the purification of the electoral law; he might bring in such drastic legislation as to deal with candidates and others who promulgate falsehoods or half truths as was done at the last general election both in cartoons and in prints. If this be truly and honestly carried out, the National Liberal Publication Department must be suppressed or reformed out of existence and never again allowed to pollute the stream of facts. [AN HON. MEMBER: What about the Municipal Reform Party?] I do not think it permissible for me to deal with that now, but it is only after what I have said in regard to influencing the public mind by placards and by carefully edited half-truth pamphlets that we will be able to say that the will of the people, as expressed at a general election, is the true spirit of the nation. If we are ever to get the true nature and character of the national will we should make it impossible, either by the speeches of excitable politicians or by cartoons, to mislead the unthinking masses who will not take the trouble to read and form a judgment for themselves. I agree with the hon. Member for the Walton Division of Liverpool that the electoral majority gained by the Liberals at the last general election was "got by Chinese labour out of passive resistance." If the House reflects the opinion of the country, why did not the Under-Secretary for the Colonies give a proof by resigning and testing at a by-election at Manchester whether that is so or not? The right hon. Gentleman, in the course of what has been described in the newspapers as "his ferocious speech," referred to the position of the Bishops in the House of Lords, but the right hon. Gentleman should remember that these men could teach him something in the way of meeting opponents. At any rate, they are men whose lives are open to no reproach at all. I have one quarrel with the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, who took care, in quoting from Bagehot's "English Constitution," to read the context of the passage without reading the passage which preceded it. [Ironical MINISTERIAL laughter.] I mean without giving the passage itself. [More ironical laughter.] Mr. Bagehot says that—

> "The danger of the House of Commons is, perhaps, that it will be reformed too rashly; the danger of the House of Lords certainly is that it may never be reformed. Nobody asks that it should be so; it is quite safe against rough destruction, but it is not safe from inward decay. It may lose its veto as the Crown has lost its veto."

If the ingenuity of the right hon. Gentleman was to discover constitutional support for his argument he might have found another and earlier passage in the same book which stated that—

> "The most dangerous of all sinister interests is that of the Executive Government, because it is the most powerful. It is perfectly possible—it has happened, and will happen again—that the Cabinet, being very powerful in the Commons, may inflict minor measures on the nation, which the nation did not like, but which it did not understand enough to forbid. If, therefore, a tribunal of revision can be formed in which the Executive, though powerful, is less powerful, the Government will be the better; the retarding Chamber will impede minor instances of Parliamentary tyranny, though it will not prevent or much impede revolution."

I warn hon. Members opposite that in their zeal for legislation they may remove the only check which preserves the well-being of the nation and cause a tide to rise in certain quarters which will sweep them off their feet and irrevocably wreck the Empire which has taken so long to build up.

MR. MOND (Chester): The hon. Gentleman opposite said that we must be guided by experience; but I would remind him that in order to apply experience favourably it is necessary to have regard to the time in which that experience was gained. A reference was made to the experience of the Commonwealth; but that does not apply to the circumstances of to-day. I have been waiting to hear some defence from hon. Gentlemen opposite of that noble institution the House of Lords. I have listened to the wild divagations of the hon. Member for the Walton Division of Liverpool, which struck me as more violent than anything which had been said by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies. The hon. Gentleman could not defend the House of Lords, but only turn to abuse the President of the Board of Trade. When the hon. Member for the Walton Division, with his ability, cannot undertake the task of defending the House of Lords, it may well be supposed that a good defence of the House of Lords is not possible. The only interesting speech I have listened to was that of the noble Lord the Member for Marylebone, who is not satisfied with either the House of Lords, the House of Commons, or the Party system. I am afraid that the ideal world which he wants will only be realised by him on his reincarnation. By the criticism of hon. Gentlemen opposite we are placed between two fires. On the one hand, we are told that we propose the abolition of the House of Lords, and, on the other hand, that our plan is unworkable. Hon. Gentlemen opposite ought to make up their minds as to which horse they are going to win on. The discussion as to the will of the people has been more psychological than political. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition said that we never knew what the next majority in this House will do; if we are to wait for that we shall never do anything at all. The logical conclusion of that would be the abolition of both Chambers. I do not see how the House of Lords can possibly have the occult powers which they are assumed to have of stating what the will of the people is. If they could they might be called thought-readers. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition complains of a Bill and, standing up before the Front Bench, he holds it up. The query comes back from the other House "What is this?" The right hon. Gentleman says, "This is a Liberal Bill." Then the Lords say at once, "This is a hasty, ill-considered piece of legislation." But when the right hon. Gentleman holds up another Bill, and says, "This is a Tory Bill," the House of Lords says, "This is an excellent and well-considered measure and must be passed." The real differences between us and right hon. Gentlemen opposite are of a much more fundamental nature. We believe that the people ought to rule themselves and rectify their own mistakes when they make them, but they believe that a number of superior persons called the House of Lords ought to rule and protect us against our own representatives. We do not claim that the people or that their representatives will not make mistakes, but what we claim is to make our own mistakes and put them right, and that these people who represent nobody shall not interfere, because they also make mistakes. If we make mistakes we are accountable to the electors, but if we are told that when we elect representatives some third person whom the electors never heard of and do not want to hear of is going to come forward and say, "I am here to protect you against the man you have sent," I say that is ridiculous. I will argue that question on any platform and even in the right hon. Gentleman's own constituency. I should like to know what he would say if some noble duke were to come and declare that he would protect his constituency against him. We are elected by the people who sent us here, and yet it is said that once in this House we want some irresponsible people to look after us in order to see that we shall not make some mistake. We are not so frightened or so terrified that we may not make a mistake. As Nelson said, "the man who has not made a mistake has not made anything at all." Why is it that this question only arises when a Liberal Government is in power? It is not the first time that the question has been raised. It has been raised not only on the Education Bill of last year, but on the Plural Voting Bill. It was brought forward in 1831 and 1832, and at intervals it has been raised ever since. It is a permanent question. The right hon. Gentleman opposite accused us of being anxious to tinker with the Constitution; but if his motor car was out of order and would not do its work would he not send it to the garage for repairs before he trusted himself in it? It is nonsense for the Lords to sleep well and then wake up and talk about hasty legislation. What the people in this country want is not a check on legislation, but faster legislation to accord with modern social conditions. If you study our social conditions, our legislation, thanks to the House of Lords, is fifty years behind the times. There is no country more conservative than this, in which there is less need to guard against hasty legislation. That is why we are so opposed by some hon. Members below the Gangway and above the Gangway opposite who would like us to be extreme. I do not agree that these proposed conferences will be the foolish, sterile things represented on the other side. There have been effective conferences in the past, as, for example, on the Irish Church and the Franchise and Redistribution Bill; and on last year's Education Bill the conference nearly led to an agreement. The scheme of the Government will leave both sides with a strong motive to endeavour to arrive at an agreement, for the Lords will know that they cannot ultimately stop a Bill, and the Government will not be desirous to mortgage time for further legislation by repeated reintroductions of the same measure. There will be every inducement to them to compromise, not on principle, but on matters of detail. I will give you a business instance. Two parties have a quarrel, but they do not want to go into litigation. The counsel on both sides suggest that there is a little doubt, and this leads to negotiation. Then with regard to the Education Bill: we do not know, and few people can tell, how far concessions were made by the other side and how far the Bill would have been a success if it was passed. Was there ever a more hopeless position? We should consider what the proposals of the Government are. Both sides are agreed. Both sides agree that the will of the people should prevail. They only differ as to the machinery by which the will should be expressed. The hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford University in his work on the British Constitution says—

> "The will of the electorate can only be expressed through its representatives."

We may not be the exact image and mirror of the individual opinion of each of our supporters, but we are a mirror of the average opinion. That is the best we can say, and the country will have to take it for what it is worth and be satisfied with it. The majority in the House for the time being represents the will of the majority of the country. I do not put it higher than that, and the question is not whether the Upper House shall compel us to go to the electorate, but how far the check of the Upper House is to work. You say that if we do not agree we ought to send the majority back to the people who sent them here. But we came here in 1906. The election turned largely on the education question. We introduced a Bill which we believed satisfied the electorate. What are we to do? The noble Lord suggested a referendum. How could we put the points of difference between Clauses 3 and 4—a mere matter of machinery? The noble Lord might be able to explain it to the aristocratic division he represents, but most of us would break down absolutely. Most of us never understood it, and most Members never would understand it. I should have gone down to my constituents and said, "You wanted an Education Bill and we have passed an Education Bill, but the House of Lords have refused it. Do you still want it?" If my constituents had any spirit at all they would have said, "We told you what we wanted, and if you are so stupid as to think we change our minds in twelve months you are not the proper person to represent us." The one point that has not been considered up to the present is that, although it may have been necessary to have long delays when means of communication were few and worked slowly, and the people had no power of expressing their opinion; but every Government ought to know the general feeling of the Party in the country in a much shorter time now owing to the introduction of the telegraph and other means of disseminating news. If some Governments are blind enough to run their heads against a brick wall that is not my fault, and it does not affect my argument. My argument is that with the quicker methods of disseminating news and the quicker and freer access to constituencies, no Government could undertake to pass a measure to which the people of the country really have a rooted objection. You can overdo it very much, but I believe that if the country had eighteen months or two years, as they would have under our check, to consider a measure, the constituencies would be glad to tell us their opinion. We come back here, and after all we are not a mere Party machine, as the noble Lord says. No Member of this House is going to vote in such a way that his constituents will turn him out. That would be against our conscience, and we are not going to commit political suicide. None of you have proposed that the veto of the House of Lords should be restricted to one session. Up to now you have offered no alternative whatever. After all, take the famous Home Rule incident. In 1886 Mr. Gladstone was defeated on Home Rule, in 1892 we were returned on Home Rule. The Lords threw it out. It is no argument to say that the country did not want it in 1895. They wanted it in 1892, but they did not want it in 1895. They wanted Local Veto then. But I think they were as anxious to have Home Rule in 1892 as they are now. I believe they are increasingly anxious for it, and I am perfectly convinced that one of the greatest mistakes the Lords ever made was their rejection of the Home Rule Bill in 1893. If that question had been settled we should not have had millions of Irish people driven away from Ireland. Do you want the people to be extinct before you give them self-government? The House of Lords delayed national education for forty years. They threw out every attempt to obtain national education, and the first attempt was made in 1808. Ever since then the Lords have struggled against it, and they are struggling against it now. Nothing appears important to the other side of the House. Social equality, religious equality, education, giving the Irish what they have asked for for the last century, nothing is important; let it wait. We are not content to wait. English democracy must have what it wants. Our leaders have called us to the fight, and we are willing to fight, but there must be no slackening or faltering on the part of our leaders. However bad or extreme their proposals may be, we will uphold them and back them up; we cannot afford to be beaten, and we will not be beaten. If our leaders will keep the path of courage which they have pursued in the past the people of the country will follow their lead. The people are sick and tired of the question. When you go on to a platform you are told, "We do not want to be told of the House of Lords and of the past. What are you going to do? When are you going to end it?" And if we do end it we shall earn the gratitude of the country. Now I want to say a word to Members who represent Labour. Are they going to split the division? Are they going to deliver us into the hands of the enemy on this question? We think together on the question, and we ought to work together on it if we never work together again. If they do not work with us now the heaviest responsibility will rest upon them. This and similar questions must be put out of the way if the Liberal Government is to do any good. We are not going into a small battle which is to be won by one slight charge. Although Members opposite are few in this House they are strong in the country. They have behind them wealth and social privilege. They can exercise the power of the House of Lords as it has been used in the past. All these weapons, the blows of which have fallen heavily in the past, can be brought up again. There must be no blacklegs in this matter, no holding back, no sectional jealousy. There must be but the onward march of the army of democracy. We have a right to demand a decision, and I for one am not afraid of what the result will be, for it will be a great and glorious victory for democracy. Those who toil laborious days and nights have a right to demand the liberty of the people, and that men shall be free to exercise their rights, their votes, and their opinions, without hindrance.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): I congratulate the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down on his honest speech, which was particularly refreshing to listen to, not only because of its characteristics, but also because of the fact that it is one of the few definite expressions from those benches in favour of the proposal of His Majesty's Government. Anyone who has listened to the speeches delivered during the last few days, including those of the Members for the Gainsborough division, Stratford-on-Avon, and the Leith district, will realise that there are great numbers of Members on the Liberal benches who are not in full accord with the great speech made by the Prime Minister two or three days ago. It seems to me that there are a considerable number of Members in this House, anxious to support the Government, who at the same time are not in full accord with the Prime Minister's speech. I think hon. Members on the other side will agree with me when I say that the main question has been to a great extent over-shadowed. The real question before the House is whether or not we shall at the present time abolish the veto of the House of Lords; and when the division is taken to-night there will be a considerable number of Members who will vote for its abolition without meaning to do so. It has been said by the hon. Member for Chester that this question of the conference is a very important one, and he cited instances of conferences in the past, including that with regard to the Education Bill. But those conferences were of a totally different character from that proposed in this instance. In reference to the Education Bill conference, each Member who spoke knew that his words would have some effect. But if a conference takes place in the future on the lines suggested by the Prime Minister, the members of the conference on one side will know that whatever is said will make no difference, because it will be only a matter of time before the Bill is passed over their heads. I think there is a great deal of exaggeration in politics on both sides, and that a great many statements are made in political warfare which hon. Members deeply regret. What is the use of going into a conference if in the end you are expected to acquiesce in proposals of which you do not approve? I ask the House, do they rightly represent the will of the people or do they not? The right hon. Gentleman the present Secretary for India, in regard to political spirit, said—

> "The political spirit is the great force in throwing love of truth and accuracy into a secondary place. This achievement has indirectly countenanced the postponement of intellectual motives."

The hon. Member for Chester referred to the Education Bill as expressing the will of the people. I would say that it did not represent the will of the people. Does any hon. Member believe that, if the question had been put to the people as to religious instruction being given in school hours, they would not have said that they were opposed to the action of the right hon. Gentleman who is now Chief Secretary for Ireland? There is no Member of the House who does not think that if the question had been put before the people they would have said that it was essential that religious education should be within school hours. Take another question, that of the Agricultural Rating Bill. Some years ago many speakers all over the country said that that Bill meant doles to the landlords. If the question had been put to the people: "Are you in favour of doles to landlords?" it is perfectly plain that the answer would have been: "No; we are not in favour of doles to landlords." And everyone knows that the Liberal Party have acquiesced in the continuance of that Rating Act. Take the question of the sugar and tea taxes. Supposing this question were put to the nation: "Are you in favour of a tax on sugar and tea, or do you believe that it is better to raise the same amount of revenue by a tax on manufactured goods?" Does any one doubt what the answer would be? The answer would certainly be by a very large majority in favour of a tax on manufactured goods to maintain the revenue. ["Question."] Hon. Members say, "Question"; I can give them the names of 138 Members of the Liberal Party who spoke at the general election against a tax on sugar under any circumstances at all. Take the question of the Transvaal loan; it is quite an arguable point whether the people of this country would or would not be in favour of granting a loan to the Transvaal. It is not a question of whether the money can be raised or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary for the Colonies the other day said plainly that the money could be raised, and that it was only a question of interest. Take the question of the Plural Voting Bill; I suppose hon. Gentlemen opposite will at once say that there was no doubt with regard to that measure that the people of the country were in favour of it. My answer is: "If that is so, why do not the

Liberal Party go to the country in regard to it?" The question might be fairly put from the platform: "Is it right that a constituency like the City of Durham should be ten times as important, as far as electoral power is concerned, as the constituency of Romford in Essex?" Do you think that, if asked the question, the people would reply that such a state of things ought to be allowed? Do you not think they would say that that was a greater wrong than that a man should have a vote for his own place in which he lived, and for the place in which he has his business? I think I said before that it depends entirely on how the question is put. Take the question of the administrative acts of His Majesty's Ministers. Take, for example, the Edjaldi case. Does any one believe, if the question were asked whether he should have compensation, or further compensation, the people would not say: "Certainly, give him compensation." There cannot be the slightest doubt with regard to it. And if you go through the various administrative acts of the Government, you will certainly come to the conclusion that this House does not represent the will of the people. I doubt very much whether it represents entirely the will of the Liberal Party. Take the question of temperance reform. If the Liberal Party were asked in the country: "Are you in favour of two years elapsing before the Temperance Reform Bill is drafted?" the reply would be, "No." I say, if hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite really think that we, on this side of the House, are acting against the will of the people, why do they not ask what the will of the people is? The Attorney-General the other day spoke of a revolution. Where is the revolution? We see no signs, at by-election after by-election, of anything like a revolution; and I sincerely trust that the good sense of the people will show that we must follow the example of every other nation in the world by having a strong Second Chamber. I will not for a moment attempt to justify our present system; I do not think for a moment that it is possible to justify the present position of the House of Lords; at the same time it is essential that there should be a Second Chamber, with the power of vetoing any Bill which goes up from this Chamber. I think hon. Gentlemen opposite will agree with me that there is no great feeling in the country in regard to the Resolution now before the House. But if the Liberal Party think that the nation do feel strongly in regard to this question, if they think that there is a large body of wicked men standing in opposition to the will of the people, why do they not go to the nation, and then, if they ask the question, they will get their answer.

*MR. MADDISON (Bromley): I think the hon. Member who has just sat down has aptly illustrated the poverty of the defence which has been made of the House of Lords. Really no one has made a defence of that Assembly. The hon. Member for Darlington has given it up completely; he admits there is no defence for the House of Lords. The noble Lord the Member for Marylebone in his able speech also gave it up entirely, and proposed what the Prime Minister called a foreign device, namely, the referendum, to meet the peculiar and anomalous conditions which he knows exist in the Upper House. The absence of defence of the House of Lords has been a common feature of this debate. There has also been an entire absence of alternatives to the Government plan. Just imagine an opposition led by so resourceful a man as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London, and yet with all his ability, his charm of speech, and his marvellous use of words, he has not even made an attempt to offer any alternative whatever to the present proposal. As I read the history of my country it is in the main one of gradual reform. It has been a step-by-step policy, whilst in other countries they have attempted to get reforms by huge strides. I know it is more heroic and picturesque. I confess that I have a little of the pugnacious in me occasionally, and the big strides attract me more than the step-by-step policy. But when I reflect, I realise that in this land of ours—which we all love—this land of freedom where there is more liberty than in any republic on the face of God's earth—we have reached, achieved, all this by the step-by-step process. Therefore it is strictly in accordance with our traditions; it is in our blood, and we reach the end quicker by this method. The Government's plan appears to me to be on the royal road of this evolutionary process. We have been told by many hon. and right hon. Gentlemen of the gradual change in the position of the House of Lords; how at one time the House of Lords really led the nation, and rightly so, because it contained the brains of the country at that time. We know how gradually before the onward march of the newer spirit and the newer conditions it has receded further and further. The stages in our civilisation are marked by the backward movement of the House of Lords, until at last we have the Leader of the Opposition admitting that, broadly speaking, nothing remains in the functions of the House of Lords but to interpret the will of the people. It is that function which we are considering, and throughout this agitation the question is, How does the House of Lords fulfil its single function of being the interpreter of the will of the nation? If we can show that it has failed to exercise this function, then there is nothing left to justify its existence in its present position and with its present uncontrolled powers. One has only to ask that question to answer it. How does the function of the national interpreter work? We all know it works in this way: whenever a Tory Government is in power, every Bill they send up, whether it is an Education Bill, a Licensing Bill, or any measure of a different nature, is accepted at once by the House of Lords as interpreting the will of the nation. That means that the Tory Party are always regarded as the embodiment of the national will. No one can deny this. For the last twenty years, save three, the Tory Government were in power, and not one single Government Bill during that period was rejected by the House of Lords or mutilated or even seriously changed by them. Therefore the interpreter of the national will always takes the Tory Party and the Tory Government as embodying that will. But when a Liberal Government comes into power they begin to discriminate. In the case of the Trade Disputes Bill, which was an exception, they held that it represented the will of a large section of the nation and they let it go through. But they decided that the Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill did not represent the will of the nation, consequently in the first session of the most democratic Parliament that has ever gathered within these walls the House of Lords declared that that Parliament, fresh from the enthusiasm of a general election, did not represent the national will. The ordinary man in the street that we talk so much about and know so little of, although he does not care much about constitutional history, and is not very much concerned with our procedure, knows when a thing is fair and when it is unfair, and I venture to say that he will regard the position of the House of Lords as unfair. The Leader of the Opposition, in one of those pretty discourses of his, set himself to elaborate what I should have thought was a self-evident proposition, that democracy or popular opinion makes mistakes. Of course popular opinion makes mistakes. I call myself a democrat, although I know I am often vigorously assailed by some of my hon. friends, but I am quite indifferent as to that. I am a democrat, and I accept the majority whether right or wrong; I do not quarrel with the Leader of the Opposition when he says public opinion is quite fallible; but the right hon. Gentleman, having made that statement and laid down that proposition, goes on to contend that aristocratic judgment in the other House is infallible. What a strange mixture of reasoning that is. I make this statement at once, that after some little thought in my own way I have concluded that it would be a disadvantage to be ruled by a single Chamber. I know that in that I probably differ from a good many hon. Members of this House with whom I generally associate. I confess that to me it does seem desirable that there should be a Chamber of review or revision—call it what you like—although I think that the final word, when a final word has to be given in case of fundamental differences, must always rest with this House. I have seen in my short career in this House Bills approved of in principle, but owing to the exigencies of the Parliamentary situation the Government or the promoters of such Bills have absolutely refused

Amendments which they admitted were required because they knew that by accepting them they would lose their Bill. I want all legislation to go through two atmospheres. I want an opportunity to be given for such Amendments to be made where there is more time and under more favourable conditions. For that and other reasons I do stand, and very resolutely stand, for two Chambers. I am surprised that hon. Members opposite who believe in two Chambers do not see that their resistance to such a proposal as that of the Government is fatal to their position. If they on the one hand assert the need of a Second Chamber, and on the other hand are prepared to stand by a Chamber which they know lacks every condition which is needed for a just Second Chamber, then they give their whole case away. If instead of the Education Bill being sent to the other place you had taken it by consent to a general meeting of the Carlton Club, I do not think its fate would have been any worse than it was in the House of Lords. I am prepared to defend that statement, not as a mere exaggeration of speech, but as being literally correct. The truth is that the House of Lords in our time has never rid itself of its Tory character, which still clings to it, and it must cling to it under present conditions. I have always been against the hereditary principle. In my first election address I was bold enough to write, some fifteen years ago, that I was against the hereditary principle in any form and everywhere. To that declaration I still adhere. For the life of me, judged by the democratic test or any other I can think of, I can find no justification for the hereditary principle in legislation. To-night we have to decide whether we will or will not support the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for the Barnard Castle Division. I am going to vote against that Amendment, not, as I have already said, because I am against the declaration it contains with respect to the hereditary principle, but because I regard it as a mere abstract and pious opinion. What does it do? The Resolution of the Government says that in order to give effect to the will of the people you shall do so-and-so, and it lays down a distinct plan. But what does the Amendment do? It proposes to leave out from the word "That," and to add the words, "the Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished." But it says nothing else. If that is carried you will be doing nothing, and all you will have done is what you might have done on a Wednesday or a Tuesday in the early part of the session, namely, declare your opinion about the hereditary principle. This Amendment does nothing more than that. I cannot conceive how you can have the practical proposal of the Government and the mere theoretical expression of the opinion of hon. Members opposite put in more violent contrast than it is by the Amendment and the Resolution. Surely we are not going to pedal away saying that we do not like Lords and hereditary legislators. We want something that will curtail their power; something that makes this House in practical affairs predominant. That is all we want. We have here a plan which is the beginning of a scheme which will put the other Chamber more in subjection to the will of the people. We are not here to-day simply to declare that we are against the hereditary principle, which may be useful for platform purposes and of which I appreciate the value in that sense, but which for business purposes is of no value at all. You are face to face now with a practical proposal. I know that hon. Members opposite are in favour of the Government Resolution. The hon. Member for Clitheroe made a speech which left no doubt in my mind as to his intention, and of his assessment of the value of his own Amendment, because he knew it would have no practical effect; but he knew also that it would be the medium for a declaration of opinion. I shall vote against this Amendment because it does not take the line of least resistance. It is wonderful what agreement there is between Socialism and Toryism in some respects. The Leader of the Opposition and several hon. Members on the other side of the House have distinctly stated that this agitation against the Lords is dishonest, and that its object is to divert the attention of the country from the failure of the Government to redeem the promises on which the Liberal Party were returned. It has been said that the Government, instead of going on with the social reforms they are pledged to deal with, prefer to go out into the wilderness on a question of constitutional reform. The hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil, whose enforced retirement from the House no one regrets more than I do, has declared on several platforms that the Government have got up this agitation in order to get out of the task of dealing with social reforms. I remember that a speech was made of a similar character by the hon. Member for Blackburn. I agree with the declaration made by the Members of the Labour Party against the hereditary principle, but I regard the Amendment as having no practical value. If it were carried it would have no effect, and to carry it into effect you would have to surrender practically everything else. You would have to go out into the wilderness for nobody knows how long, in order to fight the matter right through. But with the plan of the Government it is different. I will not say that I perfectly understand the plan of the Government.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): Hear, hear!

*MR. MADDISON: Of course the hon. Member for Woolwich does. I followed the Prime Minister's speech very carefully, and I have tried to think about it since, and, after all, both the hon. Member for Woolwich and myself do understand the main outlines of the proposal. My difficulty is as to whether everything cannot be done in two sessions. If it is to take three sessions, that will be a huge mistake. I think the hon. Member for the Barnard Castle division went somewhat out of his way to attack the Government plan. I think he has hardly got a right conception of its nature. One illustration will suffice for me. The hon. Member tried to set up a parallel between the conferences last year on the Education Bill and the conferences which will take place under the scheme of the Government. But he is comparing like with unlike, and when you do that you never get an accurate result. What is the fact in regard to the conferences held last year? Representatives from this House went to their masters to beg them to give something, and so eager were they for the Bill that they nearly gave it all away, because they knew that the House of Lords had the whip hand. But will that be the case under the Government scheme? The representatives of the House of Commons will have exactly the reverse position. They will go with the knowledge behind them that they have the ultimate power to compel the acceptance of a Bill. On this question the Government could not be better represented, from my point of view, than by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Battersea, and I would say this last word to Ministers, that, having started on this journey, you have got to go through with it. Even if you fall you will have the consolation that you have made a landmark in the history of political reform, that you have reduced the great Tory Party to helplessness in the defence of the House of Lords, and that you have brought the democracy of the country within sight of the promised land, and of the time when they will be supreme in their own House.

*MR. MIDDLEMORE (Birmingham, N.): There is only one remark in the speech of the hon. Member for Burnley to which I will refer. He spoke of the absence of any alternative proposal to that which the Government themselves have proposed. There is, in the first instance, the proposal of the hon. Members who sit below the gangway. There is also the proposal of the House of Lords, which is not yet before us. A Committee of that House is now sitting to consider how to reform itself. I think, perhaps, we might well afford to wait for that suggestion. Perhaps when it comes it will meet the views of some hon. Members opposite. At any rate, we can afford to wait for it. The hon. Member opposite can wait, for he said in the course of his speech that this is the freest country in the world, freer even than countries which are more democratic, and this great freedom has grown up under the House of Lords. I think if you wait for a few weeks for their proposal it will not be time thrown away. I should like to preface the two or three remarks I have to make by saying that it will be quite impossible for me to vote against the proposal of the hon. Gentlemen below the gangway for the complete abolition of the House of Lords. It seems to me, however, a more manly, more straightforward, and far simpler course than that proposed by the Government. There is one thing to be said in favour of the proposal of the Government, that is that it is very English indeed. You are to retain the form, but you are to destroy for all intents and purposes the function of the House of Lords. You are to kill the body, but from sheer love of imposture in the matter of procedure you are to leave the corpse unburied. It almost reminds me of one of those animals that we read of in Darwin, who have long since lost their eyes, but retain the eye sockets with which their ancestors once looked out on life. By whom is the House of Lords to be suppressed? It is to be suppressed by a House of Commons—and I shall try to justify that statement—by a House of Commons that cannot get through its own business. By a House of Commons which has been trying to pass a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill for forty years and which has not been able to do it. [Cries of "Why?"] By a House of Commons which carries on its business by a process of log-rolling. By a House of Commons which has twice tried to force upon the country a proposal to break up the Union contrary to the wishes of the country. In my opinion, the House of Commons is decadent. May I illustrate what I mean? I remember that I first began to take an interest in politics on my return from America in 1870. I then for the first time began to read the English Press. In that year a great Education Bill was passed. It was brought in by Mr. Forster. It was an enormous Bill, compared with which the Bill of last session was a trifle. It was bitterly and constantly opposed by the Dissenters, but it was passed. Again, in the same year Mr. Gladstone proposed an equally enormous Land Bill. That was obstructed by the Irish to such an extent that I remember reading how Mr. Gladstone, when he entered the House, threw himself back in his seat and gave a loud shout of despair at the severity of the obstruction. But both of those enormous Bills were passed without the aid of the closure in any form. We could not do so now. See how we have degenerated. The steps seem to have been, first, the introduction of the simple closure, then the closure by compartments, and finally the reference of the business of the House to Committees upstairs, where they are closured, unreported, and almost held in secret. That is the position we have arrived at. Half of the clauses of our great Bills are utterly undiscussed in the House of Commons, and the proposal now is that they should be undiscussed in the House of Lords also. [AN HON. MEMBER: "No."] "No," says an hon. Member, but if you deprive the Lords of the authority to veto they will certainly not respect themselves if they discuss the Bills, and if our great Bills are to be undiscussed both in the Lords and the Commons, the only remaining factor in legislation is the Cabinet itself, which is frequently elected—I suppose most Cabinets are elected—on a basis of outrageous misrepresentation. The suppression of discussion seems to me to be a very curious ending indeed to the system of Government by discussion. It has been asked: For what purpose does the House of Lords exist? I think it exists to discuss those large parts of vital Bills that are undiscussed by this House. I think, too, it exists to refer Bills of vital and fundamental importance on which this House has expressed an opinion, but on which the country has not given a clear verdict—to refer such Bills back to the people. I think it exists to ask a verdict from the country upon them. In my opinion the Resolution of the Government deprives the country of its right, and in the present state of things the House of Lords is standing for the rights of the people, and not the House of Commons. It stood for the rights of the people in the matter of Home Rule, and I shall uphold the very limited rights which it still possesses.

DR. POLLARD (Lancashire, Eccles): It think I am right in saying that the House is unanimous on one point, namely, that the will of the people must prevail, but a sharp difference of opinion arises as to who shall interpret that will. The assertion put forward by hon. Members opposite that the House of Lords is in a position to know the will of the people far better than this Houre is, to my mind, supremely ludicrous. The Peers may be the lords of the land, but they are not the lords of the people. It cannot be denied that the House of Lords is the submissive instrument of the Tory Party, so that it comes to this, that whether that Party is in office or out of office, or in a helpless minority as at present, they claim to represent the will of the people. Such a position is intolerable, and I, for one, am delighted that the Prime Minister has brought forward this Resolution. The proposal is further to limit the powers of the House of Lords by placing the two great Parties in the State on an equal footing so that neither Party has an unfair advantage over the other, and to give the people the choice of policy. Now the Government has not sought a quarrel with the House of Lords. The Leader of the Opposition said that the Government had picked a quarrel before the House of Lords had done anything, and that the Liberal Party preferred to spend the time of Parliament in altering the legislative machine to dealing with the important questions of social reform. It is quite the opposite—and it is because we desire to carry land reform and social reform that we are determined to improve the legislative machine, in rejecting the Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill at the instigation of the Leader of the Tory Party the Lords themselves have thrown down the challenge, and the Government could not do otherwise than take up that challenge. The issue is clear and straightforward, and cannot be evaded. The issue is the supremacy of the people. What is the situation? At the General Election the Liberals gained a decisive victory, the Government was returned to power with an unexampled majority, and yet that Party is robbed of the fruits of their victory by the action of the House of Lords. The country will not be satisfied, and ought not to be satisfied, that its representatives should go on ploughing the sands. The right hon. Gentleman opposite admits that this House is the predominant House, and has pointed out that on the all-important matters of finance, peace and war, administration, and the rise and fall of Governments, this House is supreme; and that the House of Lords has no right to intervene. What remains—over what is it that the House of Lords claim controlling voice? Broadly speaking, it is the Amendment of the land and liquor laws, and any measures affecting the social well-being of the people. My opinion is, and there has been nothing stated in this debate to alter my opinion, that the House of Commons, the direct representatives of the people, is by far the most competent assembly to deal with these questions. Now the attitude of the House of Lords towards social questions is well known and well understood. The Liberal Party is severely handicapped in their attempts to carry out their pledges in the direction of social and land reform, their Bills have to be drafted not in the interests of the nation as a whole, but fashioned so that they will meet with the acceptance in the House of Lords. Our own convictions are disregarded, the prejudices of the Peers considered, the result is that valuable Parliamentary time is spent and little useful accomplished. In the present controversy it has been, for the most part, tacitly assumed that our attitude towards the House of Lords is to be determined by our views of its efficiency as a regulating or revising Chamber. What I desire to say is that there is a considerable body of opinion, by no means extreme, whose attitude is not determined primarily by the consideration I have mentioned. The attitude of hostility towards the House of Lords maintained by those who think as I do, and which, as I have said, is independent of the question of the efficiency of the upper Chamber, is based upon the conviction that an assembly constituted as is this House by the popular will upon an elective basis, ought not to be called upon to submit its conduct to any assembly not constituted in a similar manner. You may regard this as merely sentiment. Perhaps it is only a sentiment. But it is one which springs from a profound sense of the dignity of this House as the instrument through which the British nation exercises the highest function of citizenship, viz., self-government. I do not care how excellent the other Chamber may be, how efficient in its working, how unerring in its judgment. I do not care how foolish or inefficient we may be; the fact remains that we are here as the representatives of the free electors of a country, and it is for them, and for them alone, to sit in judgment upon us. There is to me something inexpressibly humiliating in the thought that we who are assembled here by the favour of millions to give effect to the policy, whether that policy be good or bad, which is approved by the majority of our citizens, should have to submit our resolutions for criticism, amendment, or even reversal, to a body of men who owe their position of power not to any national force which is behind them, but to the accident of a peculiar historical development. At the moment, no doubt, the feeling I have indicated is confined mainly to this side. But I venture to say that were it not for one fact, it would be largely shared by the opposite side. The fact that the House of Lords has been the effective Party hack of the opposite side is the only thing that has prevented them from sharing our resentment, and I firmly believe that even as it is they must occasionally be dimly conscious of such a feeling. I have heard Members say that if the House of Lords always acted impartially and treated both the great Parties in the State in the same manner, those who are now opposed to that House would not have been so. It may seem paradoxical, but I venture to say that if the House of Lords always acted impartially, so far from enjoying the regard of both Parties, it would now be sharing the hostility of both. Both Parties would have felt the same humiliation in submitting their decrees to an assembly not deriving its authority direct from the people. It is the partiality, the unfair discrimination shown by the House of Lords that has preserved it for so long. It has allied itself with one of the permanent Parties in the State, and by so doing has become invested with some portion of that permanence. Had it acted independently of either Party, it would have received the support of neither, and both would have felt the loss of dignity involved in having to submit to its judgment. To one great Party in the State the House of Lords is an object of hostility unmingled with respect; to the other it is an object of contempt tempered with a recognition of its utility for Party purposes. This is not the proper sentiment that a second Chamber should evoke. Whether there ought to be a second Chamber at all is a question apart from the one I have raised. For my own part, whether I personally think it necessary or not, I am willing to defer my opinion to the views or fears of those who think that it is so. But what I say is, that if there is to be a second Chamber it should be one to which all Parties can defer without loss of self-respect, and that can only be to a Chamber of an elective nature, and, like ourselves, deriving its authority directly from the nation.

MR. MEYSEY-THOMPSON (Staffordshire, Handsworth): I intervene at this late stage of the debate with all diffidence. The eloquent and able speech of the noble Lord the Member for Marylebone East was so convincing and so carefully reasoned that it must have brought conviction to many whose minds are not altogether closed to logical argument, and even to those who, from some mental or intellectual deficiency, fail to attain to the full height of absolute conviction, it must have afforded pleasure to have listened to it, and, I hope, some considerable profit which will be more apparent at a later stage of their political development. We range from that speech to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, delivered with that vehemence, misdirected energy, and absolute lack of logic which are so characteristic of his utterances, which frequently amuse the House, and always fail to bring conviction to a single Member of it. Last night the right hon. Gentleman made a quotation from Bagehot's "English Constitution." I will, with the leave of the House, take the liberty of quoting from the authority which he has chosen. I find on page 109 it is stated that—

> "Our House of Commons is, as all such Chambers must be, subject to sudden turns and bursts of feeling, because the Members who compose it change from time to time."

Again quoting from the same authority selected by the hon. Member himself I find—

> "While the House of Commons is what it is, a good revising, regulating and retarding House would be a benefit of great magnitude."

While I think the House of Lords is a most useful institution as it is, there is an improvement which I have long thought would be a most useful change, viz., the introduction of Colonial representation. How that is to be done I do not say. It may be by some system of life Peerages, or Peerages by virtue of and during the tenure of certain offices. We are not without precedent for that. We have the Lords of Appeal, and the Scottish and Irish representative Peers. It would be improper for me to say more on this subject at this time. I only throw out the suggestion, which I hope is not without some value. In concluding my remarks I will only add one word of warning. You can easily do away with such a body as the House of Lords, but you cannot easily replace it. It is the growth of generations and it has great traditions of honour and integrity behind it. After all that has been said about the House of Lords, no one has questioned its uprightness. In the House of Lords you have a body of intelligent, thoughtful men, many of them already distinguished in the House of Commons or in public positions of great responsibility, eminently able men, who are accustomed to affairs through having to manage their own estates, by means of which they are brought into connection with every kind of business, and with experience of every phase of life. Above all, you have a body which is absolutely incorruptible, loyal, honest, and patriotic, who do their best for their country and look ahead in order to secure its welfare, not only for the immediate present, but in the future. I say that such a body of men is an asset which no country can afford rightly to dispense with. It is a heritage which has come down to us, for which we ought to be thankful, and which we on this side of the House will do our utmost to support and to preserve.

*Mr. CROSFIELD (Warrington): As Lord Byron said, there is one subject upon which most people are eloquent and very few agreeable, and that is themselves; but on the first occasion of rising to address this important House a few preliminary observations may be pardoned. I should like therefore to explain why I venture to make a few remarks and why I intend to vote in support of this Motion. I can claim no title to rush in where constitutional authorities have evidently trod with circumspection and caution. I would be content simply to subscribe to the course which the Prime Minister has taken, because one sees in the Resolution the courage, sincerity, sagacity, and caution which have endeared the Leader of the Party to all who follow him, including humble Members of the Party like myself, who regard our chief not merely with respect but with affection. And so I told my friends in my constituency that while we have on these Benches such an abundant flow of oratory, the Whips were quite content if they had my vote without too much of my voice. At the same time I would not have my constituents think I was shirking a tight place. I have made the acquaintance of a *crevasse* on one occasion and stood under an avalanche on another, and have been in other tight places. I am, therefore, not going to shrink from my duty and privilege of addressing this venerable assembly. I am glad to have the opportunity of speaking to-night, because this is an occasion which affects not a single section of one's constituency, but the whole. I know the views of the large Liberal and Labour element which I have the honour chiefly to represent; I know the views of the large contingent of Irish friends who live in Warrington; I feel sure they will approve of my vote on this occasion. So far as argument may be necessary, I feel inclined to address myself to the free trade Unionists who supported me at the last election. So far as I have any grip of the fundamental issue, the pith and essence of what the Government are proposing amounts to this, that after due precautions against hasty legislation and without undue and dangerous delay, the will of the people shall prevail. We have been told in this very interesting debate that distinguished Members of another Chamber profess to know that will as if they were a Chamber of Zancigs. I am afraid that does not hold water at all, and we have proof to the contrary of the most overwhelming kind. One of the best summaries of that proof we listened to in the speech of the hon. Member for Clitheroe, who gave us a lucid and convincing summary of the measures which the Lords have rejected which were wanted urgently for the benefit of the people. The case against them is, I fear, equally strong, whether we consider what they have done or what they have left undone. For when prejudice and passion and race hatred have run high have the Lords ever tried to use their undoubted influence in the country to allay these mischievous sentiments? May I refer for a moment or two to the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University, and his contention that when the time came to translate this Motion into a Bill we should have a single Chamber, and consequently bad and hasty work. I am sure the great majority here feel that quite the contrary is the danger—that we run the risk of too much delay, a point that was made very clear in the frank, powerful, and brilliant speech we heard this afternoon from the President of the Board of Trade. He—and last night the Under-Secretary for the Colonies said the same thing—pointed out that we could not legislate for the case of a mad people returning a mad Parliament. Neither can we, nor are we, going to waste time in anticipating the impossible. The Secretary of State for India wrote, a good many years ago, that he had no great love for Second Chambers, and although I dare say there are plenty of people in this country who think the consequences would be disastrous if we had no Second Chamber, I, for one, should be able to sleep in my bed quite comfortably. I believe in the prudence and sense of fairness of the English people, and I believe in the advantage of full responsibility being placed upon the representative Chamber. But I believe, at the same time, that it is better to have a Second Chamber, if only because, for my part, I would not like to see the Crown dragged into the dusty turmoil of Party politics. That is not the only reason; there are other reasons why it is better to have a Second Chamber. But I am truly thankful that the Government mean business on this question, and that in future we are not going to have the interminable delays and the emasculation and cutting down of our measures—delays which have told against the real interests of the nation for so long. The allusion has been made in this debate —and indeed the Prime Minister laid emphasis on the fact—that in their graver issues politics are something much more serious than a game. Yes, that is true, and so is life, but as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose has reminded us, laughter has a forepart in it. It would indeed be hard luck to deprive the poor politician of his little bit of humour. I am told that one day Dan Leno came down to the House, and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Woolwich—whose wit and genius are not second even to Leno's — met him when he was leaving, and said, "Well, Dan, what do you think of it all?" "Not bad," said Leno, "Not bad; but I think it would go better to the piano." Poor Leno; we all miss him, and all appreciate his little joke at our expense. If there is humour in the House, there is also good humour, and I venture to think that any foreigner who has been present this week would consider this great debate with its far-reaching issues a striking example of it. And a new Member making his maiden speech must of all others be most sensible of the kindness, and the generous courtesy of the House, for which I sincerely beg to thank hon. Members. It was to me the greatest honour of my life to be elected to represent the old Roman town of Warrington, where the first beginnings of some of the most important industries of England were started by those ancient pioneers of civilisation and trade, and it is also one of the greatest privileges I shall ever enjoy to speak for the first time in this time-honoured assembly, so potent for good, not merely by helping people, but rather by giving to them the best opportunities for helping themselves, and capable, therefore, of exerting so beneficent an influence even in the humblest cottage in the land.

*MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): We have heard a great deal during the debate concerning the will of the people, and we heard from the hon. Member for the Walton Division of Liverpool that the will of the people had been rightly regarded by the House of Lords when the school boards were abolished by the last Government. I remember very well the debates which took place on that question, and I then stated that which I repeat to-night, that there was no mandate from the constituencies upon the subject; that there was not a single petition presented to this House in favour of the abolition of school boards; that there was not a single public meeting in the country asking for their abolition, and that they were abolished at the instigation of the Bishops in the House of Lords. And that is the instance cited by the hon. Member to show that the House of Lords does the bidding of the country. A more unfortunate illustration he could not have offered. My justification for intervening in this debate is that I have an Amendment to the Resolution on the Paper—an Amendment which is in the form of a Motion which has been on the Order Book for seventeen years. I essayed from time to time to get an opportunity to propose it as a Motion, but was not successful until four years ago in submitting it to the judgment of this House. The House will therefore perhaps excuse me if I read it—

> "The power now possessed and frequently exercised by the House of Lords to veto measures adopted by the House of Commons should be limited to one session of Parliament."

There is no ambiguity about that. It is brief and comprehensive, and if I may judge by the opinion which has been expressed concerning it by many hon. Members, it is a Motion that would if moved and if not subjected to official pressure on the part of the Government Whips but left to the free decision of the House, be carried by a very large majority. In considering this question of the House of Lords, I have always felt that whenever the time came for it to be dealt with, it would have to be dealt with by limiting its power of veto as proposed by the Prime Minister, or better still, if I may be permitted without being egotistical to say so, by the Motion I have read. I regret, however, that by the ruling of Mr. Speaker I am precluded from moving it as an Amendment. The Resolution and my Amendment both propose to restrict the vetoing power of the House of Lords, and I am delighted to think that now the question is submitted to the judgment of this House there can be no doubt as to what the verdict will be. Hon. Members who have been as long in this House as I have been will be cautious how they accept the advice of hon. Members opposite sitting above the gangway. The Labour Members who propose to abolish the House of Lords have been congratulated by Tory Members on the straightforward character and manliness of their Amendment as against the somewhat ambiguous Motion of the Prime Minister, but I would advise Labour Members to look with suspicion on such congratulations. My experience is that there is a mass of the people in the country who favour the continuance of the House of Lords, not as at present constituted, but because they believe in a Second Chamber. If, however, you ask them whether they do not think that the House of Lords has too much power and that that power should be limited, they agree with you. From that experience I have arrived at the conclusion that the Motion of the Prime Minister is a practical one, which the country will ratify, when it is asked to do so. Being satisfied that the country would object to the Motion to abolish the House of Lords, but that it will agree to the Motion of the Prime Minister, I prefer to vote for what is practicable rather than that which is desirable. We have had some extraordinary speeches delivered in this debate, and I have listened with attention to all of them. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Oxford University stated that every civilised State in the world had a Second Chamber, but he omitted to state how they are constituted. When I moved my Resolution four years ago, and eight members of the present Government voted for it, I gave to the House a brief epitome of the way in which Second Chambers were constituted in every country of Europe and in the United States, and I brought to light the extraordinary fact that there was not a Second Chamber in the world established on the hereditary principle like the House of Lords, that possessed the power of perpetual veto. On that occasion I cited the little State of Norway as a model upon which a Constitution should be based. I believe that in Norway they have solved the problem of a Second Chamber. There there is one suffrage, every man is entitled to a vote; 150 Members have to be elected to constitute a Parliament. At their first meeting they elect one-fourth of their body to constitute a Second Chamber, or a Chamber of Revision. They have separate Houses, and separate officers. The lesser body possesses limited powers, and by no means the powers possessed by our Second Chamber. When a Bill is sent up to the lesser body they have a right to amend or reject it. That may be done for two sessions, but if they do so in the third session the lesser body and the larger body meet as they did when they were originally elected, and a two-thirds majority of the combined Houses suffices to pass the Bill. That is essentially democratic, it is the most simple form of a Second Chamber in the world and, I commend its study to Members of this House. As I stated, I intend to vote for the Motion of the Prime Minister, as a practical proposal, in preference to the impracticable Amendment moved from the opposite side of the House. It is said that all things come to those who wait, and I do not regret having waited seventeen years to get what was then regarded by many Members as a theory brought forward as a substantive motion by the Prime Minister, and I sincerely hope that the proposal of the Government will be passed into law. Speaking in regard to a Second Chamber four years ago, I said—

> "If no Second Chamber existed in this country and it was proposed to establish one in which the qualification for a seat was that the occupier should be the eldest son in certain families, and that these eldest sons should possess a power of perpetual veto—if such a proposal were made, then the author of such a proposal would be speedily incarcerated in an asylum for idiots."

To that opinion, expressed four years ago, I adhere now. I regret that the Amendment which has been moved will not enable me to vote for it, and I am sorry that it has been moved, because the country will be misled by the division to-night. I know many Members of the House who are not going to vote for the Amendment, but who are going to do the more practical thing of voting for the Motion of the Prime Minister. You are placing many Members of the House in a false position. Suppose that you get 100 votes in favour of your Amendment, the country will be justified in coming to the conclusion that there are only 100 Members of the House of Commons who are in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords, whereas there are double or treble that number, as would be proved if a clear issue was raised upon the subject. I therefore regret deeply that the Amendment has been moved, and I shall not be able to record my vote for it.

*SIR EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe): The hon. Member for Gainsborough in the earlier portion of the debate spoke with the courage of his convictions, and remarked that there was no difference between the Amendment and the Resolution. But the hon. Member who has just sat down seems perfectly satisfied with the wisdom of the course embodied in the Resolution, which resolves itself into this, that this House is asked to emasculate and to cripple an essential portion of the Constitution which has withstood the storm and stress of political strife for centuries past. The hon. Member for Brighton, speaking a few days ago, said it was perfectly conceivable that the majority in the country might be the minority in this House, and he asked whether the Government were going to place this unbridled power in the hands of a single Chamber. The hon. Member for Elland made an onslaught on what he was pleased to call the indefensible and untenable position. I think that the hon. Member entirely misappreciates the situation, because there is more statesmanlike capacity in the Upper Chamber than the hon. Member seems to dream of in his philosophy. The hon. Member for the Hyde Division of Cheshire, who made an able speech yesterday, said there was only one thing more difficult than making a maiden speech, and that was matrimony. But there is one thing far more trying than that, and that is the disagreeable stages which are preliminary to the dissolution of marriage. And when we see an hon. Member with a promising political career before him, ruthlessly entering upon a path of disruption and distrust instead of harmonious adjustment, one cannot help thinking that evil communications corrupt good manners. Then he went on to say that this House drew its vigour and vitality from frequent contact with the people. Might I suggest to him that the House of Lords is not altogether bereft of similar sources from which to draw its life-blood, being constantly replenished by a fresh infusion from among the most powerful minds and intellects in the country. It is for this reason that the country has come to regard the House of Lords, with all its faults and all its deficiencies—and what human institution can boast of being perfect?—as a useful and valuable institution, representing the country at large with its law-abiding will and convictions, as compared with the fluctuating and transient views so often observable in popular assemblies. The Party opposite seem altogether obsessed by the notion that the country is under the despotic heel of an irresponsible and oppressive Second Chamber. Whence do they derive that impression? Is it from the people? If so, when? We know that at the last election if there was one thing brought out more strongly than another it was that hon. Gentlemen opposite were determined to maintain at all hazards the present fiscal system of the country, which, whether it is obsolete or not, has certainly not borne out the prospects which its authors predicted to the people. We are told that the House of Lords rejected the Education Bill. I should like to know what section of the people really approved of that Bill. I know that the Chief Secretary for Ireland stated that he was prepared to make very special concessions to denominations other than the Church of England. But that was not within the four corners of the Bill. There was not one single line which bore upon it, though I have no doubt they were honestly determined to carry out their intentions. The hon. Member the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, while rather wearing his heart upon his sleeve, at the same time showed the cloven hoof when he told us that a reformed House of Lords meant a weakened House of Commons. So far as I can gather from his idea of the case, the upper Chamber is to be deprived of all authority so that we may invite the country to enjoy a period of uninterrupted enjoyment of a reign of terror interspersed with occasional interludes of dictatorships! The President of the Board of Trade, in drawing up his black list of iniquities charged against the Lords, told us of their action on the Franchise Bill in 1884. What happened then? The Conservative Party in the House of Lords insisted that it would be most proper that the Bill should be accompanied by a scheme of redistribution. After a good deal of demur the suggestion was acquiesced in, with the result that there was harmony and concord, and the passage of the Bill was facilitated. Instead of beating the air as the Prime Minister and the Government are attempting to do, let me make a suggestion to them. Let the Prime Minister await the Report of Lord Newton's Committee, of which an ex-Prime Minister has been appointed Chairman. ["No."] If you will not accept that suggestion, then accept the suggestion of the noble Lord the Member for Marylebone, of the referendum. I know that it involves considerable expense, but I think that no expense or trouble is too great to ascertain the minds and convictions of the people of the country, when you propound measures which go deep down to the roots and to the strength of the Constitution. If the Prime Minister refuses that solution, why should he not appoint a hybrid Committee to consider the difficulties which have arisen. I would respectfully remind hon. Gentlemen opposite that past experience conveys a wholesome lesson which the Government would do well to take to heart, and it is that if you tamper with the Constitution of this country, if you destroy the well-balanced and harmonious symmetry which has been evolved in the course of several centuries, you will be laying up for yourselves a storm of social and political trouble compared to which the eternal Irish problem with all its hideous intensity and perennial recrudescence will be as but a mere dust in the balance.

*MR. RUFUS ISAACS (Reading): It is a most remarkable feature of the debate that none of the able speakers of the Conservative Party have advanced any real defence of the House of Lords as it at present exists, or, what is more important, of the continuance of the veto as now exercised. For seventeen of the twenty years preceding the beginning of the present Parliament that veto was not put into operation. It is because during the seventeen years of Conservative Administration the House of Lords has never exercised the right which we are told it is its power and function to exercise; and because when a Liberal Government is in power and measures are sent up from this House the House of Lords for the first time for a long period, wakes up from its slumbers to exercise its veto, that we are forced against our will to consider how a Constitution which is supposed to act fairly to both sides can be amended so as to place the two great political parties in positions of greater equality. The Marquess of Lansdowne claims that nobody would venture to say that the House of Lords did not give an impartial hearing to any measure which came up from the House of Commons. [OPPOSITION cheers.] Those cheers are somewhat faint, and I am not surprised. They suggest a question which I should have thought it would not have been necessary to put.

Is there anyone on the Opposition side of the House who thinks that an impartial hearing is given to any Liberal measure sent from this House to the House of Lords? [OPPOSITION cries of "Yes."] Is the hearing given to a Conservative measure an impartial hearing? [Cries of "No."] Is it really necessary to discuss the impartiality of the House of Lords? [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] I am glad that hon. Members opposite agree with me—it is useless to consider any such suggestion of impartiality—If the veto was exercised impartially why did the House of Lords pass the Education Act in 1902, a constructive measure of first-class importance put forward by the Conservative Party after it had been elected on a totally different issue? We are told that our constitutional system is bi-cameral; in theory that is correct, but in practice it is not. In reality the right of veto in the House of Lords is exercised at the expense of one Party in the House of Commons and for the benefit of the other Party. That is the true position of affairs. The Leader of the Opposition is the last who has a right to complain of the Prime Minister's Resolution, for he was mainly responsible for the use of the House of Lords as a weapon against the Liberal Government. It is said the House of Lords delays certain legislation in order that the will of the people in regard to it may be ascertained. Is that a true view of the situation? How do you ascertain the will of the people? I agree, as we all must agree, with what fell from the noble Lord the Member for Marylebone in that extremely interesting speech he made when he said that what is meant by the will of the people is the will of the majority. There is only one constitutional means for ascertaining the will of the majority of the people, and that is at the general election, and it might be expected of a Party which prides itself on being the Constitutional Party that they should defer to this method of expression of popular opinion. What is suggested by our opponents as the true test in order to enable the House of Lords to ascertain the will of the people? One or two speakers have suggested the use of the referendum. It is too late for me to discuss that question to-night, and I will content myself with saying that it is an impractical measure which would not work under the system by which we are now governed. What is more, it would be quite useless and very much to the detriment of the poorer Members. [Cries of "Why?"] Because it entails expense. [AN HON. MEMBER: "But the poor would not have to pay for it."] It would involve a kind of miniature general election. Does anyone who knows the mind of the people imagine for a moment that there could be a referendum to the people without the introduction of a number of other matters totally unconnected with the question before them? [AN HON. MEMBER: "Chinese labour, for instance."] Yes, Chinese labour if you like. That is a good argument against the referendum. If the answer given to the referendum was in favour of those who sit on this side of the House, what would be said on the other side? Why, exactly what was said about the general election. They would at once say the answer had been given not upon this particular question but upon a number of other questions. You have only one constitutional means of ascertaining the will of the majority of the people. When a Parliament has become old and stale, when a number of by-elections have gone against the Government, it is possible to argue that the will of the people is changing. It has been said that the House of Commons cannot claim to represent the persistent and continuous will of the majority as expressed at the general election. I am not sure whether anyone in this House quite understood what the Leader of the Opposition meant by the persistent and continuous expression of the will of the majority. How long must it be persistent? For what period? Does it become a persistent and continuous will when it is expressed in favour of the opposite Party, and are we not entitled to say that it is a persistent and continuous will of the people when it has been expressing itself in a series of by-elections for some two or three years, and when it culminates in the crushing defeat of the Government with the large majority which now sits on these Benches? The Government have produced a scheme which appeals to me for the very reason which apparently arouses the opposition of some of my hon. friends below the gangway. The hon. Member for Barnard Castle, who moved this Amendment, said that the scheme of the Prime Minister was too cautious, too moderate, and too considerate. It is for that reason that I support it. I am myself unable to understand the view of the hon. Member for the Gainsborough Division of Lincolnshire who has come to the conclusion that by supporting the Prime Minister's Resolution he would be voting for abolishing the Second Chamber. There are a number who have put forward that view, but it seems difficult to follow. It appears to me—and I submit this for the earnest consideration of the House—that the scheme of the Prime Minister is devised, not to abolish the Upper House, but to consolidate and strengthen it, and to preserve it so long as it acts in the true spirit of democracy. That is the Prime Minister's Resolution. It seems to me to be perfectly reasonable, and to carry out the expressed views of many Members of the Liberal Party. It professes to be a moderate scheme with the idea of bringing the relations of the two Houses more into harmony. It is intended after discussion in this House, not once or twice, but three times, to have conferences, two at least and probably a third. It is only intended then that the Upper House should no longer have a voice in regard to a measure and that it should be passed independently of them. I submit to the House that that is a proposal for the protection of the House of Lords, because if the House of Lords continues in the path it has marked out for itself the votes given for the proposal in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle will be very much more numerous. There are many in the House who feel strongly the anomalous position in which the representatives of the people are placed by reason of the action of the House of Lords; but, notwithstanding that, we do desire in dealing with any constitutional question to walk warily and cautiously, to take care that any proposal which is to be put before the House, and which is to be carried into execution, should be prudent and moderate. It is not usual for the people of this country to rush headlong into some great change. They would prefer this change to that in the Amendment, and it is because I am convinced that this view is the one which will commend itself as the right and just manner of dealing with the House of Lords that I appeal to hon. Members on this side of the House, and below the gangway to give the best support to the Prime Minister's Resolution, so that it will have full driving force in the country. Those who are in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords should vote for the Prime Minister's Resolution, in order that we may be able to put before the country the views, I will not say of the Liberal Party, but of all progressives in the House of Commons, to prove to the people that they are the views, not merely of those who are pledged to follow the Prime Minister but of all who think that the time has come when steps should be taken to ensure that the will of the people shall prevail.

*EARL PERCY (Kensington, S.): We have now come to the end of this three days debate, during the greater part of which the emptiness of the Benches in all parts of the House has very accurately reflected the total indifference with which the country regards this Resolution. We are asked to give our verdict upon two separate issues. The first is that raised by the Amendment of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle, and wholly ignored by the President, of the Board of Trade in his reply. The second is that raised by the Resolution itself. I entirely agree with the hon. Member for Cambridge University, who spoke earlier in the debate, that if it were necessary that we should vote in favour of one or other of these proposals I should greatly prefer the Amendment of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle. I prefer the Amendment which says what it means to the Resolution which means something which it does not say. It is quite true that the Amendment is in one respect not quite candid. It does not say, if the House of Lords is to be abolished, whether anything, and, if so, what, is to be put in its place. Most people would imagine that was the first question to be considered before commencing the work of destruction. But I do not quarrel with the omission, the reason for which is obvious. It is, as everyone knows, that the hon. Member, wishes to rally to his support in the lobby as many as possible who are against the House of Lords, and as many as possible who are against the predominance of a single Chamber. It would be quixotic to expect that he would forego that Parliamentary advantage, and it is only another illustration of the utterly unrepresentative character of many of the decisions which are given in this House. But the hon. Member for Barnard Castle is quite explicit as to what he wants the House to do, and as to the grounds on which he asks us to do it. He wishes us to abolish the House of Lords, in the first place, because it is an irresponsible Chamber; in the second place, because it is representative entirely and exclusively of interests which are necessarily opposed to the public welfare; and in the third place, because, as a matter of fact, he says, it has been an obstacle and a hindrance to national progress. Well, I traverse every one of these counts in his indictment. It may be true, and I think it is true, that the House of Lords has certain defects which ought to be remedied, and which both the House of Lords and hon. Members on this side of the House have declared that they are willing to remedy. But I wholly deny that it is in any sense irresponsible. The hon. Member for Barnard Castle explained that he meant that it is not directly elected; but is he going to lay down that direct election is an indispensable qualification for the discharge of public duties and responsibilities? That would be fatal to the principle of hereditary monarchy, to the theory on which we base our judiciary, to the system of the franchise under which the suffrage is in many cases inseparably connected with the hereditary transmission of property. There are thousands of people whose right to vote depends on the property they have inherited. Do you wish to disfranchise every poor man who inherits property? And what are the "interests" which the House of Lords exclusively represents? [MINISTERIAL cries of "Land."] And which are necessarily hostile to the public welfare? My right hon. friend the Member for St. George's has pointed out that a large proportion of its Members are men who have filled responsible and distinguished positions in the Colonies, in the Army and Navy, in the House of Commons itself, and in many other professions. They represent, if anything, the quality of experience. Is that a quality which disqualifies for the discharge of legislative functions? The phrase really means nothing else than that a certain number of Peers happen to own landed property. Is that necessarily a disqualification for the exercise of legislative functions, and, if so, is the possession of any property a disqualification? [AN HON. MEMBER: It should not be the only qualification.] There is no single Member of the House of Lords who sits merely by virtue of the fact that he holds landed property any more than Members sit in this House because they happen to be millionaires. If we are to compare different kinds of property it is indisputable that land has the advantage, from this point of view, over almost any other form of wealth. As the President of the Board of Trade has himself pointed out, it is irremovable, and therefore its own interests must share in the decay or in the prosperity of national interests, and suffer or prosper according to the wisdom or unwisdom of legislation. It differs, too, from many other kinds of property in that a large portion of the interest on capital must necessarily be spent on the property and on those to whom it gives employment. And, in the third place, from time immemorial the possession of great landed estates has been held by public opinion to demand from the owner, who in the large majority of cases has responded to the call, the discharge of many and varied public duties. As for the final count of the hon. Member's indictment, that the House of Lords has proved an impediment and hindrance to national progress, I am content to rest my case for the time being on the statement made by the Attorney-General in this debate, that the political history of this country has been a history of concessions by the aristocracy which have ended by making us the freest democracy in the world. But if the House of Lords were irresponsible and representative of interests necessarily antagonistic to the national welfare, the conclusion would be not that the House should be abolished, but that it should be reformed. But reform has been ruled out, both in the Resolution and in the Amendment A few months ago I moved a vote of censure on the Government on the ground that they were postponing social reforms in favour of revolutionary change. I do not now think the prospects of social reform more roseate than they were, because I do not think the Front Bench is in earnest about social reform. The

President of the Board of Trade referred to defects in the Artisans Dwellings Act, and said that all the misery of the slums is a monument to the incapacity of the Revising Chamber. Then what are the Government about? Why are they fiddling while Rome is burning? Two sessions have passed, and there has not been even a proposal to bring in a Bill to amend that Act. But while I do not take a more cheerful view of the prospects of social reform, I do not think that constitutional revolution is likely to occupy as much of our attention as at one time seemed probable. The proposal to revolutionise the Government of Ireland has already ended almost before it had begun; and I doubt whether the attack on the British Constitution is ever likely seriously to begin at all. The Prime Minister called the Resolution a preface, and I imagined it might turn out to be the preface to a pirated edition. No one, however, will credit Lord Rosebery with having had the slightest hand in drawing up this Resolution. But a preface is not a beginning. It is either an explanation or an apology. This preface is not meant for an apology, and if it is an explanation, all I can say is that a poorer literary effort it has never been my lot to peruse. Even with the assistance of the Prime Minister's explanation we are still in doubt as to the number of years it will take under his scheme before a Bill can be passed through Parliament. The ambiguity of the Resolution is not due to any lack of literary ability on the part of a Cabinet which comprises the Secretary of State for India, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland; and it is not due to any lack of time, because they have given so much time to drawing up the Resolution that they have not been able even to frame the Licensing Bill that was promised in the King's Speech. It must be due to the inherent impossibility of the task of trying to invest with an appearance of seriousness a policy which consists in abolishing something which never existed—the veto which the Lords have never possessed. We pressed some time ago for a Report of the Colonial Conference. I wish we could have a Report of the Cabinet deliberations on this subject, because nothing quite so funny can have happened in history since the famous discussion in "Alice in Wonderland" as to how the Cheshire cat was to be beheaded, when the executioner said you could not cut off a head which has no body, the king said that if there was a head you could cut it off, and the queen's argument was that you were not to talk nonsense, and that if something was not done in less than no time she would have everybody's head cut off all round. This Resolution expresses the same sentiments in a somewhat less felicitous form. For many months past we have heard the House of Lords assailed on the ground that it was hereditary, that it was partisan, that it rejected measures, and that it passed them. We naturally expected, therefore, to be asked to affirm a Resolution which would declare that an hereditary Chamber had no title to be consulted as to the form in which effect should be given to the wishes of the people. But it turns out now that all these denunciations were mere conjuror's tricks intended to mystify and mislead the audience. The Government have refused to take part in the deliberations of the Select Committee on the reform of the House of Lords on the ground that they have a plan of their own, and now it appears that this plan has no relevance whatever to the criticisms which they have made on the existing system. What we are asked to do is not to declare our hostility to the hereditary principle, but to place upon record our belief in the futility of representative institutions. In plain English it means nothing less than that, in order to give effect to the wishes of Members of the House of Commons, it is absolutely necessary that the people of this country shall have no opportunity of saying whether those wishes correspond to their own. That is not an attack on the House of Lords; it is an indictment of the House of Commons. The President of the Board of Trade said that a great many powers of the House of Lords would remain. I agree. They would still retain the power which Ministers most dislike of asking inconvenient questions, such as whether, when right hon. Gentlemen talk of liberty in Ireland, they mean liberty to drive off other people's cattle. They would still have power to amend and to reject Bills as often as they came before them. What this Resolution really does is to

Earl Percy.

empower a temporary majority in the House of Commons just before a dissolution to suspend the whole legislative machinery in respect to any measure which they thought would not be accepted if put before their constituents. For this Resolution as it stands, and even as it was explained by the speech of the Prime Minister, would apparently abolish altogether the veto of the Crown. It is not intended to do so, but that only shows how carelessly the Resolution has been drawn. If we put in "subject to the veto of the Crown," what becomes of the Resolution? The Resolution says the will of the House of Commons is to prevail. It cannot mean that it is to be final, otherwise the veto of the Crown would be nugatory. It cannot be seriously suggested that we are to lay down for the first time the proposition that the opinion of the House of Commons ought to carry weight and influence with the Crown. So that the proposal really is that in future where there is a conflict between the two Houses as to what the people want, the decision should be taken away from the people themselves and transferred to the Crown. But this new function of the Crown is not to be exercised at any given moment, but only after several years of conflict, and the Government proposes to shorten the duration of Parliaments. Therefore in practice it would never come into operation except on the eve of a dissolution. And then, when the presumption is that Ministers have lost the confidence of the people, the Crown is to be invested with a special prerogative, which enables it to give effect to their wishes. Is it possible to imagine a more absolutely futile proposal, or one which in practice would be more certain to remain a dead letter? I now pass on to my second proposition, that the plan of the Government is not only unworkable in practice, but that so far from removing, it would perpetuate in an aggravated form the very evils which hon. Gentlemen opposite allege as a justification for their attack on the present system. Their complaint is that the present system operates to the disadvantage of the Liberal Party, and that it gives the Conservative Party an advantage which is unfair to them and detrimental to the public interest. I take first the disadvantage to the Liberal Party. It is not pretended that any measure brought in by Liberals, which the people want, has been permanently defeated, or even that it has been delayed for more than a few years. The utmost that has and can be alleged is that there has been some delay, and that that delay was caused by an irresponsible body. But how would this Resolution alter that state of things? The delay will be as great as ever. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh!"] It might be even greater, for the President of the Board of Trade argued that the Home Rule Bill of 1892 could not have become law before the end of the Parliament in 1895, and that the new Government would have had to call a special session in order to delete it from the Statute-book. The delay will be as great as ever it was, but the power to cause delay would be exercised in a more irresponsible manner than it is now, because manifestly the House of Lords would know that delay could not of itself occasion the loss of the measure, and that if it was lost, the responsibility for its loss would rest not with them, but with the Crown. Then I come to the alleged advantage which the existing system gives to the Conservative Party. That is the main grievance, and it was never more picturesquely described than by Lord Crewe when he said the Liberal Party were playing a game with the dice loaded against them. The Prime Minister apologised for using the same metaphor. Why should he apologise? It shows exactly what the grievance is really worth. For once abandon the metaphor of a game—a game, by the way, in which the stakes are not the money of the players but the rights and interests of other people—and substitute for it the true analogy of the administration of a public trust by a changing board of directors, each of them bound by rigorous rules which prevent them from investing the shareholders' money in speculative securities without reference to the shareholders, and the grievance disappears altogether. If in that case the rules press more hardly against one set of directors than the other, that is not a proof that the rules are in themselves unfair; it is only a proof that one set of directors is more speculatively inclined than the other. But if the grievance were a genuine one how would the scheme of the Government remove it? Hon. Gentlemen opposite think the House of Lords ought to have rejected the Education Bill of the last Government although it had been passed by the House of Commons, and the President of the Board of Trade said, in a speech outside this House, that the Party opposite were afraid that if the people returned a tariff reform Government the House of Lords would not throw out a Tariff Reform Bill. That is the most cheering news for the cause of tariff reform I have yet heard. I thought it was already dead, but it now appears that we must abolish the House of Lords in order to prevent its adoption. But would it prevent it? On the contrary, it would make it inevitable, for, if a tariff reform Government came into office under the system proposed in this Resolution, they would only have to suspend the Constitution and their proposals would become law automatically. Therefore neither of the grievances which are contemplated by hon. Gentlemen opposite would be removed, but would be intensified if the Resolution were carried. But the real motive of the Resolution is, under a specious pretext of giving the House of Commons greater control over legislation, to give to the Ministry of the day greater control over the House of Commons by investing it with powers and authority which it was the express design of the Constitution to withhold from it. The whole assumption is that Ministers represent the people and that their legislative proposals will be in accordance with their interests. I say the theory of the Constitution is precisely the reverse. Ministers are not the representatives of the people, but the servants of the Crown; they need not have a seat in this House, if they accept office they cannot sit here without re-election, and, so far from the presumption being that they will act in accordance with the public interests, it is that at any moment they may become a menace to popular liberty, and that it is necessary to surround them with the most elaborate safeguards against an abuse either of their executive or of their legislative authority. To the House of Commons whose function it is to voice public grievances is assigned the only effective check against executive tyranny, the power of refusing supplies; and to the House of Lords which in its judicial capacity is the supreme interpreter of the laws as they exist, is given a co-ordinate legislative responsibility with the Commons of insisting that no subject of the King is deprived by law of the rights which he enjoys by law without the express and deliberate assent of the people. If we are to be asked to change this constitutional machinery the first proposition that must be established by the Government is that it has failed in its purpose. But the charge against the House of Lords is not that it has failed to answer its purpose—but that it answers it too well; not that it has ceased to be a check on Ministers, but that it is what it was intended to be, inconvenient to them. I do not believe it is possible to point to a single measure introduced by the Liberals in the last thirty years which the Lords have rejected, that would not have taken away rights of the kind I have referred to, or a single measure introduced by Conservatives of the same description which the House of Lords has assented to. Can anyone say that the House of Commons has equally well fulfilled its constitutional duty? Every one knows that it has largely lost the effective control of Supply, that it has almost abandoned its initiative in legislation and that even the discussion of legislation introduced by the Government is smuggled upstairs and stifled by the closure. The fact is the House of Commons has already parted with its independence. It becomes every day less and less a check upon Ministers and more and more a passive instrument for registering their decrees. And while the House has become the servants of the Ministry, the Ministry has become the slave of political organisation and the party caucus. Why, in the last two sessions we have seen a labour Bill passed in a form denounced by its own authors in obedience to the dictates of the Trade Unions, and the Irish Council Bill, which obtained a majority of 300 in th s House on its First Reading, withdrawn at the bidding of the Irish Nationalist Convention. Two processes have gone on side by side. By the skilful way in which the votes of minorities are organised in the country the caucus has been enabled to establish its power over the Ministry, and the Ministry terrorises the House of Commons by the threat of a dissolution. Nothing is more remarkable than the emphasis which hon. Gentlemen put on the power of the House of Lords to force a dissolution. The great hold which a Government have over their followers is the fear that a dissolution may follow if they do not do as they are told, and the threat loses half its force when there is an equal possibility that a dissolution will follow if they do. Ministers object to the House of Lords not because it affects the control of the House of Commons over legislation, but because it is an obstacle to their own control over the House of Commons. You will pass this Resolution with your accustomed majority, a majority perhaps as great as that which passed the Irish Council Bill. And the result will be the same but with this difference, that it will draw the attention of the country to the paramount need of a reform of the House of Commons itself which will make it a truer reflex of the real balance of opinion in the country and restore something of the independence which it has lost. Does anybody deny that that is a view which is widespread and growing? There is nothing more remarkable than the complete indifference with which the public tolerates what in this House is regarded as a public scandal. Few Governments lose anything by applying the closure; no Opposition loses anything by resorting to obstruction. Why this indifference of public opinion, unless it be that the people are not hankering for controversial legislation, that they are essentially a people of compromise and keenly alive to the great danger which may attend the unchecked despotism of a temporary majority. I was reading the other day the classic work of Mr. Bryce on the American Constitution, and I was struck by his observation that "it is becoming an increasing belief among competent observers in the United States that the day is not far distant when in England some veto power or other constitutional safeguard must be interposed to protect the people against a hasty decision of their representatives." But the danger now is not merely that the decision may be a hasty one, but that it may be the result of a chance combination of minorities. Against that danger, I believe the country will insist upon being guarded. But the whole policy of the Government tends in the opposite direction. They wish to give prominence to controversial legislation, to cripple still further the influence of the minority, to strengthen the power of the Government inside the House, and to remove all checks upon its despotism from without. The feeling outside this House is people is that the power of the Executive has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished, and I say that so long as there is that divergence of view, the only effect of your policy will be—that Governments will increasingly lack that which more than anything else determines the success of their legislative proposals—the driving force of public opinion; and obstruction, instead of being regarded as discreditable, will be looked upon as the only effective strategy by which a minority, otherwise impotent, can rescue the most vital interests of the nation from destruction, and, like the Roman general of old, *cunctando restituere rem.*

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): It is always a pleasure to hear and a difficult task to follow the noble Lord in debate, and he will not, I am sure, take it amiss when I say that if we could regard him as a typical instance of the normal operation of the hereditary principle, some of our objections to the House of Lords would be substantially mitigated. But unfortunately experience shows us that the case of the noble Lord cannot be relied upon as the outcome of the settled purpose of Providence, but rather as a happy and unforeseeable episode in the chapter of accidents. Much as I admire, and as the House must admire, his dialectical and debating ability, I must say, having carefully listened to him to-night with that attention his speeches always deserve, it is with surprise I find that the noble Lord has contributed—at least so far as I have been able to discover—only two new arguments to our debate. The first is, that he discerns in the Resolution a covert and disguised attack—upon what? The veto of the Crown. Well, I was under the impression that the veto of the Crown was one of the obsolete powers in the British Constitution. I do not know precisely how long it is since the power was exercised. I think not since the reign of William III.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Two hundred and three years.

*MR. ASQUITH: I have it on the authority of one of our greatest experts in these matters that it is more than 200 years since it was exercised, and if it should ever be exercised again, upon whose advice would it be exercised? Of the very Ministers of the Crown whom the noble Lord regards and denounces as amongst the most dangerous enemies of popular freedom, and who, after all, are the creatures of the House of Commons, whose supremacy this Resolution affirms. The other novel argument contributed by the noble Lord is this, that if the resolution were brought into operation the House of Lords, which he admits does now by the exercise of its powers substantially delay legislation, would be able to do it as much in the future as it has done in the past. He has omitted to notice a most important phrase in the Resolution, which in the view of the Government is a phrase of the highest moment—that it is in the lifetime of a single Parliament that the House of Commons is to be supreme. It would take a great deal more than the somewhat superficial review the noble Lord has given us of the acts of the Lords during the present century to convince any student of history and politics that the restriction of their veto to the lifetime of a single Parliament would not have had an enormous effect in adding beneficial measures to the Statute-book. I want clearly to state what is the position as it emerges at the end of our debate. I begin with an acknowledgment that personally I have been a slow and, to some degree, even a reluctant convert to the necessity of this particular method of dealing with the problem. I have cast about—as which of us has not?—during all these years of opposition in this House to try and discover some way of escape from the situation, which almost every speaker in this debate, on whichever side of the House he sits, has acknowledged to be indefensible, that would at one and the same time give effect to the democratic principle that the will of the people must prevail and do the least practical violence to our constitutional usages. I have even—scandalous as I am sure the avowal will seem to some hon. friends behind me—at one time coquetted with the referendum. But hoping, as many of us have hoped, that a solution could be found in the shape of what I may call a constitutional *modus vivendi*—a convention similar to the conventions of which both our common law and our Parliamentary law are full, not written on paper, not defined in the exact language of an Act of Parliament—hoping for the establishment of such a *modus vivendi* (a re-establishment, let me remind the House, of a practice which actually prevailed sixty or even fifty years ago, when the House of Lords submitted to the sagacious guidance of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, and other statesmen of the past), the experiences of recent years have convinced us that that is an unattainable hope. Yes; but why? Because it would be the essence of such an understanding that the House of Lords—admittedly in the language of the Leader of the Opposition a subordinate partner, admittedly powerless to control executive action or financial policy—should, in the sphere of legislation also, be content with the functions of revision and consultation, and, if need arose, of reasonable delay. But has the House of Lords shown any disposition to accept such an understanding? It has fallen, unfortunately, in these latter days into the hands of guides and leaders—not necessarily and not always sitting within its own walls—who have degraded it from the position of a revising Chamber, and in some sense an arbitral authority, and who have converted it, as everybody knows, into the docile and subservient instrument of a single Party in the State. That is the crux of the whole problem. It is that fact clearly brought home and burned in upon the minds, at any rate of the progressive electorate of this country, which accounts for the indignation and resentment which is felt outside these walls. What is it they see? I am enunciating a proposition which has not been seriously controverted by any speaker in any quarter of the House during the whole of this debate when I say that what the people see is a partisan Assembly, worked in a partisan spirit, and yet assuming to hold the position and to exercise the functions of an unprejudiced umpire. In my opinion it is a moot point whether the House of Lords is more dangerous to the State when it abdicates or when it abuses its proper functions, for that is the vicious alternation to which, under the unhappy guidance to which it now submits, it is in practice reduced. I take once again the hackneyed but most instructive case of education. Whatever else may be said about the election of 1900, no one can pretend that the education question was at that election a live issue. Yet within two years a Bill was passed through the House of Commons which, it is not an exaggeration to say, effected a complete revolution from top to bottom in our educational system, a Bill which was assented to by the House of Lords without delay and without demur, although not only had it never been submitted to the people, but as we now know from what has since happened if it had been submitted to the people it would have been by an enormous majority repudiated. This is an illustration which cannot be too frequently repeated and pressed home. Then we come to the general election of 1906. In England and Wales education was one of the predominant controversies of the hour. A new Parliament, fresh from the polls, with the instructions of the electors freshly written as it were upon their electoral tablets, passes through this House—what shall I call it? I believe it was a very good Bill, but at any rate it was reduced, it was diluted, it was the attenuated minimum as compared with the popular demand, and that Bill, as we know, was first mutilated and then strangled out of existence by this impartial, dispassionate, revisory body. The truth is that, whatever the noble Lord's theory may suggest, in practice the House of Lords gives effect to the will of the House of Commons when you have a Tory majority; the House of Lords frustrates the will of the House of Commons when you have a Liberal majority; and neither in the one case nor in the other does it consider—what, indeed, it has no means of ascertaining—the will of the people. We have heard in the course of this debate put forward by various speakers what I believe to be an entirely new-fangled constitutional doctrine—the doctrine, I mean, that the House of Lords has by prerogative the power, and by some mysterious form of intuition the means, of determining at what precise moment the House of Commons ceases to represent the will of the people. I am not going to argue that question. I have nothing, I think, to add to what was so lucidly stated by my hon. and learned friend the Attorney-General, but I should like, since quotations are the order of the day, to make one quotation, and it shall be the only one with which I shall trouble the House. It bears on this very point directly and gives the opinion of, perhaps, the greatest Conservative statesman who ever led the Party opposite. I am going to read the language used by Sir Robert Peel in 1831, on the day after the Second Reading of the first Reform Bill. He was arguing, of course, against the democratic constitution which now prevails. This is what he said to the House—

> "When once you have established the overwhelming influence of the people over this House, when you have this House the express organ of the public voice, what other authority in the State can, nay, what other authority in the State ought, to control its will or reject its decisions? The people are the judges of their own interests; the people are enlightened and well affected to the Throne; the House of Commons is the organ of the people; who will presume to check its patriotic course?"

You could not have more concisely or more admirably stated than in the prophetic language of that great Conservative statesman the principles for which we, as the Liberal Party, in this Resolution are to-day contending. I have stated the problem, and I come to the question with which I will deal very shortly—How are you going to solve it? Nobody disputes its existence. The noble Lord himself does not. You may put something else in the place of the House of Lords; you may call it by the same name if you please; but that will not really alter the situation which I have described. Our plan is entirely without prejudice to any changes of that kind which may ultimately be decided upon. I am not going to prejudge the deliberations of the Committee to which the noble Lord has referred, although, perhaps, after a good many years study of this subject, I may say that I am inclined to be sceptical of the possibility of creating in this country a new Second Chamber which can be relied upon to perform the functions, and only the functions, which are appropriate to such a body in a democratic constitution. However that may be, and I do not wish to prejudge the issue, in any such scheme two things are certain. The first is that it would be far more revolutionary, in the true sense of the word, than the proposal which is now being made by the Government, and in the next place it will take time, years it may be, or a life-time of a whole generation, to bring it into effective use. But the question for this House of Commons is—How are we to deal with a practical and urgent situation which cannot afford to wait until the womb of the future has conceived and brought forth a new Second Chamber up to date? That is the reason why the Government now put forward the plan which my right hon. friend the Prime Minister has described to the House. That plan has been attacked from two entirely different points of view. On the one hand, we have been told by what I may call the regular Opposition that it would annihilate the legislative existence of the House of Lords, and in fact establish a system of government by a single Chamber. On the other hand, we have been told by the hon. Gentlemen who sit below the gangway, and who have brought forward the Amendment, that it is a half-hearted and imperfect measure, that it would stimulate an irresponsible body to interpose arbitrary delays between the declaration of the popular will and its legislative expression and embodiment, and that, therefore, we ought to go in for the simpler and more drastic plan of abolishing the House of Lords. These contradictory attacks may be left, to some extent, to answer one another. But let me say, speaking for myself—I do not know how far I express the views of my hon. friends around me—I must confess that the prospect of government by a single Chamber does not fill my mind with quite those apprehensions which it seems to engender in many bosoms on the other side of the House. [An HON. MEMBER: Why not accept the Amendment?] I am going to deal with that. When I look around the world at the constitutional systems which are in actual operation, apart from those countries where federal government prevails, I do not see many Second Chambers—I doubt whether I see any—which are really justifying their existence. But I must add a personal admission of my own view, and in my hot political youth, in answer to the question put in those days by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India whether I would mend or end the House of Lords, I used to answer with the shorter of these two words. I must say that when I heard all the lip homage which was paid by the orators on the other side of the House to the virtues of our bi-cameral system I felt that such language came with singularly little force from gentlemen who admit on the one hand, as the Leader of the Opposition has told us, that, so far as administration and finance are concerned, we have long lived under the uncontrolled rule of a single Chamber and who, on the other hand, so soon as they have secured what they consider a safe majority here in the House of Commons, consign the Second Chamber to a term of hibernation which, for all legislative purposes, might just as well be the long sleep of death. Although I am not myself in a state of apprehension as to government by a single Chamber, in dealing with our constitutional system we have to proceed cautiously and to take into account the opinion of the nation. In my view the opinion of the nation is not in favour of the establishment of a single Chamber. That is not a mere blind adherence to ancient tradition. It is only fair to remember that every year adds to the magnitude and complexity of our duties, and that an inevitable curtailment of debate on many points. It may well be thought that there ought to be an opportunity for the reconsideration of measures which have been discussed in this House before they are embodied in the Statute Book. I wish to make a strong plea to those who favour this particular solution of our constitutional difficulties to remember that, whilst voting against the Prime Minister's Motion in the hope of substituting an Amendment of their own in this sense, it has no hope of adoption. By doing so they will be dividing at a critical moment the forces of progress, and will be creating the perfectly false impression to the world outside that all sections of the Liberal and Progressive Party are not united in their determination to adopt the most simple, the most practicable, and the most easily-attainable means of putting an end to a system which has become both dangerous and intolerable. The Government's plan has these two advantages: that, without touching the question of the composition and character of the House of Lords, it deprives it of the partisan veto it at present possesses, and leaves it only with those powers of revision and deliberation which are the proper functions of a Second Chamber under a democratic Constitution; and secondly, it does all this without derogating in any way from the supreme authority of the House of Commons. I agree with the Prime Minister that this scheme must be accompanied by an abridgment of the duration of Parliament.

The scheme will deal effectually with all the difficulties of the case. The situation which confronts us is at once intolerable and dangerous, and the remedy proposed by the Government is at once simple and effectual. Let the House of Commons by a decisive voice to-night adopt with emphasis the principle of the Resolution, and I venture to say that it will have taken the first and the longest step on the road to the final emancipation of the people.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 315, Noes, 100. (Division List No. 251.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asqu[illegible] Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Astbu[illegible], John Meir
Ather[illegible]-Jones, L.
Baker[illegible]ir John (Portsmouth)
Ba[illegible]oseph A.(Finsbury,E.)
Bal[illegible] Robert (Lanark)
Baring[illegible]odfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, Jn. Emmott (Somerset)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J. (Tyrone,N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Beck, A. Cecil
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Dev'np'rt
Benn, W (Tower Hamlets, S.Geo
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, [illegible] F.L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Brunner Rt Hn Sir J T (Cheshire)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Buxton, Rt.Hn. Sydney Charles
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt.Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham)
Cleland, J. W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalmeny, Lord
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol,S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickinson, W.H. (St.Pancras,N
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Duckworth, James
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Wals'll
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Ferens, T. R.
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.)
Gladstone, Rt.Hn. Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt.Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Grove, Archilbald
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harmsworth, R. L. (Caithn'ss-sh
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon. S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jardine, Sir J.
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)

M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks,G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morrell, Philip
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholson,CharlesN(Doncast'r
Norman, Sir Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester
Pearson,W.H.M. (Suffolk,Eye)
Philipps,Col.Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps,J.Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price,RobertJohn (Norfolk, E.)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley,W.E.B. (Bradford,E.)
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel,Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,SirC.E.(Manchester)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smith,F.E.(Liverpool,Walton)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley,Hn.A Lyulph(Chesh.)
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant,SirEdward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.
Thomas,SirA.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds,S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward,W.Dudley(Southampton
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley,JohnHenry(Halifax)
Whittaker,SirThomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Williams,Llewelyn (Carmarth'r
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson,Hon.C.H.W.(Hull,W.)
Wilson,Henry J.(York,W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.).
Wilson, J.W.(Worcestersh. N.
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.
Winfrey, R.
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Alden, Percy
Ambrose, Robert
Barnes, G. N.
Beaumont, Hon. Hubert
Bell, Richard
Bertram, Julius
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Burke, E. Haviland-
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Cooper, G. J.
Crooks, William
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harvey,W.E. (Derbyshire,N.E.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hudson, Walter
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Lamb,EdmundG. (Leominster)
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lea,HughCecil (St.Pancras,E.)
Lundon, W.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeigh,Charles(Donegal,E.)
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W.
Markham, Arthur Basil

Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Mooney, J. J.
Nicholls, George
Nolan, Joseph
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Richards, Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T.F.(Wolverh'pt'n
Richardson, A.
Rowlands, J.
Scott, A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Seddon, J.
Shackleton, David James
Smyth, Thomas F.(Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Steadman, W. C.
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Walsh, Stephen
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Wardle, George J.
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, W. T. (Weshoughton)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. George Roberts.

Main Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 432, Noes, 147. (Division List No. 252.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.).
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Ambrose, Robert
Armitage, R.
Armstrong, W. C. Heaton
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barker, John
Barlow, Jn. Emmott (Somerset)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, Redmond J.(Tyrone, N.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Beaumont, Hon. Hubert
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J Williams (Devonp'rt)
Benn, W.(T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Bennett, E. N.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, Sir J. H. (Essex, Romf'rd
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.
Boland, John
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F.
Bowerman, C. W.
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Branch, James
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Rt Hn Sir J T (Cheshire)
Bryce, J. Annan
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt Hn Richard Knight
Cawley, Sir Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Sir Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S.
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham)
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, William
Clynes, J. R.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm J (S. Pancras, W.)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd)
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Esslemont, George Birnie
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.)
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Grove, Archibald
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Gwynn, Stephen Lucius
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick

Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harmsworth, R. L. (Caithn ss-sh
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N. E.
Harwood, George
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemmerde, Edward George
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Colonel Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Holt, Richard Durning
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Horridge, Thomas Gardner
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, Sir James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Rt. Hon. Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lea, Hugh Cecil (St. Pancras, E.
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNiell, John Gordon Swift
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Crae, George
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Rt. Hon. Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Money, L. G. Chiozza
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Sir Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Pearson, W. H. M. (Suffolk, Eye
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley, W. E. B. (Bradford, E.
Pullar, Sir Robert
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seddon, J.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sherwell, Arthur James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.
Snowden, P.
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.

Sutherland, L. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (South'pton)
Wardle, George J.
Waring, Walter
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, Henry A.
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
Whte, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, John Henry (Halifax)
Whittaker, Sir Thomas Palmer
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn (Carmarth'n
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Hon. C. H. W. (Hull, W.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh., N.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wodehouse, Lord
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Anstruther-Gray, Major
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (City Lond
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Baring, Capt. Hn. G. (Winchester
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bowles, G. Stewart
Boyle, Sir Edward
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Bull, Sir William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. H. M.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
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Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
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Coates, E. Feetham (Lewisham)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hn. J. (Birmingh'm
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
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Craik, Sir Henry
Dalrymple, Viscount
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
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Duncan, Robert (Lanark, Gov'n
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
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Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
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Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'd
Harris, Frederick Leverton
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Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heaton, John Henniker
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Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
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Houston, Robert Paterson
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
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Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
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Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
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Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
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Magnus, Sir Philip
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
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Middlemore, John Throgmorton
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Moore, William
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Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Niell, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
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Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
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Renton, Major Leslie
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
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Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
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Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
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Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
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Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Starkey, John R.
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Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
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Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walker, Col. W. H. (Lancashire)
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)

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Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Resolved, That, in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by Law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail.—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 :—

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

And, it being Eleven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

And, it being after half-past Eleven of the clock, Mr. Deputy-Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

Adjourned at thirteen minutes before Twelve o'clock.

[APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CLXXVI.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the House of Lords.

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Advertisements Regulation	*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*	Read 1^o 17th June (103)
*Destructive Insects and Pests [H.L.]	*Earl Carrington*	Consideration of Common Amendments 25th June (1121)
Limited Partnership	*Lord Avebury*	Read 1^o 20th June (583)
Prohibition of Medical Practice by Companies [H.L.]	*Lord Hylton*	Committee Report } 25th June (1016)
*Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) [H.L.]	*Earl of Crewe*	Read 2^a 17th June (68)
*Statue Law Revision [H.L.]	*Lord Chancellor*	Read 3^a and passed 20th June (583)
*Territorial and Reserve Forces	*Earl of Portsmouth*	Read 1^a 20th June (583) Second Reading 25th June (1016) " " 26th " (1260)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Advertisements Regulation	*Mr. Hart-Davies*	Read 3^o and passed 14th June (11)
*British North America	*Mr. Churchill*	Read 2^o 21st June (748) Committee 25th June (1254)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS—*continued.*

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Destructive Insects and Pests [H.L.]	*Sir Ed. Strachey*	Read 2° 17th June (280) Committee 18th June (435) Report } 19th June (579) Read 3° and passed } 19th June (579)
Education Acts Amendment	*Mr. Walter Rea*	Report 14th June (33)
*Factory and Workshop [H.L.]	*Mr. Gladstone*	Read 1° 17th June (180)
House of Lords (Restriction of Powers)	*Lord R. Cecil*	Read 1° 20th June (637) Bill withdrawn 21st June (800)
Irish National School Heating	*Capt. Craig*	Read 1° 25th June (1154)
*Isle of Man Customs	*Mr. Runciman*	Read 1° 24th June (908)
Limited Partnership		
Married Women's Property	*Mr. Micklem*	Report 25th June (1256)
Monastic and Conventual Institutions	*Mr. T. L. Corbett*	Read 1° 18th June (348)
Municipal Elections	*Mr. Cleland*	Report 19th June (580)
Petty Sessions Clerks (Ireland)	*Mr. Sloan*	Read 2° 21st June (800)
Sale of Food and Drugs Act Amendment (Scotland)	*Mr. Mitchell-Thomson*	Read 1° 24th June (908)
*Telegraph (Money)	*Mr. Buxton*	Second Reading (adjourned) 21st June (781)
*Territorial and Reserve Forces	*Mr. Haldane*	Report 17th June (180) Report 18th June (355) Read 3° and passed 19th June (492)
Trade Disputes	*Mr. Cleland*	Read 1° 25th June (1154)

APPENDIX II.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1907.

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

In Continuation of List given in previous Volume.

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Shop Hours Act, 1904,—Copy of Order made by the Council of the County of Glamorgan, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain classes of Shops within the Blaengarw, Pontycymmer, Bettws, and Pontyrhil Wards of the Ogmore and Garw Urban District [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3)]	14 June	40 days
Board of Education,—Copy of the Building Regulations of the Board of Education for Public Elementary Schools [33 and 34 Vic., c. 75, s. 97]	19 June	One month
Board of Education,—Copy of Draft Order in Council continuing certain provisions contained in the Order in Council of 6th March 1902 [62 and 63 Vic., c. 33, s. 5]	21 June	4 weeks
Prisons (England and Wales),—Copy of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to remissions and punishments [61 and 62 Vic., c. 41, s. 2]	25 June	30 sitting days
Shop Hours Act, 1904,—Copy of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Newport (Mon.), and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for certain Shops within the Borough [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3)]	25 June	40 days
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Cambridge), Copy of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Emanuel College, Cambridge, on 7th March, 1907, amending certain of the Statutes of the College [40 and 41 Vic., c 48, s. 49]	26 June	12 weeks

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[AUTHORISED EDITION].

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Where in the Index * is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that stage of the Bill, or on that Vote.

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